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HISTORY

OF

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CHITTENDEN COUNTY

VERMONT

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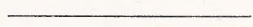
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF SOME OF ITS PROMINENT MEN AND PIONEERS

Pt. 1

EDITED BY

W. S. RANN



SYRACUSE, N. Y.

D. MASON & CO., PUBLISHERS

1886

HISTORY

CHITTENDEN COUNTY

VERMONT

THE STATE OF VERMONT
THE STATE ARCHIVES
AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ON THE 15th DAY OF SEPTEMBER 1850
AT THE CITY OF MONTPELIER

W. S. RILEY

PRINTED BY
J. B. BROWN & CO. MONTPELIER

1826747

INTRODUCTORY.

WHILE it may seem to the uninitiated a task involving but little difficulty to prepare for publication a work in which simple narrative is characteristic, the volume and complexity of the history of a single county, still it is not out of place here to assure all such readers that the work is one demanding a vast amount of labor and especially involving some striking patience and great exactness. This need is not in any person who has had experience in similar work. In a volume of a considerable history of Chittenden county, the difficulties of their task, and the manner in which they should be overcome, and a determination to publish in a manner that should receive the commendation of all who were interested in the work. It is believed that this purpose has been substantially carried out, and that, while a perfect historical work has never yet been published, that one will be found to contain so few imperfections that the most critical reader will be satisfied.

D. MASON & CO.,
BOOK AND JOB PRINTERS,
63 WEST WATER ST.,
SYRACUSE, N. Y.

It has been a part of the plans of the publishers in the production of this history to secure, so far as possible, assistance from persons resident in the county, either as writers or in the review of all manuscripts, the consideration being that the work bears a local character which could not otherwise be secured, and moreover, comes from the past far more complete and perfect than could possibly be the case were it dictated wholly to the efforts of qualified strangers to the locality in hand. In carrying out this plan the editors have been rendered such generous co-operation and assistance of various kinds that nearly to mention all who have thus aided is impossible; the gratification of having assisted in the production of a commendable public document must be their present reward. But there are some who have given us generously of their labor and time towards the accomplishment of this work that to leave their commendation would be simply unjust. Among these

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INTRODUCTORY.

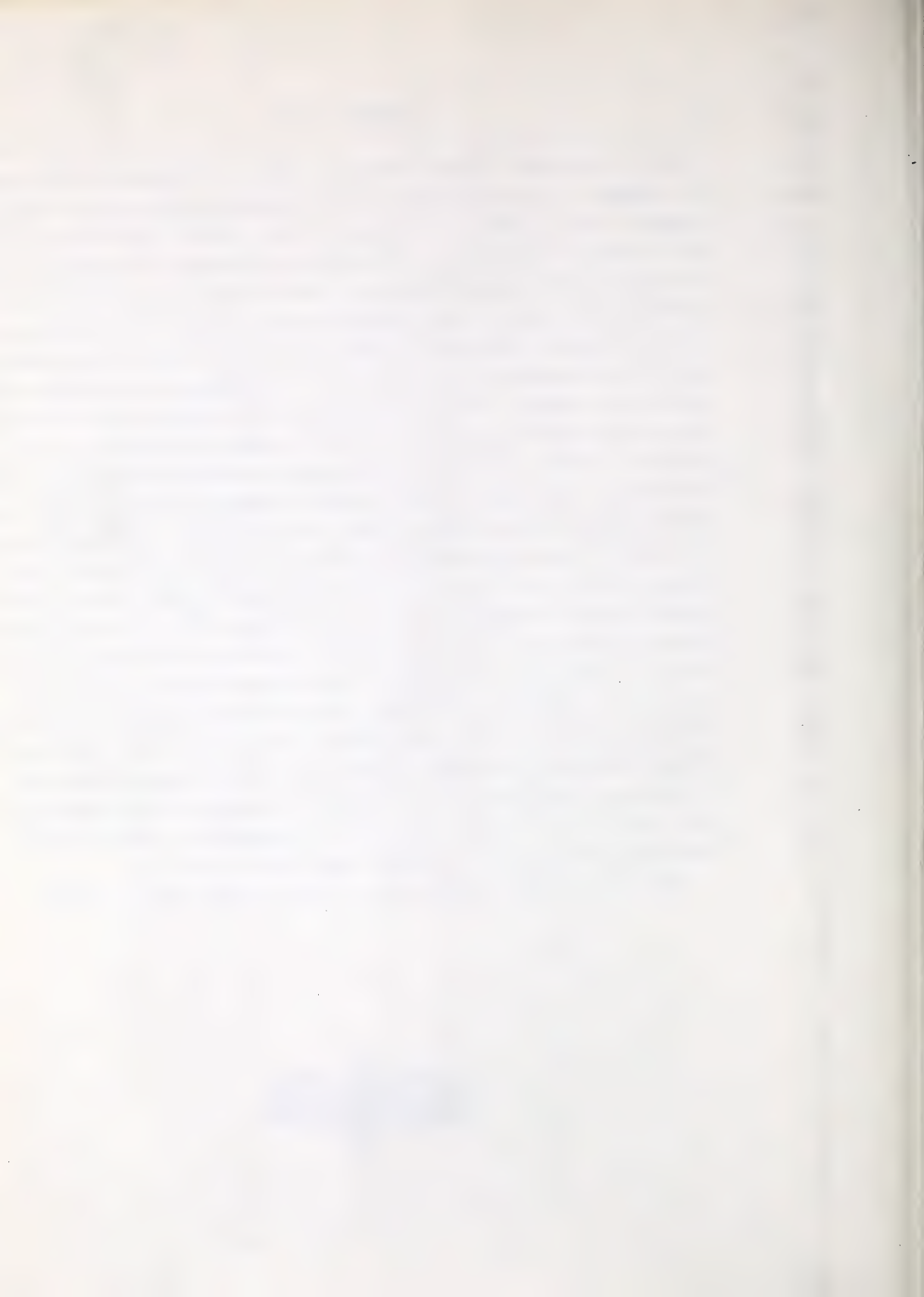
WHILE it may seem to the uninitiated a task involving but little difficulty to prepare for publication a work no more comprehensive in character than this volume, and containing the history merely of a single county, still it is not out of place here to assure all such readers that the work is one demanding a vast amount of labor and research, watchful care, untiring patience, and great discrimination. This need not be said to any person who has had experience in similar work. In attempting the production of a creditable history of Chittenden county, the publishers and the editor did not underestimate the difficulties of their task, and came to it fully imbued with a clear idea of its magnitude, and a determination to execute it in such a manner that it should receive the commendation of all into whose hands it should fall. It is believed that this purpose has been substantially carried out, and that, while a perfect historical work has never yet been published, this one will be found to contain so few imperfections that the most critical reader will be satisfied.

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should be mentioned Professor George H. Perkins, of Burlington, for the first two chapters in the book, and for much assistance in the revision of other chapters; Mr. T. C. Pease, of Burlington, for the civil list of the county, and also of the city of Burlington; Professor John E. Goodrich, of Burlington, for the chapter on Educational Institutions; Robert Roberts, esq., for the History of the Bench and Bar, the biographical sketches of the Hon. E. J. Phelps, and the Hon. George F. Edmunds, and other matter, besides much valuable assistance in other directions; Dr. H. H. Atwater, of Burlington, for the chapter on the Medical Profession; Mr. James Buckham, for the admirable History of the Press of Chittenden county; Mr. W. H. S. Whitcomb, for the History of Freemasonry; and Mr. C. A. Castle, for the History of Odd Fellowship, and of Life Insurance; the Hon. Charles E. Allen, of Burlington, for the chapter on Lake Commerce and the Lumber Trade; Dr. A. H. Brush, of Fairfax, Vt., for the names of many soldiers of the War of 1812; Right Rev. Louis de Goesbriand, and Very Rev. Thomas Lynch, of Burlington, for the History of the Catholic Church in Chittenden county; L. C. Butler, M. D., of Essex, for the History of that town; Professor J. S. Cilley, of Jericho, for the History of that town; J. J. Monahan, of Underhill, for the History of that town; the Rev. J. E. Bowen, of Milton, for the History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in that town; Gen. T. S. Peck, Judge Torrey E. Wales, Miss Jennie Stacy, and others in Burlington, for general assistance and an active interest in the work. To all these, to the entire press and clergy of the county, the town clerks and other officials, and to so many others that it is impossible to mention them in detail, the gratitude of editor, publishers, and readers is alike due.

With these words of introduction, the work is commended to its readers.





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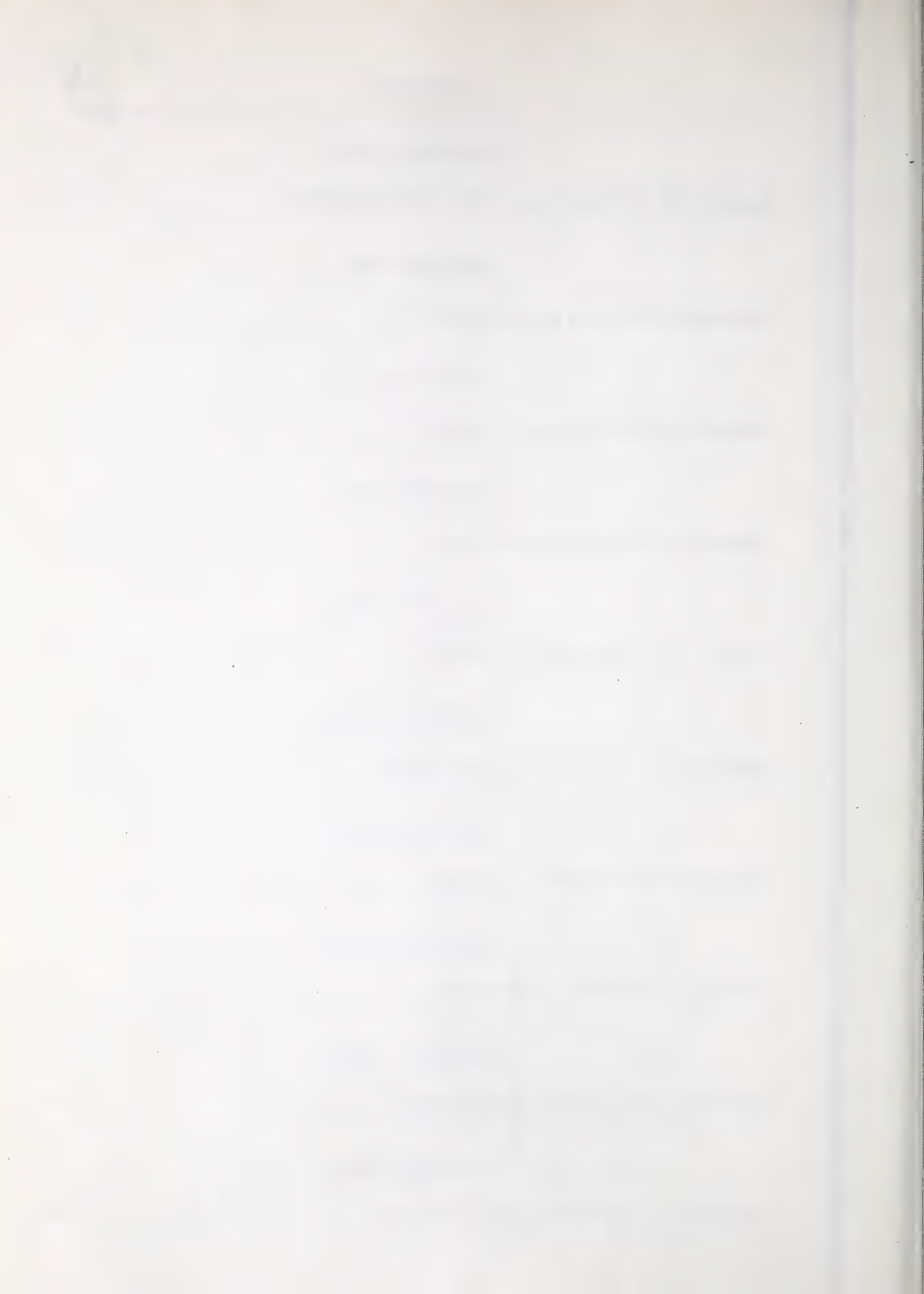
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HISTORY

OF

CHITTENDEN COUNTY.

CHAPTER I.

GEOLOGICAL FORMATION OF THE COUNTY.¹

Topographical Features—Action of Geological Forces—Divisions of Geological Time—Former Treatises—Champlain Valley During the Archæan Period—Layers of Sandrock, Marble, etc.—The Chazy Epoch—Limestone Formations—Origin of the Green Mountains—The Great Glacier—Glacial, Champlain and Terrace Periods of the Quaternary Age—Natural Forces do not Act Haphazard.

CHITTENDEN COUNTY, although irregular in form, may yet be for the most part included within a rectangle about twenty-five miles from north to south and twenty from east to west. The extreme length of the county, from the southern end of Avery's Gore to a point in the northern line of Milton is thirty-five miles, and the greatest width, from the Chin on Mansfield to the lake, near Colchester Point, is twenty-nine miles. The area is given as five hundred and twenty square miles. This is a very insignificant area as compared with the whole country, but geologically it is by no means insignificant or unimportant. It would be very difficult to find a territory of so small extent that exhibits so great a variety of both surface features and geological phenomena as does this small county. In greater or less degree all the ordinary topographical features of the globe are to be found within its limits, as are also the prominent geological phenomena. For this reason a study of this county will necessarily bring out facts bearing upon the geology and topography of the whole continent, and even of the globe itself. In ageonly a

¹ Prepared by Professor George H. Perkins.

few areas of limited extent exceed that of this county, for, with the exception of the Archæan rocks of Canada and the Adirondacks, and the few small areas of Acadian, or the lowest beds of the Cambrian, none older than the lowest strata of our red sandrock are known anywhere in the world, and not only the oldest, but also the newest beds are found, in the clays and sands. Moreover, these latest beds and their arrangement in hills and valleys, clay-beds and gravel banks, lakeshore and river terrace, and also the rock ledges, headlands and mountain masses, all have a history, and this history, when known, tells us the reason for all that is now seen, and shows that it is as it is, not at all by accident, but as the result of definite and constantly working laws. The ancient record is far less easily read in this region than it is in many, for it is very complex and in some of its parts obscure, but it has been very carefully and diligently studied by many able observers, and we are, through their labors, able to give a tolerably certain account of the growth and formation of the State and county.

I suppose that hundreds of persons stand upon the summit of Mansfield every year; but how few of these understand, as they look westward and see the varied country stretching to the lake, which it meets with such irregular shore, that mighty forces and ages of time were needed to bring all these varied features to their present condition. The mountain mass of folded and transformed rock, the undulating plain here, the rough and broken country there, alluvial river terrace, barren sand plain, river channel, gorge, ravine, meadow, hill and vale, brook and pond, clay-bank and gravel knoll, all of these are as they are, and where they are, because of the action in certain directions of those geological forces that built up the world.

Interesting and beautiful as is the view from the mountain summit even to the most superficial observer, how much more complete is the view and how much more profoundly does it impress us when we see not merely that which at first appears, but, seeing below the surface and far behind the present, regard it all as having a history that reaches back to that mysterious and awful time which was the Beginning! Very imperfectly can this history be traced, but traced in part it can be; and it is a history most strange — a history of vapor and mist, of fire and earthquake, of ice masses and glaciers, of torrents and overwhelming floods, of upheaval of continental masses into mountain ranges, or their subsidence far beneath the surface of the ocean.

In the rocks, clays and sands of Chittenden county we find evidences of all these phenomena and more, and the geology of the county will be the interpretation, so far as is possible, of the story which its rocks tell. Only in part, however, can we hear their story, for, were we to wait for the whole, a long life would not suffice for the hearing. The dust of the commonest highway has a geological tale to tell which it would need many a long day to hear. Only in its more salient outlines then must we try to sketch the history of the

rock masses found in our county, adding only so much of the geology of the whole country as is necessary to the proper understanding of that of the region in which we are especially interested.

As any one who has sailed along the western border of this county, or even looked over a large map, must know, the lake shore is very irregular, indented by many bays and thrust out into the lake in points and promontories, with only here and there a bit of comparatively straight beach. In the bays the shore is usually sandy, but the points and headlands are often marked by the outcrop of masses of rock.

As the lake is about one hundred feet above the level of the sea, when we start at its shore we are already at so much of an altitude; and as we go from the lake eastward the ground rises until the lower slopes of the Green Mountains are reached, and if we keep on we may finally reach the Chin on Mount Mansfield, which is the only part of the mountain within the boundaries of the county, and here we are on the highest point in the State, 4,430 feet above the sea. Most of this mountain is in Lamoille county, but one corner of Underhill reaches up the mountain side and just takes in the "Chin." Camel's Hump, the next highest peak of the Green Mountains, is wholly inside the county. Between the Green Mountains and the lake, although the ground is broken by ravines and ridges, there are but few hills of any considerable height. There are a few, such as Cobble Hill, at Milton, 827 feet high; Snake Hill, 912; Sugar Loaf, 1,003. The streams of the county are numerous and supply abundant water for agricultural purposes. The Winooski River runs directly across the county, entering it at Bolton, then flowing on through Richmond, Jericho, Essex, and after forming the boundary between Burlington and Colchester, it empties into the lake about four miles north of the business part of Burlington. A small part of the Lamoille River also comes into the county, running through Milton and a part of Colchester, and enters the lake a few miles north of the Winooski. Brown's River is an important tributary of the Lamoille, running through Jericho, Essex and Westford. Several ponds are also found in the county, but none of any considerable size except Shelburne. Some of the river valleys are rich in alluvial soil and very valuable for agricultural purposes. In former times, as old records plainly show, much of the county was covered by forests of various kinds of trees; but for the most part these are of the olden time and not of the present.

As has been noticed, to write of the geology of this or any other region, is to write of the processes by which it has come to be what it is; and this is our present undertaking.

It must be remembered that we cannot study Chittenden county entirely by itself. Geological forces are not only vast in power, but also wide in extent. Very rarely can we isolate a small area and write out its geology as distinct from that of the surrounding country. This is eminently true of any

part of New England. Chittenden county must be studied as a part of Western Vermont and this latter as a part of the great Champlain valley, and in some measure this valley as a part of the North American continent, for in some cases the same agencies have affected all of these. The history of the greater must, of course, include that of the less, and not seldom the history of the less throws much light upon the perplexities presented by that of the greater, while this in turn interprets many a riddle offered by that.

Geological time is subdivided into several periods of unequal duration and importance, and each period is again divided into lesser spaces, and perhaps these again, and so on. Each of these subdivisions is determined by various conditions, as kinds of rock, relation to other adjacent groups, fossils, etc.; but the chief basis of the classification is found in the fossils, that is, in the life of the period or age. Accordingly, we find each of the greater or lesser divisions characterized mainly by a certain group of animals, which are found in that and in no other.

The very early history of the globe is wrapped in mystery. We may look towards the origin of the world and wonder and long to know how it all came about; but our keenest gaze penetrates but very slightly those unknown regions, and we can only conjecture as to what was. So far as positive knowledge is concerned, there is little else for us to do except to bow in reverent wonder, as the only tidings that come to us from that remote past tell us in those sublime words with which the book of Genesis opens, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form and void." Let me add that years of geological training are needed to enable one to comprehend, even approximately, the amazing dignity and majesty of these words and the wonderful depth of meaning which is in them. Truly the earth was without form and void, if the beliefs of most geologists are true; for, reasoning from what is known of the constitution of the earth and of various heavenly bodies, they suppose that at some time far back in the past the solid earth was a huge mass of vapor moving through space and that, as heat radiated from it into the intensely cold space around it, it slowly condensed and became a liquid, and of course molten mass, flashing like a sun through the sky. As the heat continued to radiate, the molten mass, after passing through most astonishing changes, became solid — in fact a huge cinder or mass of slag — black, rugged, desolate, without water or life. By and by the cooling process had gone on until water, before this held as vapor in the air, would descend in torrents upon the earth and probably cover it completely; for even now the waters of the ocean would cover all the land if this were to sink a few hundred feet. The earth, however, is not homogeneous, but is made up of many substances, and these cool unequally. For this reason, as the earth went on cooling, some parts would contract, and therefore sink, faster than others; that is, depressions, of vast extent perhaps, would appear here and there, and the water would col-

lect in these and leave the rest dry land, and thus the first oceans and continents came into existence. At first there could have been only water and solid rock on the earth, but as soon as the water began to move in waves against the rocky shores, sand was formed; for sand is merely ground-up rock, and thus we have the beginning of dry land. Thus in its briefest outlines was the earth formed, or rather developed, during its earliest stages. Of all this there is no record, but there are many facts which give great probability to such a hypothesis.

The subdivisions of geological time spoken of above begin at the end of this first period, taking into account only those ages which are represented by rocks. Nowhere on the face of the globe are there exposed masses of rocks which are parts of the original crust of the earth, that which came from the cooling of the molten mass; for the oldest known contain fragments of yet older rocks and other proofs that before they were formed rock masses existed.

The following are the larger subdivisions used by most American geologists: 1, *Archæan*. 2, *Palæozoic*. 3, *Mesozoic*. 4, *Cenozoic*.

These are again divided each into several periods. Of these only two are represented in this county, the Palæozoic and the Cenozoic. The Archæan is finely exhibited in plain sight of many of the inhabitants of the county, for the Adirondacks are composed wholly of Archæan rock, and according to some geologists there are patches of the same age in this county on the flanks of the Green Mountains; but it seems most probable that these are of a later age. It is indeed possible that the Archæan rocks may extend under the lake and underlie some or all of our later formations; but it seems most likely that if this were so there would somewhere be at least one, if no more, tell-tale outcrop. The second grand division of geological time, the Palæozoic, is divided first into three ages, viz., the Silurian, Devonian and Carboniferous. The Silurian is divided into Lower and Upper. The Lower Silurian, which alone is found in this county, is divided into periods. These are: 1, *Primordial*, or *Cambrian*.—A. Acadian. B. Potsdam. 2, *Canadian*.—A. Calciferous. B. Quebec. C. Chazy. 3, *Trenton*.—A. Trenton. B. Utica. C. Cincinnati.

It may be noticed at this point that Chittenden county has, so far at least as has been discovered, no wealth in mines or ores. Galenite, several varieties of iron ore, manganese, and some other metals are found, but in very small quantities, not at all in such masses that mining for them could be made to pay. So far as the county is rich in its rocks it is because of their value as building materials, not for any metal they contain.

We now come to the study of the development of this region from the time when its first beds of sedimentary rock were laid down, until the present. This is not by any means a simple task. Probably there is no region of equal size which has been more thoroughly discussed and concerning which so few definite conclusions have been reached as Western Vermont. And although, as



seems, order is being brought out of this disorder, yet wide disagreement as to facts and the meaning of facts exists among American geologists. Almost ever since there was any American geology, for more than forty years at any rate, the age of the Green Mountains and of some of the terraces lying between them and the lake, has been debated, and I do not suppose that all geologists would admit that it is yet settled. Indeed no one can assert that the whole range can be shown to be of one age or another, whatever he may think as to the probability that it is this or that. Until within a few years our knowledge of the age of many of our Vermont rocks was exceedingly uncertain, but, through the labors of Professor C. H. Hitchcock, and much more those of Professor Dana and Rev. A. Wing, very much information has been obtained and many important facts discovered, so that by the aid of these we may believe that the age of most of our rocks has been satisfactorily determined. It is rather remarkable that after many trained geologists had gone over the ground and given few facts to help us solve the difficult problems which the rocks presented, a quiet, unknown minister and teacher should have taken up the work, and, persistently keeping at it season after season, should have made discoveries of the highest value and importance. Of this Professor Dana says: "Mr. Wing, by the use of his spare time amid the duties of teaching, accomplished vastly more for the elucidation of the age of Vermont rocks than had been done by the Vermont Geological Survey. The *Vermont Report* presents diverse opinions about the Eolian limestone and the formations adjoining, but settles nothing; while Mr. Wing's discoveries shed light not on these rocks alone, but also on the general geology of New England and eastern North America."¹ The *Vermont Report* alluded to above was published in 1861 in two quarto volumes, and is quite as good as the State deserved, considering the amount of money appropriated to carry on the survey, but it is nowise worthy of the State and not at all trustworthy in regard to the age of many of the rocks of which it speaks; and scarcely a single one of the many problems which the study of Vermont rocks calls up is solved, or even helped towards solution by the explorations of those in charge of the survey. The *Report* does, however, give many valuable details as to the distribution of rocks. In the second volume of Miss Hemenway's *Gazeteer* there is quite an extended paper by Rev. J. B. Perry, on "The Geology of Northwestern Vermont." In this an attempt is made to solve some of these problems; but the author seems to have been captured by his theories, which are many and peculiar, and the result is that the geology of the article is very visionary and unsatisfactory, and such as no geologist, I think, would for a moment accept. It may seem quite ungracious and possibly in bad taste for the writer of this article to find such fault with his predecessors, and he would gladly speak in a less unpleasant way if it were possible; but I think that most geologists would justify the above state-

¹ For a full account of Mr. Wing's discoveries, by Professor Dana, see *American Journal of Science and Arts*, Vol. xiii, pp. 332, 405.

ments. And they are made not for the sake of criticism, but simply to prevent any one who may seek information on the works named from being greatly misled, as he certainly would be if he put his trust in either. About all that has been published concerning the geology of Western Vermont that is of much value, so far as the age and relative position of the strata go, is to be found in various articles published by Professor J. D. Dana in the volumes of the *The American Journal of Science and Arts*, published during the years 1872-1880. After what has been said above, it is scarcely necessary to add that the views of Professor Dana and Mr. Wing will be followed in general throughout this chapter; for it is believed by the writer that they are the only ones which rest upon a substantial basis and which will stand the test of future investigations.

The geological history of this county and of nearly the whole State begins with the beds of Cambrian rock. In Southern Vermont there are limited areas of rocks probably older than these, but I think there are none older in the northern part of the State. At this time most, perhaps all, of not only this region but New England, was covered by the well-nigh universal ocean. The continent of North America was very small, and chiefly north of the present United States in Canada, with a long, narrow southern prolongation along the Adirondack region, and isolated islands here and there over the present territory. Probably the Champlain valley was not marked out, except on its western border, and Lake Champlain did not exist until long after this. Possibly beneath the schists, slates and gneiss of the Green Mountains there is an axis of Archæan rock; but it is not shown by any evidence now obtainable. If there were such an axis it would have been a low reef at the time of which we are speaking, dimly marking out the eastern border of the valley which was to exist later. The waves of the great Archæan ocean dashing against the Adirondacks, and whatever other rocky shores there were, ground them to sand, and this sand scattered over the bottom of what was probably a shallow sea, gradually became sandrock, in which some bits of sea-weeds, a few shell-fish, and now and then a trilobite were imbedded; but for the most part no living beings were added to the forming beds of rock. This rock is now found at Keeseville and the Ausable Chasm, as well as in many other localities on the western side of the lake; and on this side it is our red sandrock, so largely exposed in this county, such as is seen at Willard's Ledge, Red Rocks, etc. The red sandrock of Western Vermont—for it extends from Shoreham northward through the State to Canada—belongs to the Cambrian period. It is usually a hard, silicious stone of a dark red color, but this is very inconstant; for although great masses may be found which are throughout of this dark red, there are also frequent outcrops of all shades from dark red to the most delicately tinted flesh color. Other layers are buff or even gray. Nor is the rock always a sandstone, as the following section will show. Although this

section is taken north of the county near Swanton, yet I give it, since it shows the whole structure of the formation better than any section that could be obtained here. This section was taken by Sir William Logan, geologist-in-chief of the Canada survey.

	Feet.
1. White and red dolomites (Winooski marble) with sandy layers; some of the strata are mottled, rose red and white, and a few are brick red or Indian red. Some of the red beds contain <i>Conocephalites adamsi</i> and <i>C. vulcanus</i>	370
2. Gray argillaceous limestone, partly magnesian, holding a great abundance of <i>Palaophycus incipiens</i>	110
3. Buff sandy dolomite.....	40
4. Dark gray and bluish-black slate, partially magnesian, with thin bands of sandy dolomite. The slate contains fossils, as <i>Obolletta cingulata</i> , <i>Orthisina festinata</i> , <i>Camerella antiquata</i> , <i>Conocephalites teucer</i> , <i>Paradoxides thompsoni</i> , <i>P. vermontana</i>	130
5. Bands of bluish mottled dolomite, mixed with patches of pure gray limestone and gray dolomite and bands of gray micaceous flagstone with fucoids.....	60

A mile or so north of the above section other strata occur, as follows:

6. Light gray more less dolomitic sandstones and "some of which are fine grained, others are fine conglomerate." These are interstratified with bands of white sandstone.....	630
7. Bluish thin bedded argillaceous flagstones and slates, containing <i>Conocephalites arenosus</i> and fucoids.....	60
8. Bluish and yellowish mottled dolomite.....	120
9. Yellowish and yellowish-gray sandy dolomite.....	600

Still further north, on the Canada line, there are additional strata, though not well exposed; but in general Sir William gives them as follows:

10. Buff and whitish sandy dolomite, holding a great amount of black and gray chert in irregular fragments of various sizes up to a foot in length and six inches wide. There are also masses of white quartz. Thickness (conjectured).....	790
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In some ledges near Burlington the sandrock becomes an impure, dark brown limestone, or if not replaced by it, it is interstratified with it. North of Burlington, at Mallet's Bay, it becomes calcareous and brecciated and is the Winooski marble. In Milton it is a calcareous sandrock, while in Hinesburg it is a clearly defined limestone, so much so that it serves a good purpose for the manufacture of lime. As in many of the ledges stone can be readily obtained which splits and breaks into fairly regular rectangular masses, the red sandrock is a very valuable building stone. It is also very durable and handsome, though its color is not always unchanged after exposure to the weather. The entire formation is about two thousand feet thick, but in no one locality does it show any such thickness. The strata of red sandrock dip easterly at varying angles in different localities. At Red Rocks the dip is 90°; but usually the dip is much less, as in New Haven it is but 5°; in Monkton different strata dip 15° 20°, 50°; in Charlotte the dip varies from 15° to 80°. In Monkton the layers are found upheaved so that they slope each way from a central ridge. These anticlinals all have north and south ridges, the strata of course dipping east and west. It may be well to explain that in geology by the term "dip" is meant the inclination of the strata to the horizon. It is sometimes of value to know the strike, and this is the general direction of the outcrop or mass and is

always at right angles with the dip. Stratified rocks are believed to always result from the deposit of sediment in water, and hence the strata must have been originally horizontal or nearly so; therefore the amount of dip and strike indicate somewhat the extent of upheaval, displacement, etc., which has taken place since the strata were deposited. As a whole the red sandrock formation seems to be more silicious in its southern portion and more calcareous in its northern. The individual strata vary greatly in thickness, some of them being but an inch or so, while the thickest are several feet. The color is due largely to iron oxide, and the rock also contains magnesia, lime, potassa, soda and alumina. The composition, however, is far from uniform in different layers. As a building stone the red sandrock will probably always have its chief value; but the character of some of the beds is such that more than a passing mention is deserved. I refer to the layers known as the Winooski, or Wakefield, marble. These beds begin between Burlington and Mallet's Bay, and extend beyond St. Albans, where, between that place and Swanton, the Messrs. Barney have quarried it for many years. The "marble" layers differ from the sandrock, into which, however, they pass by imperceptible gradations, in that they contain much more lime and less silica. An average specimen contains ten per cent. of silica, forty per cent. of lime carbonate, thirty per cent. of magnesia carbonate, with a smaller percentage of iron and alumina. Several times during the last thirty years attempts have been made to quarry, saw and polish the stone from Mallet's Bay. So far as the beauty of the slabs is concerned these attempts have been most completely successful; but the cost of working so hard a material has in all cases proved an insuperable obstacle to carrying on the work extensively. And this very difficulty has its offsets, for, being hard, the stone takes a brilliant polish and it is not so easily scratched or otherwise marred as is a softer marble. Probably there is nowhere a finer deposit of ornamental marble than this, nor one which affords so great a variety in shade and pattern. It has been used in some of the largest and finest public buildings, as the capitol at Albany, Astor Library, and others, for inside decoration. It is not to be recommended for outside work, since its brilliant colors fade when exposed to all weathers. The marble crops out on the shores of Mallet's Bay as bold headlands from one hundred to two hundred or more feet above the bay, and also forms islands in the bay, and hills back from it. So near the water are some of these cliffs of marble that boats could be loaded by the same derrick that swung the blocks from the quarry. Some of the masses are regularly stratified, and thus easily separable into blocks, while others are not so; but blocks from which large slabs, sound throughout, may be sawn, are abundant. No one can form an adequate idea of the unending variety which is found in this marble, unless he has visited the locality and seen it with his own eyes. The range of color is not very great, but of shades and combinations there is no end. Red in all possible shades and tints is perhaps the predominant color; while common, though less abundant, are various

olive tints, drab, yellow and brown, all of them more or less mingled with pure white. There are in the *Report of the Tenth Census*, Vol. X, four colored plates which give a very excellent idea of this marble, though of course showing only four of the many varieties. The slabs may be very different, as they are sawn transversely or perpendicularly to the plane of bedding, and any change of direction given to the saws as they go through a block changes, sometimes very remarkably, the appearance of the marble, and not infrequently opposite surfaces of the same slab may differ not a little. This is possible partly because many of the layers are brecciated, white or light fragments of older rock being imbedded in a red sandy mud, and the whole hardened to stone. As these included fragments are of all shapes and sizes and very irregular, it is obvious that no two slabs can be precisely alike. Not all the stone shows this feature. In some the colors are more or less shaded or clouded, showing that the various components of the stone were thoroughly pulverized before consolidation. In some cases it is evident that a large included mass was broken after it was imbedded, but before the paste became hard; for the several fragments may be seen near each other, though not quite in contact.

It is very difficult to describe such a stone as this in such a vivid manner as shall bring it clearly before the reader; but as most of my readers will be residents of Chittenden county and presumably more or less familiar with the stone, I may hope to at least call attention to the more prominent varieties. In the first place we may arrange our specimens in several series, though without entire accuracy, for that is impossible in so variable a material. In one series we may include such varieties as present the red shades clearly and decidedly. In this group there are many varieties, from those in which the red is like jasper or Indian red, to those in which it is a delicate rose, or pink, like the lining of a shell. In a second group we may place numerous specimens in which the red is always of a brownish or chocolate hue, sometimes very dark, and from this graded through lighter shades until it becomes almost white. In a third series we may place such specimens as exhibit the red shades to a much less degree and have mingled with them other shades, as olives, greenish-drab and lavender. It is easy to understand how the great variety already mentioned is produced by these shades in constantly varying combinations and proportions, mingled with white in the blotched, shaded or brecciated masses. We find light colors mingled with a greater amount of dark or the reverse, large blotches or small, etc., etc.

Nearest Burlington—that is, nearest the layers of the typical red sandrock—the layers of marble are nearly all red with a few clear white veins of lime carbonate, and sometimes sprinkled with little bits of translucent quartz. This variety is harder than any other and has been very little used. A softer though similar variety is not veined, but clouded and blotched with the lime carbonate. Another mixture of red and white is one of the richest and handsomest of all

the varieties. In this the well-defined red shades are in many bands, dark and light, and these bands are intermingled in very complex patterns, and across them are numerous fine lines of clear white lime carbonate. I have seen slabs of this eight feet long and over five feet wide. Such a slab when brilliantly polished, as it may be, is unequaled in elegance by any marble that I have ever seen. Those specimens which would come under the second head are collectively called by the marble workers "chocolate." These lack the brightness of the other classes; nevertheless some of them are very handsome. In delicacy of shading and exquisite combination of tints the lighter varieties excel. In some of these the darker shades are mostly lacking and the stone presents a surface blotched and mottled with small irregular patches of pink or flesh color, light tan, lavender and white. In some cases the effect is heightened by irregular lines of dark green or olive, sometimes so dark as to be almost black. In some the dark shades of red appear, but only as lines or small spots; and with these pink, salmon, rose and white are delightfully blended. One of the most charming slabs I have seen was daintily mottled and blotched with lavender and "ashes of roses" so abundantly that these tints gave tone to the whole surface, while mingled with them were bits of salmon and rose-flecked white.

Another peculiarly beautiful variety shows the red largely replaced by drab tints and white. But one familiar with this marble might go on until he had wearied his readers beyond endurance, and yet not exhaust his material, although very likely his stock of adjectives would soon grow small. All of these varieties that I have mentioned are found at Mallet's Bay. Other parts of the same formation are somewhat different. Some of the pieces remind one of agates and jasper, which stones they quite closely resemble both in color and brilliancy of polish. At present no large quantities of this marble are used for, owing to its silicious character, the marble workers do not like to saw it; but it seems wholly improbable that so wonderfully varied and so beautiful a marble, and withal so durable, shall be left unused for a great length of time. We may hope that the time will come when one of the important industries of this county will be quarrying and working the Winooski marble.

The red sandrock as a formation has not yielded many fossils and those that have been found have been obtained in a few localities. By far the greater part of the formation appears to be destitute of fossils. I am inclined to think that this absence of fossils is apparent rather than real. The fossils that are found at Highgate and elsewhere are casts and only seen when the rock has been weathered for a long time. Hence there may be layers full of fossils which we do not see, because the fossil is so exactly the color of the rock, but which might be made evident by years of weathering. At Willard's Ledge the surface of the layers is glossy and undulating as if the rock were hardened mud, as it is, and this appearance, together with various seams which show where cracks made by drying in the sun have been filled, show us that the formation origi-

nated in shallow water. At Willard's Ledge and elsewhere sea-weeds are not uncommon. The most prolific locality is at Highgate, near the springs, where trilobites and mollusca of the genera *conocephalites*, *camerella*, *orthisina*, *orbol-lela*, etc., are found, and in a ledge of brown shale at Georgia great trilobites, *paradoxides*, etc., are found. In the dolomitic limestone, which we have called Winooski marble, there was discovered a few years ago a little cylindrical fossil known as *salterella pulchella*. This occurs very rarely, but in those slabs in which it is found it is usually quite abundant. It is impossible to find it except as the slabs are sawn. In the Archæan rocks some evidences of life are found, but they are for the most part meager and uncertain. At the commencement of Lower Silurian times, however, there seems to have been a great variety of animal forms. If we let our imagination carry us back over millions of years, to the time when beneath the waters of the Silurian ocean the various beds of the Cambrian were being laid down, when Vermont was not yet above the water, we may see creeping over the Adirondack shore, or the shallows on this side, the trilobites, ancient representatives of crabs and lobsters, some of them six inches or more in length, sponges growing on the rocks, a few snail-like mollusks creeping hither and thither, and a few orthocerata—the highest forms of life then existing—swimming through the waters. These orthocerata are conspicuous throughout the Silurian. They were animals much like the cuttle-fish, except that they had long, straight, chambered shells, in the last chamber of which they lived. Could we have looked over that landscape our eyes would have rested on no green thing; for no land plants appeared till long after this. We should have seen only an almost limitless waste of waters, with here and there small masses of land rising above it. And yet a varied, and very probably abundant, life inhabited the desolate ocean. It is very remarkable that life should, to all appearance, have come upon the globe almost at a bound. Instead of a few of the lowest forms such as we should expect to find, after the meager beginnings in the Archæan rocks, we find, not the highest animals certainly, but a great variety of forms, many of them by no means the lowest in the scale, and representing all the great groups of animals except the highest, the vertebrates. A mere list of all the Cambrian species would occupy much space. During this period the climate was probably mild and not given to change; thick fogs and mists hung over the ocean, obscuring the sun, though that there was light seems to be shown by the trilobites, for they have well-formed eyes, compound and prominent; and these organs could have been of no use had there been no light.

Besides the rocks mentioned there is another series of metamorphic rocks, which have been placed below the Silurian by some geologists, but which appear to belong to the Cambrian. The series includes several kinds of rocks, of which the most common is talcose schist and talcose sandstone. The other rocks are a coarse conglomerate, quartz, limestone and sandstone. The whole

is called in the *Vermont Report* "Talcose conglomerate." It is found in Huntington, Hinesburg, Jericho, Milton and Essex. In the *Vermont Report* the red sandrock is made to be of an age very much later than the Cambrian. Indeed the geologists in charge at that time placed it above the Silurian altogether, while we have placed it almost at the bottom of the series ; and here all geologists now agree that it belongs. Thus, during the Cambrian period, where now the red sandrock beds are found the water was in general shallow ; the worm-tracks, ripple-marks and other evidences of shallow water origin, found in the sandstones, show that these are simply the hardened beaches of the primordial sea. Where there are slates and limestones the water was deeper, for these are not formed in shallow water. There does not appear to have been any great disturbance of the strata at the end of this period, and yet there must have been some change, very possibly in the character of the water, for the animals of the Cambrian became extinct at the close of the age, or at any rate before the beginning of the next, when an entirely new group of animals appears. After the Cambrian was finished, all that portion of Vermont now covered by rocks of that age was dry land, and the eastern border of the present Champlain valley was marked out. The ocean about this new land was deeper than that in which the rocks of the first age were formed, and also clearer, and not only a new, but a more extensive fauna inhabited it. Higher and more complex forms now existed, though the life of the globe was nowhere at this time of the highest, or very near it. The Canadian period is much less widely represented in this county than the Cambrian. Of the three epochs into which the period is divided, the middle is lacking here, but the lowest, the Calciferous, and the highest, the Chazy, are both found. The Calciferous includes various sorts of rocks from coarse gritty sandstone to limestone. It extends along the western side of Vermont from West Haven north to Canada. The southern portion of Lake Champlain has cut a channel for "twenty miles through the rocks of this formation." A portion of the Green Mountains is made of metamorphosed Calciferous rock and a part of a very extensive formation, called in the *Vermont Report* the Eolian limestone, is of this formation, as shown by Mr. Wing's researches. South of Shoreham rocks of this age are well exposed, but north of this they occur in more or less isolated patches. In this county they are found, at least in an unchanged form, only in a few places, and in these only in comparatively small masses. They form the extreme end of Thompson's Point, from which place they run under the lake and reappear on the New York side near Essex. The strata dip slightly to the east. The most common rock of the Calciferous is a hard, gritty limestone, of a gray or drab color ; but there are also sandrocks, some of them very pure, and equally pure limestone is also found. The formation seems to be intermediate between the quartz and sandstones of the Cambrian and the limestones of the Chazy and Trenton. Of the life of the Calciferous,

so far as this county is concerned, there is very little to be said, for only a few sea-weeds, mollusks, and trilobites, and a few species of each, have been found. In other localities, however, west of us, where the rocks are more fully developed, the fossils are much more abundant. This life is of the same general sort as that of the Cambrian, but, as has been noticed, it shows progress in number and rank of species. The famous copper mines of Lake Superior are in Calciferous rocks, and at this point they are not less than 10,000 feet thick. Again a change in the life of the globe and in the character of the rocks occurred. The sea bottom sank still more, and deeper and clearer waters allow yet further advance in life. Up to this time all the strata seem to be of shallow water origin, though some of the layers were evidently deposited in deeper water than others, but yet none of them bear evidence of very deep seas, and it is most probable that the sea bottom was gradually sinking, while layer after layer of sand, clay, etc., was laid down, the deposition somewhat nearly keeping pace with the subsidence, until thousands of feet were deposited.

The Chazy epoch brings us to clearer and deeper waters than had before existed, and the progress in life, which the geologist notes as he passes from age to age throughout geological time from the dawn of life on, is strikingly manifested as he passes from the Calciferous to the Chazy. There are no plants except sea-weeds, but animals of many sorts grew and flourished; corals, crinoids, or stone lilies, mollusca in great abundance, and a few trilobites, are some of the forms found. In every formation there are more or less unique forms found only in that age, or period, or epoch. These are guides, landmarks which the geologist gladly recognizes, for by them, after they have once been recognized, he determines the age of the rocks containing them. In the Chazy the characteristic fossil, as these are called, above all others, is *MacLurea magna*, a large coiled shell, which is the sign of the Chazy. In section this shell is often seen as a narrow spiral line, two or three inches across the outer whorl, and in this form it is common in Burlington on doorsteps or window-sills. The Chazy limestone is usually gray or bluish gray, sometimes light, sometimes dark. It is well shown at McNeil's Point in Charlotte; it forms nearly all of Thompson's Point — all except the little tip of Calciferous mentioned above. From here south it is well developed all along the lake. Its finest outcrop, however, is on Isle La Motte, the southern end of which is almost wholly of this formation. At Fisk's quarry magnificent beds are exposed, and they furnish a very compact, durable stone for building purposes. It also occurs near Plattsburgh, and from there north through the town from which it takes its name. The strata are not usually much disturbed, and hence the dip is not great. At Thompson's Point it is only 8° , at Larabee's 12° , and in few places is it more than 20° . The dip is usually towards the east, but in some place it is northeast or northwest. A few of the outcrops of the Chazy

limestone are filled with fossils which are colored pink or red, and these, contrasting with the gray of the main mass of the stone, are very conspicuous. In other beds the fossils are some of them red and some white, and some of these layers are almost entirely composed of fossils, either whole, or broken and comminuted. Many of the fossils are stems of crinoids, and these show as disks or rings in the stone. The marble which the Burlington Manufacturing Company sell under the name "Lepanto," is this highly fossiliferous rock sawn into slabs and polished. It is a very excellent marble, as it is handsome, strong, not easily stained, and most admirably adapted for mantels, furniture, or interior decorations, for which purposes it is very extensively used. There is a very good colored plate of this marble in Vol. X of the last *Census Report*, Plate 32. The entire mass is made up of comminuted fossils, and mingled with the paste thus formed are numerous larger fragments, many of which are red, of different shades, others are white, and others are black. The general color of the marble is light gray in some slabs, and darker in others, and the effect of the fossils, all of which are small and of the colors just mentioned, upon this ground color is very fine, and the various slabs differ considerably in appearance. Not only in the beds used for marble, but in all the strata of the Chazy, the fossils are very small. There are a few exceptions. The maclurea and one or two orthocerata and corals are found of large size, but very few are more than a fraction of an inch in diameter. No strata of any age could contain more fossils than do some of those of this formation. Crinoids especially appear to have been very abundant, and as these animals are only found in clear, deep water now, we may believe that in ancient times they required the same conditions, and that the limestones of the Chazy were formed in such water, and other indications add probability to this view. Not always, however, or at least not in every locality, for, according to the *Vermont Report*, some of the strata on Isle La Motte have on their surfaces ripple-marks, mud-cracks, etc., which could only have been formed in shallow water; but this is probably exceptional. According to the same Report there is at Ferrisburgh and Panton a layer of Chazy limestone which is in part "a conglomerate formed from the ruins of Calciferous sandrock." Were there no other proof, this would be sufficient to show that the sand and mud of Calciferous time had, by this time, hardened into stone and fragments been torn away and mingled with the newly formed deposits of the Chazy. The subsidence which began with the Cambrian period, and perhaps before, continued, probably with little or no interruption, on through the whole of the Silurian, and it appears to have increased toward the latter part of the age, and, as epoch after epoch passed by, the seas deepened and the water grew clear, and with this change of condition a change took place in the rocks, sandstones and gritty limestones; shallow water formations gave place to the deep water formations, shales and limestones, and in the Chazy and the following epoch, the Trenton, these rocks



form the chief part of the rock mass. Over the United States the Trenton is more widely developed and a more important formation than the Chazy, but in the Champlain valley the reverse is the case; yet in many places here this period is well displayed. The Trenton period is subdivided into three epochs, the Trenton, the Utica, and the Cincinnati, or, as it used to be called, and is still by some writers, the Hudson River. These three epochs are probably all of them represented in Chittenden county; I say probably, because there may be some doubt about the last, though very little I think. The Trenton epoch is still further subdivided into the Black River and Trenton. The Black River formation is a dark limestone, and is found in this county only at McNeil's Point, I think, although narrow bands of it stretch southward as far as Larambee's, and on Isle La Motte there is an outcrop. This stone is often so dark that when polished it makes a jet black marble, and is used for that purpose. The fossils of the Black River are so similar to those of the Trenton that it will not be worth while to consider them separately. This Trenton formation is found outcropping in many localities all over the State from West Haven to Highgate. Some of the strata dip very little, while some dip very greatly, and some are almost vertical. Plicated and folded strata occur, especially in the northern beds. The most characteristic rock is a dark gray or black limestone, but a variety of other rocks is found in the formation, as the following list, taken from the *Vermont Report*, shows:—

“ 1. Black, shaly limestone. 2. Black limestone, compact and schistose. 3. Slaty layers, sometimes argillaceous. 4. Light blue, compact, schistose limestone. 5. Grey, thick bedded strata. 6. Ordinary limestone metamorphosed into white, grayish white and dirty looking ferruginous strata, frequently with a net-work of calcite or quartz. 7. Bituminous and fetid layers. 8. Sandy limestones.”

In this county the Trenton shows itself at Charlotte, at McNeil's Point. Here the strata have not been very much disturbed, and the dip is only from 9° to 15° . The Trenton runs along just east of the Calciferous from south of Shoreham to Charlotte where it comes to the lake; from this point it extends under the lake and reappears on the New York side in large masses and at many points. It also appears on Grand Isle, and forms a considerable part of the northern end of Isle La Motte. So far as the rocks show, there was no great disturbance between the Chazy and the Trenton, and yet there must have been some change, for the life of the Chazy became extinct, and though in so many respects similar, the Trenton opens with a new array of animals. The continent was still small and no evidence has been discovered that there was any terrestrial life. Sea-weeds are the only plants, and even they are rare, and all the animals are marine. Many species have been discovered representing almost all of the lower orders. Corals, some of them of large size, are found. Mollusk abound so that some of the layers of rock are made up of shells cemented

together, as if the ancient sea bottom was completely covered with them and then hardened to stone. Trilobites lived in great numbers in some parts of the seas, and huge orthocerata swam about, the largest and strongest of all, like huge shelled cuttle-fish, devouring all about them. Perhaps as common and characteristic a fossil as any found in the Trenton is a hemispherical coral two or three inches in diameter, looking somewhat like a puff-ball cut across. This is common at McNeil's. Another coral looks like a petrified honeycomb. The *Vermont Report* gives fairly good figures of some of the more common species of our Trenton fossils. The orthocerata attract much attention when seen, from their form and appearance. Some of them have been taken for petrified snakes, because of the long, tapering, cylindrical form, banded by the walls of the many chambers, in the outermost of which the animal lived, the rest of the shell forming a sort of float. Some of the trilobites of the Trenton are quite handsome, at least they are so to the eye of a collector. They are somewhat like gigantic pill-bugs, divided into three longitudinal portions and transversely ridged and ribbed. Some were ornamented with bosses and tubercles innumerable, others were decorated, if not armed, with spines. Some of them were very large; the *asaphus gigas*, which is found in several of our Vermont localities, being sometimes eight or ten inches long and four or five inches wide. Most of these creatures, however, were only three or four inches long, and some were only a fraction of an inch. They probably resembled our modern crabs in their habits, as they did in structure. Sometimes they are found rolled up head and tail together. Entire specimens are not common, but portions, especially the hinder part, are quite abundant in some layers. In very few respects does the life of this period resemble that of the present. A few of the fossil shells remind one of those of mollusks now living; but most of the forms were long since destroyed, and their like has never been seen since.

The Utica is a much less extensive formation everywhere, and in this county it is exposed in not very large masses. It is especially a formation in which shale was formed. It is found as a black, slaty rock, readily splitting into thin layers, for the most part rather soft and brittle, and in some places, besides the change due to the lamination of the rock, there is a jointed structure—due to lateral pressure, in all probability—a mass of strata when soft and yielding being squeezed by pressure from each side or end; and thus fine cracks are formed, and the strata themselves more or less folded. The regularity of some of these joints is very remarkable. The strata break crosswise into squares, triangles, and other shapes as evenly and regularly as if cut with a sharp knife when soft. At Ladd's, on Grand Isle, this structure is most admirably shown. Masses of iron pyrites are common in some of the layers of the Utica shale, sometimes deluding the unwary, by their golden color and metallic luster, with the idea that there is a deposit of the precious metal at

hand. Calcite is found in veins running through the shale, and some of these calcite veins are of considerable extent, and are very noticeable, since the lime carbonate is usually pure white; and of course this shows distinctly on the black surface of the shale. Of these the *Vermont Report* remarks: "The veins of calcite form a marked feature of this rock. There are three varieties of them—the large veins or dikes, the smaller ones, that twist and branch in every direction, frequently like the branches of a tree; and thirdly, those small veins that occupy the cleavage seams, and are parallel to one another over large areas." The Utica shale is found in this county in Shelburne, Charlotte, Burlington, and Colchester. Juniper Island is chiefly of rock of this formation, and so is Rock Dunder; and there is no doubt that other now isolated masses of this and other formations were once parts of a wide sheet, which has been all eroded except the small masses now found widely separated. Elsewhere in the State the Utica slate, or shale, is fairly well developed as far south as West Haven, and north to Isle La Motte and Alburgh. The rock is slaty in some places, shaly in others, and more rarely there is a little limestone; and it is chiefly in this latter that the pyrite mentioned above is found. It does not appear to be conformable to the Trenton—at least not always—and is usually more disturbed, the strata having a greater dip. In Charlotte this is 58° , and at Shelburne Point $41^{\circ} 45'$, on Appletree Point 85° , and, as we go north from here, it is less until in some places the strata are nearly horizontal; on North Hero they are but 5° . Rock Dunder seems to be an upheaved mass; at least there has been some upheaval, very likely, however, from lateral pressure; for the rock composing it is folded, and therefore dips both east and west. The size of this mass of rocks of course varies with the state of the water. The *Vermont Report* gives the height, taken in July, at thirty-six feet, and the circumference of the base three hundred and ten feet. At very low water these figures would need increasing, and at high water they would be too large. The life of the Utica is not extensive, though there are several very characteristic fossils. At the close of the Utica the shore of this county extended somewhat farther west than now, the shore line reaching from Shelburne Point through Rock Dunder, Juniper Island, Appletree and Colchester Points, to South Hero and North Hero, swelling out to include Isle La Motte, and going on to Alburgh. All these islands and points were then joined to the mainland. The shore may have been still farther west, for we cannot know how far the rocks extend beneath the lake. The formation extends on from Alburgh to Montreal, and, following the north shore of the St. Lawrence, to the ocean. Not only this formation made a different shore line for this county, but time and again, as age after age passed, its contour and extent changed, now receding from the lake, now extending farther into it; and thus although, as has been indicated, the deposits of the Cambrian largely determined what the county was to be, the present outline is by no means what it was during the past ages.

The next and last epoch of the Trenton period is known as the Cincinnati, or Hudson River. This formation is probably an extensive one in the State and includes many kinds of rocks, some of them changed wholly, both in character and appearance, by the metamorphic influences to which they have been exposed. A clay slate is perhaps the characteristic rock of the period, but limestone, sandstone, and various sorts of slate are all found, besides the metamorphic rocks which occur in the Green Mountains. The various beds vary in color from light drab to black. Zadock Thompson thus describes its appearance in this county: "The black slate is generally contorted and crushed and abounds in seams of white calcite, varying from a line to a foot in thickness; still there are places where the lamination has never been disturbed; but all this slate doubtless contains too much lime and is too brittle to be used for any better purpose than making roads. This slate in many places, particularly where it is fragmentary, has its surface covered with a black glazing, giving it very much the appearance of anthracite." The veins of calcite spoken of by Mr. Thompson are very familiar to any who have visited the shore of the lake at Appletree and Shelburne Points, or many other places where the beach is completely covered with pebbles of this rock; and they are also much used for covering walks. Any one who has chanced upon such a mass of these pebbles or, better, seen a ledge of the rock from which the pebbles came, must have been amazed at the great variety and delicacy of this veining. Mr. Thompson puts the smaller veins at a line in width, but it is not at all difficult to find pebbles with much finer lines of the white than this; some can hardly be seen, they are so very slender. In this county the Cincinnati group is found at Charlotte, Shelburne—especially on the point—Rock Point, near Mallet's Head in Colchester, at Stave Point north of Mallet's Bay, where it is a limestone and has been used for the manufacture of lime; from here it goes on to Milton, Georgia, St. Albans, and Highgate, into Canada. Many of the smaller islands in the lake are of this formation, and probably more or less of what is now covered by the waters of Lake Champlain was at the close of this epoch dry land, for a time at least. It extends south of this county to the southern border of the State. In this county it usually, if not always, immediately overlies the red sandrock, showing that after the sandrock had been formed it remained above the sea where elevation of the sea bottom had placed it. During all the intermediate periods until before the Cincinnati, either during or at the end of the Utica, it again sank, in part, and upon it was deposited the material which made the later rocks. It should perhaps be noticed here that some of the beds which are included in the Cincinnati, or, as it is there called, the Hudson River, in the *Vermont Report*, do not belong to this formation, as indeed the geologists writing the report appear to have suspected. The strata, like those of all the other formations in this county, dip in the main to the east. The amount of dip is very variable. In Milton it is 10° , in Shel-

burne 15° – 20° , in Colchester, 70° . The strike is chiefly northeast. Of the metamorphic rocks belonging to this group more will be said when we consider the formation of the Green Mountains. It is enough for the present to quote the following paragraphs from Professor Dana (*Manual of Geology*, 2d edition, page 195): "In the Green Mountains there are strata of mica, schist, gneiss, and quartzite, overlying the great Stockbridge limestone; and since they are quite certainly Lower Silurian, and at the same time newer than this limestone, they probably belong to the Cincinnati epoch." As we shall see later, Professor Dana has confirmed this opinion by further investigations, so that we may regard it as settled in his own mind.

The Cincinnati period shows us a great variety of living forms—corals, crinoids, star-fish, mollusks, trilobites. With the close of this epoch we reach the close of the great Lower Silurian age. Although this is by no means a modern time, yet all the solid rocks of this county and most of those of the State and of New England were formed before this period closed. Slowly, age by age, the rock masses that we now find in our ledges were laid down. The Silurian was a very long period, occupying millions of years; and during the slow passage of these ages the land was outlined, rose above and fell beneath the sea; group after group of strange animals appeared, lived out their cycle of existence, and gave place to new; change, progress, development—exceedingly gradual, perhaps, but none the less sure—were the ruling conditions. During all this time there is no evidence of the growth of any land plants or that any animals roamed over the bleak continent. All life was marine. Nor were there any animals of a higher grade than trilobites and orthoceratites. But this is not all; vaster changes took place at the close of the Lower Silurian, which culminated in the Green Mountain range. The history of the Champlain valley and of that portion of it which makes up this county is like the history of the globe, one of commotion and change, of rock masses raised perhaps hundreds of feet, or sunk as many; of masses of rock of almost continental extent crushed, folded, and even overturned, so that the lower strata became the upper, sedimentary rocks, as limestones and sandstones are crystallized and changed beyond recognition, becoming schists, gneiss, marble, etc. In this county less violent upheavals and distortions of the strata have taken place than are found in many regions, and yet gigantic operations have been carried on here. During the ages of the Silurian and also of the Cambrian everything seems to have gone on quietly. The different groups of strata are not in all cases quite parallel, or, in geological phrase, conformable, showing, as in the case of the Utica and Trenton, that there was some upheaval after the deposition of the lower and before that of the upper group; but in all cases, I believe, such phenomena are limited in extent and are not very pronounced—that is, the difference in the dip and strike of the strata of the two epochs is not great. And yet, although during the Lower Silurian no great display of the dynamic

agencies of the globe was made, preparations were going forward which made this inevitable after a time. And here I come to debatable ground. I presume that many geologists would strongly object to locating the upheaval of the Green Mountain ridge at the close of the Lower Silurian. The age of these mountains has been very warmly discussed, and the discussion has by no means brought the ideas of the disputants into harmony. Some would make them much older than the Silurian, even placing them in the Archæan; but it seems to me that more than all the rest Professor Dana has reason and fact on his side in placing them where he does, and all subsequent investigations go to sustain him in his views. I have already quoted a paragraph which expressed these in general; but as the matter is of importance I would like to add one or two more extracts from the *Manual of Geology*. On page 196 we find the statement that—"In the Green Mountain region there are 2,000 or 3,000 feet or more of mica schist and slate, hydromica slate, gneiss, quartzite, and conglomerate, which are probably of the Cincinnati series." Again, "Previous to the epoch of revolution the Green Mountain area had been a region of accumulating limestones through the Cambrian and Trenton periods, and of beds of quartzose sands and probably some limestone through the Cincinnati era. But here the rock-making over the region ended. Next came the upturning, in which the same rocks were lifted and folded and crystallized, and the Green Mountain region became dry land" (page 212). In the *American Journal of Science and Arts* for May, 1880, Professor Dana further says, as he sums up evidence given on previous pages: "It thus appears that on the mass of land which topographically belongs to the Green Mountain range that part which is already proved to be Lower Silurian in age and of one orological system, constitutes nearly one-half of the whole range." In this and subsequent articles Professor Dana shows that it is extremely probable that the rest of the Green Mountain range is of the same age. Professor Dana evidently does not suppose that the material out of which the Green Mountains were made was accumulated in a single period, but that "the limestones of the Green Mountain region include the limestones of successive periods from the Calciferous, and probably Primordial, to the Trenton." And again, Vol. XX, page 455, of the same journal—"The limestones and conformably associated rocks of the Green Mountain region from Vermont to New York Island are of Lower Silurian age." In a most valuable monograph on *The Azoic System*, by Professors J. D. Whitney and M. E. Wadsworth, these views of Professor Dana are quoted, and the authors remark: "Of the correctness of these statements in regard to the Lower Silurian age of the rocks in question, it seems to us that there can be no possible doubt" (page 462). It has seemed necessary to be thus full and explicit in this matter because of the wide diversity of opinion which has existed, and in some measure still exists, among geologists respecting the age of these rocks. The question also directly concerns the geology of this county,

for not only does a large part of the rocks of the county belong to the Green Mountain system, but one corner of Underhill reaches up along the west side of Mansfield and just takes in the Chin, which is the highest point of the whole range—4,430 feet above tide water, or 4,340 above the lake. Nearly the whole mass of Camel's Hump is included in Huntington and Bolton, and this mountain is 4,088 feet above sea level. There is a considerable degree of uniformity in the constitution of most of the Green Mountains, though there are some conspicuous differences. The two peaks with which in the geology of this county we have to do, are similar. Mansfield is made up of mica schist, hydromica schist, and chloritic hydromica schist. Camel's Hump is chiefly mica schist. It may seem hardly creditable to some that the stratified limestones and sandrocks of the Silurian can by any means have become the unstratified crystalline gneiss, schist, etc., of the Green Mountains. For a full discussion of this matter the reader must be referred to any recent treatise upon general geology; and I may recommend those who care for more information concerning many matters necessarily passed by with very brief notice in this chapter, to read *Dana's Manual of Geology* or *Le Conte's Elements of Geology*.

The old theory of mountain making was, that through some great crack in the earth's crust, molten matter was thrown out, which hardened into rock, and now and then a hill or mountain has been so formed; but these are the exceptions. Later it was believed that mountain chains were great upheavals, internal forces thrusting up portions of the earth's crust. Now the common view is that mountain masses are due to lateral pressure, and that a mountain mass is not an arching up of the earth's crust, but a thickening. The pressure is due to subsidence, so that as one part of the earth's crust rises in mountain masses another part sinks in ocean abysses. What then was the process in the case of the Green Mountains? They probably began in a subsidence, by which a gigantic trough several hundred miles long was formed. This trough began before the Cambrian, and in it were deposited the layers of sandstone, etc., of this period. Through the various epochs of the Silurian this trough sank deeper and deeper, sedimentary deposits at the same time filling it up, so that, although actually growing deeper, it really was all the time very shallow, or if the deposits were coextensive with the subsidence, it was not a trough at all on the surface. In time the accumulating deposits would become very deep, so deep that the lower part of the trough would be warm, if not hot, from the interior heat of the earth. By this heat, aided probably by moisture contained in the rocks, the lowest part of the trough would be softened and weakened. All this time the Atlantic Ocean bottom was sinking and thus a strong lateral pressure brought to bear upon the coast, and in time this pressure became so great that wherever in the neighborhood the crust of the earth was weakest it must yield to this push from the east. The Green Mountain trough is such a weak area and it breaks, rock masses slide over and upon each other, and by

the friction great heat is produced, and the rocky masses not only rise in folds and ridges, but they are transformed into non-stratified, non-fossiliferous rocks, in short the limestone, sandstone and shale have become gneiss, mica schist, etc. Thus the elevation of the Green Mountains, which began in a depression and for ages continued such, has fairly taken place. The various kinds of rock found in metamorphic regions may be produced by a different amount of moisture, heat, etc., from the same original beds. Professor Dana says: "The differences between mica schist, mica slate, hydromica slate and clay slate appear to have arisen largely from differences of temperature attending metamorphism." During metamorphic action soft rocks become hard, color and chemical character may be changed, and often the rocks are cracked and fissured, and these crevices may be filled with some mineral. All this is not done in a moment, but slowly, often extending through ages. In the case of the Green Mountains it occupied the interval between the Lower and Upper Silurian. At first a mere reef extending through the Silurian Ocean, the Green Mountain axis slowly rose above the water and finally was very much higher and larger than now, for the storms of millions of years cannot have raged against these rocky masses in vain, but must have worn them down greatly, and the great glacier must also have ground them and broken them, as we shall see presently. The metamorphism of the originally stratified rocks was not confined to the more elevated parts of this county. Scattered over the county and the State, also, are large masses of metamorphic rock which Mr. Wing has shown to be of this Cincinnati epoch. Under the headings "Talcoid Schists" and "Talcose Schists" the *Vermont Report* speaks of certain rocks which are abundant in some parts of the State. These rocks are now included under the name hydromica slates. These slates are quite abundant through the eastern part of this county and include a variety of rocks. The *Vermont Report* gives no less than fifty-four varieties, found in following this formation from Montpelier to Duxbury. In some parts of Vermont the formation includes very extensive and important beds of steatite, or soapstone, and also of serpentine; and a long list of minerals, few of them, however, of economical value, occur in these slates and schists. Although the mountains are not made of this rock, it occurs abundantly along their flanks. In this county it abounds in Underhill, about the lower slopes of Mansfield, and it extends through Jericho, Huntington and Bolton, varying in character more or less in each locality. There is another group of rocks which are largely developed in many parts of the State, though not found in large outcrops in this county. This is the Taconic system, once famous in geological discussions, but now abolished and placed under the Silurian. Under the rocks of this system the formerly called Taconic rocks have been treated, and it is mentioned here only because it occupies an important place in the *Vermont Report* as a distinct group, and some might wish to know why it was left out here. Another extensive forma-

tion, or rather so-called formation of the *Vermont Report*, is what that report calls the Eolian limestone, to which the limestone at High Bridge is referred, also other limestone in Burlington, Milton, Colchester and elsewhere. The ledge at the Lime Kilns extends from Colchester south to South Burlington, Shelburne and Hinesburg. Some of the outcrops of this have been quarried for white marble, and it is so far changed from ordinary limestone that it is in places a clear white marble, but so far it has been found full of flaws and seams. As to the age of this limestone the *Vermont Report* says: "We quite despair of satisfying ourselves on these points [the age, etc.] in respect to the Eolian limestone." And this is about where the matter rested until Mr. Wing worked out the problem and found, after much study in the field, that the formation was not one, but several, including rocks of the Calciferous, Trenton and various intermediate epochs.

At some time after the Lower Silurian rocks were completed the strata were cracked and fissured, possibly as a part of the commotion which occurred when the mountains were rising. Into these cracks molten matter, like the lava of a volcano, was forced from below, filling them, and to-day we find here and there the black limestone or shale cut sharply across by a band of very different material, much harder and usually of lighter color. Such intrusions from beneath of melted matter are called dikes. Nowhere in the State is there such a display of these formations as in this county, and here they are mostly near the lake. They are most numerous in Shelburne, but they are found in Burlington, Charlotte, Colchester, Hinesburg, Williston, Essex, Richmond and Bolton. At Red Rocks is a dike twelve feet wide. There are two on Spear street about half a mile south of the Williston road. There is a trap-dike at Willard's Ledge. A dike crosses the north end of Juniper Island. There are about twenty-five dikes in Shelburne and not less than sixty in the county, and the hill south of the depot at Charlotte is of the same igneous rock. The material which fills the dikes is usually homogeneous and hard, compact and, of course, not stratified. In this region the dikes are trap and porphyry. Mr. Z. Thompson thus describes the system of dikes at Nash's Point, Shelburne: "The porphyritic dikes at Nash's Point and vicinity are so numerous and irregular that I shall not attempt to particularize them. The whole surface of this point, embracing several acres, is strewn with fragments of porphyry, and it seems to be cut up by dikes traversing it in all directions. On the southeast side of Nash's Bay the bank is formed by a porphyry dike about twenty feet high for the distance of twelve rods. The slate has all been removed on the side next the bay down almost to the surface of the water, and the dike stands out like a huge wall about five feet thick built to support the bank." Sometimes, though, this phenomenon is rare everywhere. Dikes of different kinds of rock and different ages are found. Mr. Thompson describes a case of this sort on Shelburne Point. He says that there is "a perpendicular face of porphyry, about

eleven feet high and some rods in length, resting upon black slate and soil, cutting through the slate in an easterly direction. Beneath the porphyry are two parallel trap dikes, about eight feet apart and each about one foot wide; portions of these trap dikes are also found in the slate overlying the porphyry." From this statement we see that the porphyry dike was of later origin than the trap dikes across which it cut its way. The end of the Lower Silurian is, as one who will glance at the list of formations given in the early part of the chapter may see, only a little way from the beginning of the series, and yet by this time the solid foundations and the mountains and hills of Vermont were finished and the character of Vermont as an agricultural State was largely determined, for soil must come from the decomposition and the grinding of rocks, chiefly the former; hence the kind of rock, whether it be limestone, sandrock, schist, or some other sort, affects the fertility of the soil and also its moisture and drainage.

The scenery of the State, the form of its mountains, the number and character of its valleys, gorges, cliffs, etc., all depend upon the kind or kinds of bed-rock. A very long interval, probably many millions of years, now elapsed, during which many minor changes may have taken place; land may have been upheaved and sunk, strata deposited and washed away, whole groups of living creatures have come into existence and been annihilated, but of all this we know nothing so far as nearly the whole State is concerned, and certainly in this county we have no record of any event between the beginning of the Upper Silurian and the end of the Tertiary. During this great interval the North American Continent grew southward beyond Pennsylvania. Thousands of feet, not less than forty thousand and probably more, of limestone, sandstone and shale, were formed, and great beds of it upheaved, crystallized and otherwise changed. The great coal beds east of the Mississippi grew, as generations and hundreds of generations of plants were deposited, as great beds of vegetable debris, and were slowly changed from this into hard coal. After this was the whole of the great middle period, the Mesozoic, and the first part of the last great era, the Cenozoic. In some parts of the State, notably at Brandon, there is a lignite formation, of great interest to geologists, which is of Tertiary age, and similar lignite has been found in small quantities in Colchester, and I believe at one or two other places in this county. If any of this should be found to be of Tertiary age, then we should modify our statements somewhat. Imagination might easily run wild through this vast unknown between the Cincinnati and the Quaternary, but its conclusions would have but little scientific value. There is much, which, reasoning from what we know took place in southern New York and the Middle and Western States, might have happened, but we know very little of what actually took place. There is one thing, however, of which we may feel sure—that during all this time the elements were not idle. The powers of the air are far more potent than we are apt to think,

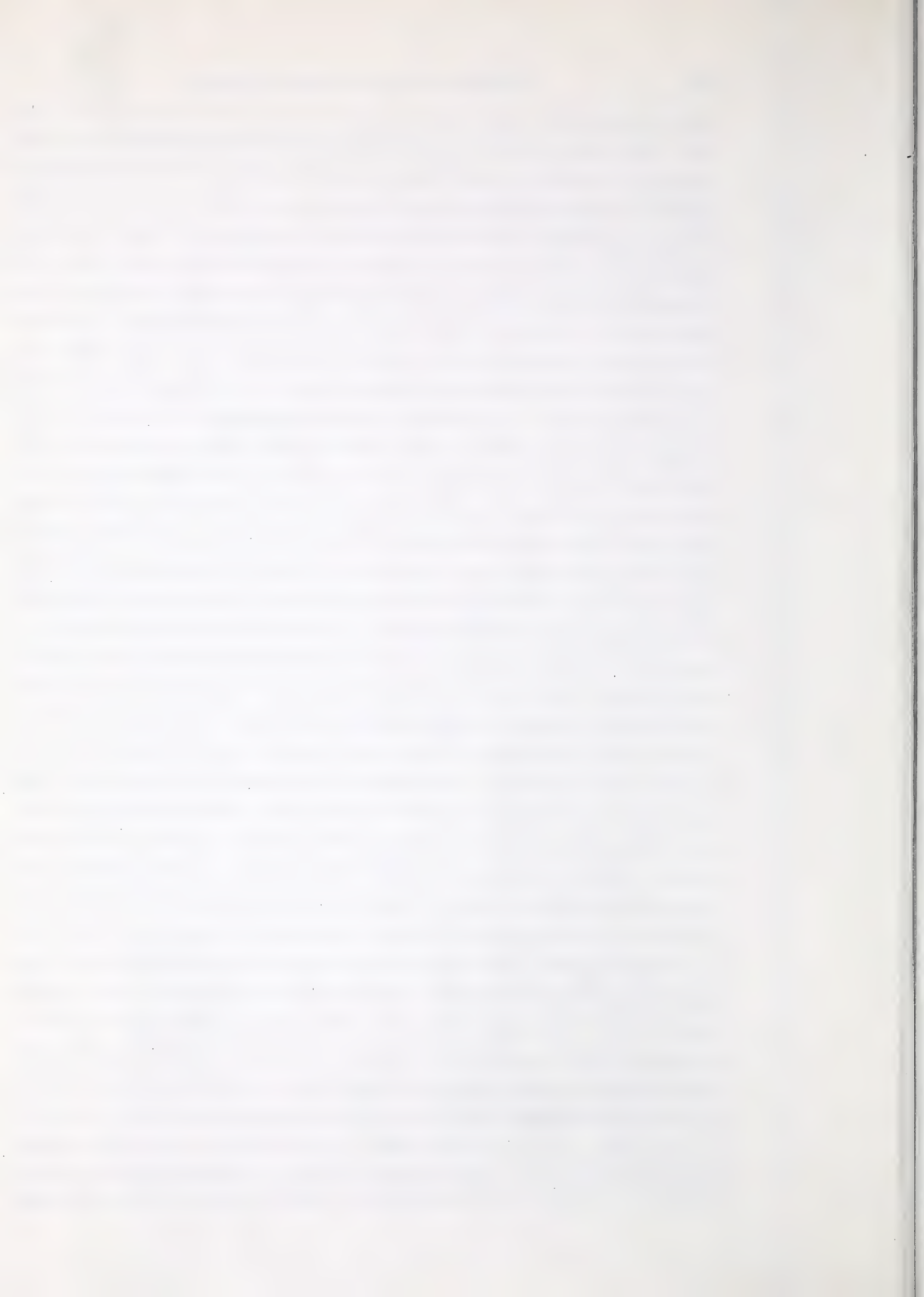


and when they have almost indefinite time in which to act, the results may be astonishing. As soon as any rock mass rises near the surface the waves attack it most relentlessly, and when it rises above the surface it is worn by both waves, and rain and frost. When the land was all elevated and mountains and plain were wholly above the sea, the work of erosion went on, rain drop and rill, rivulet and stream, all wore and furrowed the sides of the mountains and the surface of the plains. Slowly, but constantly, the wearing went on, and little by little the mountains and plains were borne to the sea, and the Vermont of to-day has been carved from the Vermont of Silurian days by these tireless agencies. But while vast changes, both in the physical character and also in the life of Chittenden county, occurred before the closing era of geological time, the Quaternary, there were very great changes still to come, and they were changes wholly unlike any that had heretofore taken place. The reign of fire and of water had for a time passed, and now came a reign of ice. The warm and equable climate which had prevailed for ages gave place to cold and, especially in Canada and the northern part of the continent, the whole country was raised, and upon it accumulated the snow and ice of a winter ages in duration. Just as modern glaciers come from snow masses, so from this continental snow mass a great glacier formed, and at last began to slowly creep south over the continent across the St. Lawrence, down over New England, year after year reaching farther south. Irresistible, relentless, it moved on, crushing, grinding, tearing all that opposed it. It was of such enormous thickness that it moved right on over valley and mountain, covering all except the highest peaks of the White Mountains. Hence, when this period was at its height all New England was one unbroken sheet of ice, with only a few mountain summits like islands along the White Mountain ridge. As this great ice sheet passed by and over ledges and hills, it must break off and rub off irregularities of all sorts, and grind the bits of rock so broken to sand or, finer still, to mud. The glacier has left its mark everywhere it went so plainly, that any one may trace its course and the direction of its motion. In many a place where a ledge has been uncovered by removing the sand or gravel that had been deposited over it, its surface is found strangely smooth, perhaps even polished, and scratched so evenly that it seems a work of design. The polishing and scratching were done by fragments of rock held in the bottom of the great ice mass. Great stones were carried a long distance by the same means, and whenever we find a more or less rounded mass of rock unlike any that is found about it, we may be sure that it came from some northern locality, and that it was brought thence by the glacier. Some of these boulders, as such stones are called, are of great size and weigh thousands of tons. They are found not only on low lands, but on mountains. Between the Nose and Chin on Mansfield there are several. On these places the same sort of scratches are found that we see below, and it is partly because of this that we know that the glacier went over

the tops of our mountains. Scratches have been found as high as 5,500 feet on the White Mountains. Such an ice sheet, thousands of feet thick, and pressing upon the rocks below with enormous force (Professor Dana estimates the pressure of a glacier 4,500 feet thick at two thousand pounds on every square inch)—such a mass moving over the irregular mountain sides, already grooved and worn, would certainly wear them down very rapidly, and it is quite likely that the rounded form of many of our hills and mountains is due in part to this cause. The scratches, or striæ, are a very certain and unmistakable proof of the great glacier; modern glaciers make the same on a small scale. They do not occur anywhere and in any confusion, but exhibit a certain degree of order. They vary from fine lines, which are very common, to coarse lines or small grooves, and occasionally wide and deep grooves appear, such as one which I have in mind in the Connecticut river sandstone, which is about two feet wide and eight feet deep. The striæ may be all in one direction or they may cross, and on Isle La Motte eight distinct sets were made out by Professor Adams. They are usually directed, according to Professor Dana, south-east.

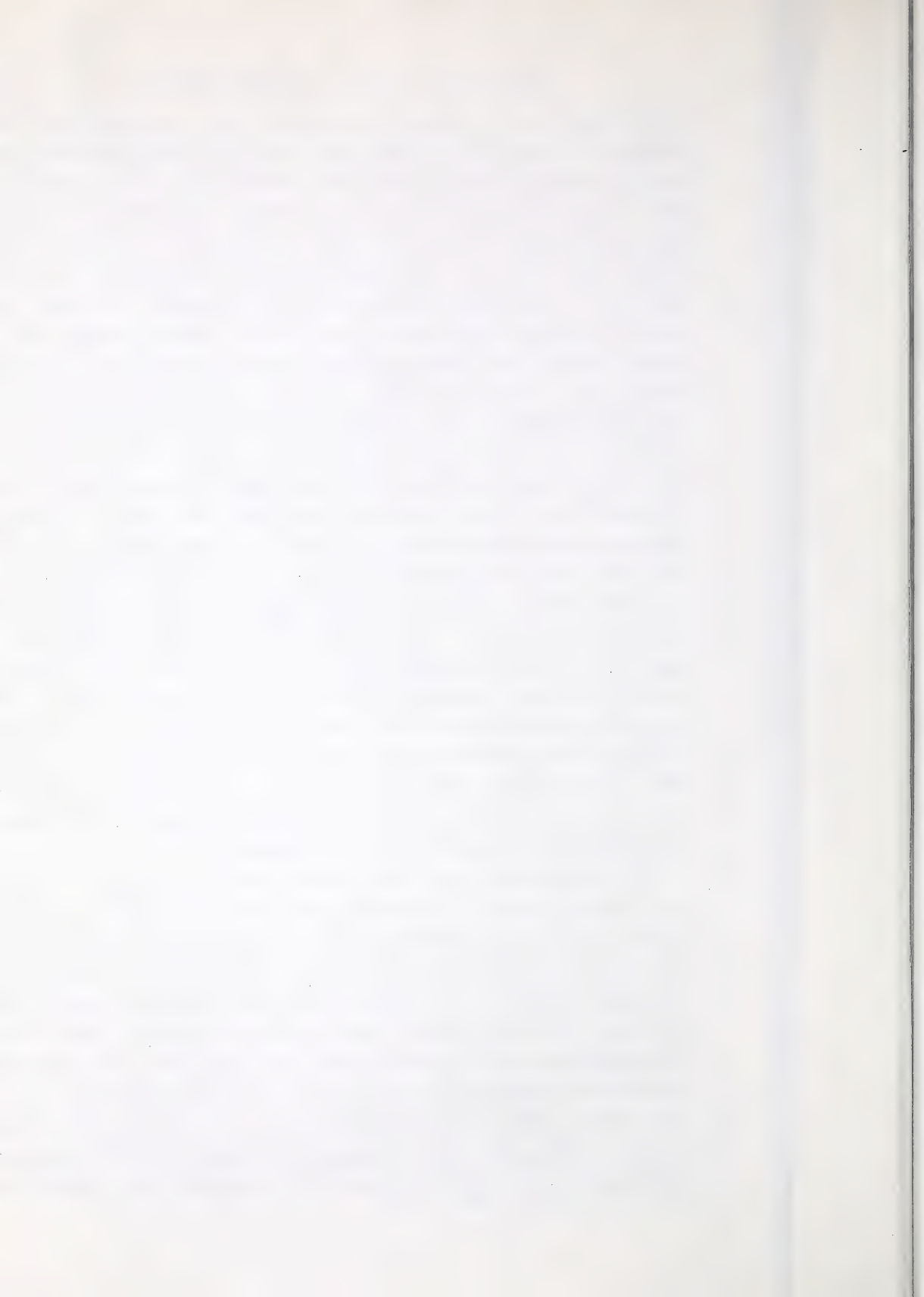
The Quaternary age is divided into three periods: 1. Glacial; 2. Champlain; 3. Terrace; and all of these are represented over the whole county. It was in the early part of the Glacial period that the land was raised over the northern half of North America until it was several hundred feet higher than now in this region, and during this age the great ice sheet, hundreds of miles in length and breadth and hundreds, — yes, thousands of feet in thickness, moved over the surface of the country. At some time during the great interval, which, as we have seen, came between the Silurian and the Quaternary, plants began to grow over the land. Very likely here, as elsewhere, one great group of plants flourished for a time and then gave place to another, to be in turn replaced by still newer forms. However this may have been, we have no reason to doubt that over the whole State an abundant vegetation was growing before the cold of the Glacial period came upon it; and as this came gradually, the plants would be gradually driven southward to a more congenial climate, and animals as well as plants were driven out before the terrible icy foe that was to conquer everything that could not flee before its destructive march. After a time another great change came; the upraised continent began to subside, the cold grew moderate and the ice mass began to melt. As the great glacier melted away northward, local glaciers from Mansfield and Camel's Hump ran across the county towards the Adirondacks; but these small glaciers would not produce any very great effects. The sinking of this region (and the rest of New England sank with it) went on until the land was not only brought to its former level, but carried much below it. This is the Champlain period. From the melting of the ice mass great floods formed over the country, and in their course these would meet with vast masses of sand, gravel and other material accumu-

lated by the glacier, and would seize them and distribute them over the country. The coarser material appears to have been moved during the first part of the period, and the finer later, when the flow of the stream was less turbulent. Some of the material deposited by these torrent streams was arranged in definite layers; some of it was simply piled up in a solid mass. That the material is of different sorts any one may see who will notice the variety of clays and sand thrown up in digging for sewers in most of our streets in Burlington, for all the soil upon which this city is built is of the Champlain age. In some of the beds the material was very nicely sorted by the stream which bore it on. Of course the larger and heavier stones and pebbles would sink soonest, and then that which was a little finer, and then the finest, and beds made up in just this way are found. It is believed that Lake Champlain was at this time 400 feet lower than now, and was not a body of fresh water, but a part of the St. Lawrence Gulf, which reached down the valley of the Hudson even to New York Bay, and was wider than now. As the climate grew milder plants, either such as had been here or new species, appeared. The climate was still much colder than now and the plants were such as now live in Labrador and Greenland, and we find their descendants on the top of the White Mountains. There are about a dozen of these now living on or near the top of Mansfield, never descending to less bleak regions. They are all small plants, easily covered and protected by snow in winter, and growing most delicately and prettily in summer. On Mount Washington there are thirty-seven species of these cold-loving plants. In the latter part of the Champlain there were vast banks of clay deposited, and these Champlain clays are found very high above the present sea level; great banks of sand and gravel were also deposited along the streams, lakes and oceans. Sand and gravel are often found mixed in the same banks, as is the case with the ridge on which the university buildings stand. This ridge is 367 feet above the sea, Essex Center is 452 feet, Williston 402 feet, Colchester Center 225 feet, Charlotte, at the base of Sugar Loaf, 407 feet, Rutland 500 feet, Northfield 724 feet, and all of these towns stand upon deposits of the Champlain period. That Lake Champlain was at this time an arm of the sea is shown by beds of marine shells found on what were its shores. In some places these shells, which are the same species as are now found in salt water, most often *macoma fusca*, *saxicava rugosa*, *mya arenaria* and *mytilus edulus*, though some other species have been found. These are found both in sand and clay. Just before reaching the Heineberg bridge the road goes through a cut in the sands of this period, and on the west side of this road in the sandy bluff the white shells may often be seen without leaving the carriage, and beyond the Mallet's Bay House are similar banks in which there are many of these fossils. Other localities might be given, for they are quite common. From the height of the Champlain clays, which are certainly of aquatic, and, as shown by the fossils, of marine origin, we infer the depth of the ocean at this



time and are forced to conclude that the whole region, except the tops of the mountains, was under water at some time during the Champlain period; and that this sea was inhabited by whales, and probably, if by these, by other animals, we know from the bones which were found in Champlain clays at Charlotte. These bones, which when placed in order, make up a fairly complete skeleton of a small whale, were in a layer of clay 150 feet above the present sea level. In the early part of the Champlain period, as we have seen, the whole surface of the country sank, but towards its close, probably, it was rising again and continued to rise in the next or Terrace period. By this elevation some of the river channels were changed, and many changes in the surface of the county brought about. The Winooski River before this ran, not by the Lime Kilns and under High Bridge, but took a shorter cut, running through a depression which, though very much above the present channel, is still depressed below the surrounding country, and may be noticed where it crosses the road southeast of High Bridge. By following this old channel from the road northwest, a gorge is reached where the river cut its way through the rocks, and on one side the cliffs are so plainly water-worn as to attract even a casual observer. Now this old channel has been raised and the river cut a new one since the beginning of the Terrace epoch. The formations which give the name to this epoch may be seen along any of our rivers and larger streams, as regular steps or terraces, rising one above another. At present they are more or less covered with turf, whose green, fresh growth often renders them very attractive. They vary greatly in size, number and regularity, even on the opposite sides of a stream. They are made of the drift of the former periods. In Essex the upper terraces on the Winooski are 250 feet above the lake, or 340 feet above the sea. In Hinesburg there are terraces 390 feet above the sea. On the Lamoille River there is a terrace 1,120 feet above the sea. Terraces increase in height and number as we go north, for the elevation of the continent was greatest to the southward. And this brings us to the theory of terrace formation.

In examining the present river courses there is often found an old river bed very much wider and deeper than the present, and these beds were filled by the deposits of the Champlain period. As the land was re-elevated after the close of this period, the rivers would cut their channels through the sands and clays, forming each a bank or terrace. As the elevation continued, and with it the rapidity of the current increased, and as also the supply of water grew less, a new and narrower channel would be cut, and by a continuation of the same causes a third would be formed later, and so on. The same conditions would account for terraces anywhere in soft material, as well as in old river beds. With change of elevation in the land through which the river flowed, change in the velocity of the current and in the amount of water, a stream would, whether these conditions changed continuously or intermittently, from time to time change its channel and cut it deeper, if the changes were in



the direction mentioned; and the banks of the new channel would be lower and nearer together than were those of the old. In this way five or six terraces have been formed along some of our rivers. The terraces do not always correspond each to a distinct period of elevation, for they may be formed, even several of them, during a long-continued elevation, or in other ways—as changes in the stream, or different degrees of firmness in the material. Any one of the conditions named, as those which have produced terraces, is by itself sufficient to form them. Necessarily the upper terraces are the oldest, since, from the manner in which they are formed, these must have come first, when the stream was largest and its flood plain most extensive. These are usually of coarser material than those lower. Dr. E. Hitchcock thus describes the general structure of terraces: “The most perfect terrace is an alluvial meadow, annually more or less overflowed and increased by a deposit of mud or sand. Except in rough mountain streams the material is rarely as coarse as pebbles, over an extensive surface, and they are distinctly stratified. Ascending to the second terrace, we almost invariably find it composed of coarser materials—clay beneath and sand or fine gravel above. The third terrace is usually a mixture of sand and gravel, the latter not very coarse, the whole imperfectly stratified, and also sorted—that is, the fragments in each layer have nearly the same size. The fourth terrace differs from the last by its coarser materials and more irregular surface. Above the terrace in our ascent from the river we find other accumulations of decidedly water-worn materials, generally coarser, the fragments of rolled and smoothed rock being sometimes a foot or two in diameter; coarse sand, however, constitutes the greater part of the deposit. Its outline is rounded. In its longest direction it maintains essentially the same level, and often may be seen for many miles” (*Geology of Vermont*, Vol. I, page 94). These are supposed to be ancient sea beaches. Some of the upper terraces cover many acres, or even miles.

All the more important facts respecting terraces may be advantageously observed on the Winooski River. Here, as on most rivers, the terraces occur in groups or basins scattered along the course, and between these they may be either wanting or at least inconspicuous. Along the Winooski we find the lowest and last-formed terrace in the interval north of the railroad track between the bridge and the tunnel, and other meadows similarly situated. This terrace is still forming, since at every flood deposits of sand, alluvium, etc., are left upon it. The next, or second terrace, is less extensive and appears only in places along the river. It occurs between the mouth of the river and Appletree Point above the first, and it extends in a southerly direction to Rock Point. The road from North avenue to Mallet's Bay crosses the terraces for a short distance, but it runs mainly along the fourth terrace, which is much larger than the second or third, until it descends at Heineberg bridge to the first, which it crosses, and rises from this to the third, which forms the high bank

beyond the Mallet's Bay House. On the road to Colchester, beyond Mallet's Bay, the fourth terrace is soon reached and may be followed for miles. Again these four terraces are crossed in going from the depot in Burlington to the college, although the original form is well-nigh obliterated by grading. The depot, lumber yards and shops are on the first terrace, Battery street runs along the second, Church street is on the third, and the high-school building on the fourth; while the university buildings, and indeed Prospect street, is on a ridge of modified drift rising above the highest terrace. The fourth terrace is of great extent. Concerning it Dr. Hitchcock remarks: "This great terrace may be regarded as a delta terrace, extending from Richmond to Rock Point. When the lake was at the level of its summit this terrace must have occupied, besides its present situation, the whole of the valley of the Winooski below Richmond, so that, had the water dried up suddenly, there would have been presented to the eye a vast unbroken plain of sand from Rock Point to Richmond, and from Mallet's Bay, Colchester, and Milton on the north to Williston and South Burlington on the south. Since that period the Winooski has cut out its present channel and formed the lower terrace, and also tributary streams have done their part in excavating their own beds and forming their terraces, while the level of the lake and of the channel of the Winooski were gradually sinking." Inasmuch as the marine shells already mentioned are found in the clay just beneath the sands of the upper terrace, it seems not improbable that it was formed at the delta of the Winooski in the ocean or that part of the ocean which extended down the Champlain valley, and, as the channel of the river sank, the current cut its way through the previously deposited delta. Following the Winooski, five specimens of terrace formation are seen between High Bridge and Essex Junction, and at intervals from there on to Montpelier and beyond.

At some time in the Quaternary, exactly when we may not be able to state, the country was sufficiently settled to afford a habitation to great beasts, the largest land animals that have ever lived. Both the elephant and the mastodon roamed the forests of Vermont, for remains of both have been found in the State, at Richmond and Mount Holly. As these animals browsed the twigs of trees, we know that trees must have existed at the same time, and we also know that this was the case from bits of fossil wood which are found in the drift. It is probable that the vegetable life of the Quaternary was substantially like that which now grows over northern North America, and the same, it is believed, is true of the lower forms of animal life; but the highest animals were different in many respects from those now living in this region. We have seen how, in the first period of the Quaternary, valleys were plowed out, mountains were ground down, rock masses torn and pulverized by the onward movement of the great glacier. Many lake basins were also excavated. Then in the Champlain period this material was distributed over the country, valleys

filled, bare ledges covered, and the surface made less rugged and uneven. Then, in the Terrace period, the finishing process went further; the rivers, reduced from their previous gigantic proportions, excavate and flow in their present channels. All this brought the earth into something like its present condition and fitted it as it probably never had been for the abode of man. By the ordinary processes of weathering ages upon ages must pass before great masses of soil could have been formed from the solid ridges of the Silurian or any other time, but the titanic forces engaged during Quaternary time in a comparatively short time accomplished this great service. We have seen how this region rose during the first period, then sank, so that for a time all except the mountain tops was under water, and it should be noticed that at this time great masses would break off from the glacier and float over the country as icebergs, which in their own way would transport, scratch and tear off the rock masses against which they came. Then this country rose again to its present height. We have seen how all vegetation, driven away or destroyed in the early Quaternary, returned at last, and elephants and allied beasts fed upon the fresh twigs of those ancient forests. At the close of the Quaternary, Lake Champlain was defined about as it is at present. The land on the north had risen so high that all communication with the sea was cut off, the present system of rivers was established, and marine life either perished or accommodated itself to the new order of things, as did some of the fishes and some maritime plants which still linger even from those remote days; for, although latest of geological time, they are far more ancient than the oldest written history.

The life of the entire globe has its exponent in the life of Chittenden county, which we have seen developing from a few sea-weeds and sundry species of worms, mollusks and trilobites in the Cambrian—interesting and wonderful animals for those so near the beginning of life—through the increasing variety and complexity of form found in the Trenton, and over the immense silence of the intervening time when this county was dry land and undoubtedly inhabited, but of which there is no record, to the Quaternary, when vegetation like the present, and animals of the highest grade, perhaps including man himself, lived here, and the county was, so far as physical features are concerned, completed. Is not that true, which was said at first, that the history of this small area is a strange one? And yet every step has its evident meaning; and when, in those remote Silurian times, limestone, or sandstone, or shale was being slowly deposited, it was in accordance with the far-reaching plan which included the whole. Chittenden county is what it is today, because it was what it was then and during all the ages since. Each contributed its share towards the completed whole; nothing was haphazard, nor without design.

CHAPTER II.

INDIAN OCCUPATION AND RELICS.¹

Unsettled Condition of American Archaeology—Evidences of Indian Occupation in this Vicinity—Iroquois and Algonkins—Ancient Settlements in Chittenden County—How Indian Villages were Made—Origin and Relative Age of Vermont Implements—Materials of Implements—Earthenware—Stone—Varieties of Axes—Pipes, Arrows, and Spear Points—Importance of Preserving Specimens.

THE profound past of geology is connected with the recent past of history by a period of unknown extent, our knowledge of which is somewhat vague and uncertain. Its story is recorded in a manner wholly unlike that of geology or history, and is to be interpreted by methods peculiar to itself. This history, which is prehistoric, is archaeology. American archaeology is, as a science, in a somewhat crude and unsettled condition. Before even a tolerably complete system can be arranged for this country, years of investigation and discovery must pass away. Nevertheless very much that is valuable has been obtained, and this must lead to that which is still more important. Few parts of the North American continent are older, geologically, than is the region in which this county is located, but it may be doubted whether this is true archaeologically, and when we compare the probable age of even our oldest relics with that of similar specimens from the Old World, it does not seem likely that they are of so great antiquity. And yet some of our stone objects have been obtained from yellow subsoil, two feet or more below a surface which shows no sign of ever having been disturbed, so that it is not impossible that future study and discovery may lead us to refer our most ancient stone implements to a much more remote period than we have been accustomed to do. How long a time after the close of the Quaternary period, when this region was fully prepared for the residence of man, it remained unoccupied, we do not know and may never know. Most probably the interval between historic and geological time is much less in the Old World than in the New, for in the former history reaches back not two or three hundred, but more than as many thousand years, and archaeology has there been far more completely developed and reduced to order than has been possible here, so that the interval between the present and the geological past is well-nigh bridged. Because of our lack of such historical aids as well as from the nature of the region it is not probable that we shall ever be able to present the archaeology of the Champlain valley in such regular and orderly array as may be done in the case of some parts of Europe. We may not even say with confidence which of our implements are oldest.

¹ Prepared by Professor George H. Perkins.

When America is compared with India, Egypt, or other parts of the East, its antiquities seem of little importance or interest, and they have not attracted very much attention, certainly not from European students, until comparatively recent years; and if the archæology of America as a whole appears barren and uninteresting, what shall we say of that region which is perhaps its most barren portion? Certainly one might travel over our State, going through every part, or even live many years within its borders, and not so much as suspect that there were any materials for archæological study. Probably many have done so. There are in Vermont no ruins, no mounds, nothing to attract the attention of the casual observer, nothing that can be pointed out to strangers; nevertheless there is a history of Vermont which has as yet been written only in part, and cannot be without further study and discovery, although it is a history which is full of strange interest. It is a history written, not on paper or parchment, but on flakes of stone, bits of corroded copper and fragments of earthenware. Its records are stored, not in government archives, but in the ground beneath our forests and meadows. They are to be opened by means of the shovel and pick used with unlimited patience and labor. Such records can only be deciphered slowly and laboriously, and when read we cannot always be sure that they are read aright. When we first begin our task, these bits of stone and burnt clay seem very indecipherable characters from which to glean a history of prehistoric Vermont, and to learn the manners and customs of the savage tribes who occupied this region before white men ever set foot upon it. Yet by diligent and careful study of this apparently unpromising material we may gain not a little that shall prove interesting and valuable. No one at all familiar both with the habits of the Indian tribes of this country and with the physical features of the Champlain valley, especially that portion of it which is now Western Vermont, can doubt that at some time it was occupied by these people, because here are found all the conditions required by the ordinary life of either roving tribes or village Indians. On this account we should expect to find in Chittenden county and over the adjacent region abundant evidence of former occupation. In this expectation, however, we are disappointed in some measure. We do find some such evidence, but by no means is it so conclusive and abundant as might be desired. The earliest historical evidence we have is that of Champlain, who explored the lake which now bears his name in 1609, sailing from the mouth of the Sorel with a party of Algonkians. These Indians occupied Canada and were subject to frequent and troublesome raids which the Iroquois made upon them from the north, these latter holding the territory which is now Vermont, New York, and farther west. In Champlain's time, because of the hostility of the Algonkians, the Iroquois had abandoned many of their settlements in the Champlain valley. He says that "four beautiful islands," which, from his account, must have been Grand Isle and the neighboring islands, were, according to his guides, formerly

inhabited, but because of wars, not then. The region was not wholly desolate, for this explorer tells us that as he sailed on beyond these islands he saw towards the east very high mountains capped with snow, and these could have been no other than Mansfield and Camel's Hump. He asked if the country about these mountains was inhabited, and his savage friends told him that they were by Iroquois, who cultivated fields of grain and vegetables. However, if we may judge by the evidence of the stone implements, etc., that we now find, Vermont for the most part was not generally inhabited in 1600. It was a battle-field and a hunting-ground rather than the home of peaceful tribes. Undoubtedly many a little fleet of canoes glided along its shores, and many a band of dusky warriors crept through its forests, but they did not come to settle; the sounds that broke the silence of the forest were not those of home life, the noise of labor or the cries of children, but rather the horrid revelry about the stake of some tortured captive, or the war whoop and death yell. The first settlers did not enter this region until more than a hundred years after Champlain's visit, and no permanent settlement was established here until 1749. If the Iroquois ever had permanent settlements here they were given up by this time, although roving bands of various tribes doubtless crossed the State from time to time. But there were at this time, or somewhat later, settlements of St. Francis Indians, a minor tribe of Algonkians. It does not seem probable that the Iroquois ever crossed the Green Mountains, unless it may be that now and then a hunting party wandered beyond them. The Algonkians, however, were as numerous east of this range as west. In the history of Coos county Rev. G. Powers mentions a settlement at Newbury which was probably Algonkin. He says, quoting from a letter the accuracy of which he affirms: "On the high ground east of the mouth of Cow Meadow Brook, and south of the three large projecting rocks, were found many indications of an old and extensive Indian settlement. There were many stone implements. Heads of arrows, large quantities of ashes, and the ground burnt over to a great extent, are some of the marks of a long residence there. On the meadow, forty or fifty rods below, near the rocks in the river, was evidently a burying ground. When the first settlers came here the remains of a fort were still visible on the Ox Bow. The size of the fort was plain to be seen. Trees as large as a man's thigh were growing in the circumference of the old fort. A profusion of white flint-stones and heads of arrows may yet be seen scattered over the ground." (*Historical Sketches, etc., of Coos County and Vicinity*; by Rev. Grant Powers; 1841, pp. 39-40.) In Hoskins's *History of Vermont* we find the following: "The Mohicans, a minor tribe of the Iroquois, . . . claimed jurisdiction and had an occasional residence in Vermont. Antiquities of an Indian character are discovered in many parts of the State, particularly upon the largest rivers and Lake Champlain. On the island of South Hero they had a settlement near the sand bar that crosses the lake into Milton;

and another in Colchester, on what are denominated Indian Fields. The St. Francis Indians had a settlement of about fifty huts, and a considerable quantity of cleared land, on which they raised corn, in Swanton." (*History of the State of Vermont*, etc. Nathan Hoskins; 1831, p. 23.) This last named settlement appears to have been of considerable duration, and to have been well and painfully known to the settlers even as far away as Massachusetts and Connecticut, for from it bands were continually setting forth seeking scalps and booty, both of which they too often succeeded in getting. These settlements are mentioned, although outside of the limits of this county, because their occupants had more or less to do with the region, coming here to hunt and fish, passing back and forth through it on their forays, and in many ways identifying themselves with it. As to the ancient settlements our knowledge is necessarily less definite; but that there were such there can be no doubt, for, besides Champlain's testimony, we find here and there evidence sufficient to convince us that there was a time, and it appears to have been wholly prehistoric, when a considerable population inhabited Western Vermont.

How many places there are in this county in which there are indications of ancient habitation is not known; for there are undoubtedly some, perhaps many, that have not been noticed; but we find them here and there in every part of the area. In Essex there are several sandy knolls, over which flint chips, bits of pottery, and occasionally wrought bits of stone, or even perfect implements, are scattered. Sometimes the sand is filled with these witnesses of former occupation, to a depth of several inches. I think we may regard any locality in which fragments of pottery are numerous as a probable village site; for earthenware as made by the Indians was fragile and cost much labor, and it is not supposable that they carried much of it with them when off on a short expedition, but only when they intended to establish a more or less permanent camp. At Porter's Point, in Colchester, there was another settlement; for here we find, besides the flint chips, earthenware, etc., evidences of ancient hearths in charcoal layers and burnt stones. At this place large fragments of earthenware—indeed we have nearly all the fragments of two large jars—were buried several feet in the sand. Some of these I took from the side of a bank where the river had removed the land, five or six feet below the surface, and over them, that is at the surface, was a layer of black earth several inches in thickness, upon which were pines growing. All this shows that the settlement here was very ancient. About Mallet's Bay so many implements have been found that we must believe that somewhere in the neighborhood there was a settlement. And one may say the same of Colchester Point. So, too, on the intervale near the railroad bridge at the foot of Prospect street there are similar indications of a former village. There may have been a settlement nearer the mouth of the river, on the Van Ness farm; for there is a clump of chestnut trees, the only ones growing in this part of the State, though they are



found abundantly in the southern part; and these were probably planted by Indians, who used the nuts for food. Near the mouth of the Lamoille, in Milton, there must have been one or more settlements. A very ancient settlement near Swanton village, just over the town line in Highgate, should be briefly mentioned, although for a full account the reader must be referred to Vol. XXXIV, page 75, of *Proceedings of American Association for the Advancement of Science*. It is one of the most interesting localities ever studied in New England. It is far more ancient than the settlement of the St. Francis Indians mentioned, and these people had no knowledge concerning it, and all the objects found and the circumstances attending their discovery indicate great antiquity. On a low, sandy ridge, covered by a pine forest when the first settlers came into the region, but which was afterward removed, so that the wind had free access to the sandy soil, several graves were first discovered about twenty years ago. Some of these graves were found to be directly beneath the stumps of large trees. Exploration has shown that there were probably many graves, of which twenty or thirty have been found and the contents removed. Many interesting specimens have been taken from the graves, or from the sand above them, some of them showing exceedingly fine workmanship. These are of shell, copper and stone. The bones found were most of them so fragile that they could not be preserved. A very interesting fact respecting these specimens is the close resemblance of many of them to those taken from the mounds of the Ohio valley; and it seems to me probable that, at some ancient time, a small band of the mound-building tribes wandered from place to place toward the east, until finally they reached the banks of the Missisquoi, where they settled and lived for perhaps many years, carrying on the arts of life and performing their strange religious ceremonies. They were probably of a higher civilization and of greater skill in stone work than the tribes about them or which succeeded them. The same people also appear to have roamed into this county; for here one or two peculiar objects, such as have been found nowhere else in the State except in the ancient graves, have been picked up.

Some of the village sites which have been named may very likely have been those of temporary settlements, for these were common among the early tribes, many of whom did not occupy any one place throughout the year. In the spring bands consisting of a greater or less number of persons set out from their winter quarters and, after spending a few weeks in replenishing the exhausted larder by hunting and fishing, finally reached a location that seemed to them suited to their purpose; a hillock or well-drained piece of lowland, always near clear water. The location of the camp or village once chosen, the sturdy warriors throw down their weapons and lay themselves by them on the ground to rest, while the squaws, laying down their heavier burdens, begin at once to build the huts. Saplings, either found growing in the right place,

or cut from the neighboring forest and thrust into the earth, are bent together and tied at the top by bands of bark. Over this light framework the covering is placed. This consists either of tanned skins, large pieces of bark, or mats of plaited rushes and reeds. A hole is left at the top of the tent, through which so much of the smoke from the fire below it as does not prefer to sweep about over the eyes of the inmates and escape in some other way, can make its exit. Another opening left in the side, and more or less fully closed by a hanging skin, serves as the door. Such huts, or lodges, were often conical, but sometimes rectangular. A day or so of vigorous exercise on the part of the squaws, and of meditation and laziness on that of the men as they watch operations, suffices to transform a silent, desolate field into a busy village. The huts having been erected, and all necessary household arrangements completed, the cultivation of a few crops in a rude manner next occupies the attention of the squaws. A clearing is chosen or made near the village, and the soil not very thoroughly stirred, and the seed planted. The implements are hoes and spades, often of wood, sometimes of bone, such as the shoulder blade of an elk or bison, and more rarely of stone. Champlain mentions the following kinds of vegetables raised by the New England tribes among whom he traveled: Corn, which appears to have been the chief crop, beans, squashes, gourds, melons, tobacco, and various roots and herbs. The corn was planted in hills, and on the coast a fish was put into each hill as a fertilizer. Once planted, the crops did not receive much attention until harvest. Then such as had not been used as they ripened were dried and either stored in underground chambers or packed for transportation. In these agricultural labors the men sometimes assisted, though they spent most of their time in hunting, fishing and idleness, when not on the war-path. As the cold autumn weather drew near, the village was taken down and packed in bundles, and the occupants retired into a dense evergreen forest, where they would be sheltered from the severest winds. Improvident and thoughtless as these people were, they often spent the first part of the winter in feasting and revelry and the last in starving and wretchedness, until the return of spring enabled them to obtain new supplies.

It is doubtful if we shall ever be able to determine the relative age of our Vermont stone implements; and still more so that we can ever tell absolutely how ancient this or that is. We may believe, and with reason, that those found several feet below the surface are older than those found on it, but this is about all we can say. Nor can we know with much certainty which of our specimens should be referred to the Algonkins, and which to the Iroquois, and whether there are any that do not belong to either tribe, but to more ancient people, as some have thought. I do not myself believe that we have here, or anywhere else in the United States, any positive proof that any other people than the Red Indians ever occupied any part of it. I should, therefore, be inclined to assign even our most ancient specimens to the ancestors of the In-

dians. There is no doubt that many of our specimens were made by the Iroquois, who probably lived for centuries in this region; nor is there any doubt that since the region was part of the great thoroughfare from Canada to the settlements south, many implements were lost by bands passing to and fro, aside from any settlements which existed. Probably our oldest and finest specimens are of Iroquois origin. Had any large collection of the implements of the St. Francis tribe been gathered at either Newbury or Swanton, it would be of the greatest value for comparison; but this we have not. The only means available is the comparison of our Vermont specimens with those found in Canada and New York; for we know that the former was long occupied exclusively by Algonkins, and the latter by Iroquois. As we make this comparison it soon becomes evident that the more elaborate and attractive of our specimens are mostly like those found in the Mohawk valley and other parts of New York. In no part of New England, I think, are so many relics found which remind us of those found in the West, as in this region. I suppose that this indicates that after the Iroquois retired from the Champlain valley westward, it was not generally occupied by settled tribes, but was merely, as was noticed in the early part of this chapter, a hunting ground over which numerous bands of savages roamed, but in which very few settled. As it is about camps, and especially places where villages have been, that the richest treasures of the relic hunter are found, of course that people who longest and most abundantly occupy any territory leave behind them the largest record. The Iroquois appear to have been much more in the habit of settling permanently than most other tribes. In the Mohawk valley they built log houses, sometimes of large size, and surrounded them with stockades and other defenses, and they may, very probably, have done so on this side of the lake. There is no doubt that some of the places in which we find implements were occupied much longer than others; neither is there any doubt that many village sites have been wholly obliterated by grading, excavation, and other changes in the soil. Very brief inquiries by a collector will convince him, to his sorrow, that this is true, and also that a very great deal of most valuable material has been irretrievably lost, because those who chanced upon it saw no value in it, and either lost or even destroyed it. As we have seen, we have evidence abundant and undoubted that formerly there were villages in this county occupied by the aborigines, but there is, so far as I can find, neither record nor tradition that any existed here when the white men came; and this indicates the greater antiquity. One of the most interesting of these village sites, although it is just over the border of this county, I wish to describe a little more particularly, that it may serve as an example for all. It is in Monkton on the border of Bristol Pond, and about fifteen miles from the lake shore. This pond is approximately a mile long, half as wide, deep and with a muddy bottom; a good place for eels and catfish, both of which were sought by the Indians for food. Immediately adjacent to the pond is a

cedar swamp, west and north of which the ground rises to the uplands in a series of knolls and ridges. In some parts of these fields the soil is clay, in others sand or even gravel. The clay is almost wholly free from stones, except such as have been brought and thrown upon it, and of these there are many. Acres of the uplands when I first visited the place were covered with flakes, chips and even large masses of gray quartzite, such as is found in many parts of the State, though not in this locality; and also many implements of the same material, some of which are large and rude. Hundreds of what were probably agricultural implements have been picked up, as well as numerous arrow and spear-points, knives, axes, pestles, etc. What are known to collectors as hammer-stones, were especially abundant. I presume that literally cart-loads of these have been removed from the region. These hammer-stones are simply water-smoothed pebbles, such as any gravel-bank affords, weighing from half a pound to two or three pounds, and sometimes more. That they were brought to this locality is known by the fact that none such occurs in either the clay or sand, and that they were used by the pitted sides or ends; moreover, a few are somewhat wrought. Not only on the surface are these things found, but, as the plow turns its furrows, we see that as deep as the plowshare reaches, the soil is full of flakes, etc. It seems evident that we not only have here the location of an ancient village, but of one that was occupied for a long time. The amount of quartzite and other stone which was transported from a distance to these fields is very great. I was told by Mr. H. B. Williams, whose farm includes a portion of the ground described, that some fifty years ago, in digging for road material in a part of the ground occupied by the Indians, several skeletons were found, but none of them was saved, and at the time no further explorations were undertaken. There are few data upon which to estimate the age of the objects found in these fields, but it almost certainly antedates the coming of the St. Francis Indians, for, if the village which once existed here had been occupied so recently, certainly some account of it would have come down to us.

Probably no county in the State has afforded so rich returns to relic hunters as has this, unless it may be Franklin, which is also a most interesting region for study and exploration. It is fortunate, too, that the largest collections ever made in the State are in the museum of the University of Vermont, where those interested may study them at any time. I refer to the superb collection of the late Judge Halbert, presented to the college by Mrs. Halbert, and the equally valuable, though somewhat different, collection made at Milton by Mr. P. C. Deming, which was purchased by Mr. E. B. Taft, of Burlington, and by him given to the college. These two collections, together with a considerable number of specimens obtained from Mr. D. B. Griffin, of Essex, and those already in the college museum when these were secured, render this museum able to present a very complete series of the ancient implements, ornaments, etc., of the county. It is interesting to note that Judge Halbert's specimens were mostly obtained

from the valleys of Brown's River, and the Winooski; Mr. Deming's from the Lamaille valley, and in addition there is the large collection recently obtained from Mr. Truax, of Swanton, which is from the Missisquoi valley. It is probable, though this must be somewhat conjectural, that in the Halbert and Deming collections Iroquois work is chiefly represented, while in the Truax collection Algonkin work would predominate; although in this collection there are numerous objects from the ancient graves mentioned previously, and these may very likely belong to neither, but be the work of a different tribe.

We are now prepared to turn from this general study of the archaeology of this county to an inquiry respecting the character of the various objects which have been found. In order to a complete discussion of this portion of my subject, a very extensive series of illustrations would be required; but this is not practicable, nor will it be possible to describe fully even the leading types of objects, without extending the chapter far beyond reasonable limits. Probably the great majority of those who will read these pages will be able, if they choose to do so, to visit as often as they need the college museum, and examine the collection of stone implements. These illustrate far better than any engravings could the leading groups mentioned in the following pages.¹

Here, as elsewhere, the very large majority of our archaeological material consists of objects made from stone, but we also find numerous fragments of earthenware, or pottery, a few of copper, fewer still of shell, and one solitary specimen of worked bone. This latter is simply a prong of a deer's horn, which has been somewhat smoothed and notched around the base. I found it just under a large stump, with some bits of pottery and arrow-points, at the village site in Monkton, described above. It is quite remarkable that bone implements, such as awls, needles, etc., have not been found in this region, especially when we consider that just across the lake they have been discovered, though not in great abundance.

Fresh water clams are common enough in our streams and lake, and some of them grow to a large size; but we find little evidence that their shells were much used by the early tribes. Occasionally more or less decayed shells are found, with bits of pottery, etc., but not often, and I do not know that any specimen of a shell that was worked to serve as an implement has ever been found here. Shell beads, quite a number of them, have been found in the Swanton graves, but curiously they are all made from shells found only in the south, and sea shells at that. It may be that valves of fresh-water clams were used just as they were found, for scrapers, spoons, trowels, etc., and when done with thrown away, in which case we could not know that they had ever been used. Implements and ornaments made of copper, though rare, are not wanting in

¹ Through the courtesy of the publishers of *The American Naturalist*, we are able to give the illustrations which accompany this chapter, all of which are from drawings made by the writer to illustrate articles published in Vols. V, XIII, XV, XIX and XX, of that periodical. To these articles those desiring more complete accounts of the objects named are referred.

our collections. They are found in various parts of the State, but more, I think, have been found in this county than anywhere else. Most of our copper specimens are knives and spear-points, or perhaps they are all knives; but a gouge, one or two chisel-shaped objects, small bars and tubular beads, have also been found. The gouge (shown one-half full size, Figure 1, Number 5) which is one of the rarest of implements in copper, was found in Milton. It weighs just a pound; is seven inches long, and nearly two inches wide at the edge. The knives vary from two to four, or five inches in length. The beads have been found only in Swanton. They are made by rolling sheet-copper into cylinders. All of our specimens are of native copper, hammered into the desired form. It is most likely that this copper was obtained, by some sort of traffic, from the tribes about Lake Superior, or it may have been captured in battle; but in any case it shows intercourse of some sort with the northern tribes, just as the beads, made from southern sea-shells, shows the same with southern tribes. I suppose that in all, about a dozen copper specimens have been found in this county.

Specimens of earthenware are always of great interest to archæologists, and especially in localities where they are rarely found. Such objects are very uncommon everywhere in New England, but in the Champlain valley they are more frequent. At present there are only four entire jars known that were found in New England, and two of these, and they are by far the largest and finest, were found in this county. Besides these two entire jars, we have nearly all the pieces of four more, and large fragments of many others, from which we can gain a very complete and accurate idea as to the character of the pottery used by our predecessors. There is evidence enough to show that earthenware jars were very commonly used by the Indians. The present scarcity of pottery is due, not to its former rarity, but to the fragile nature of the materials of which it was made. All our pottery is of the same general nature, a paste of clay in which were mixed angular bits of quartz, feldspar, mica, and sometimes pounded clam-shells. The coarseness of the ware of course depends largely upon the size of these bits of stone. In some cases they were ground fine, so that an almost homogeneous paste was formed; in others they are large enough to be very readily seen wherever there is a fracture. Sometimes they show on the surface, but usually they do not, because, after the jar was shaped, it received a coating, both inside and outside, of smooth clay. When we remember that the squaws, in making their pottery, had no wheel to aid in shaping it, the regularity of the globular forms is very wonderful. It will be readily seen that earthenware made as has been described, when buried in the ground, soaked and dried, frozen and thawed, would usually soon become a shapeless mass of mud. Unless well burned it would be destroyed; but sometimes it was burned so thoroughly that it has withstood all destructive agencies, and is as firm and hard to-day as when first made. In most cases the rim was

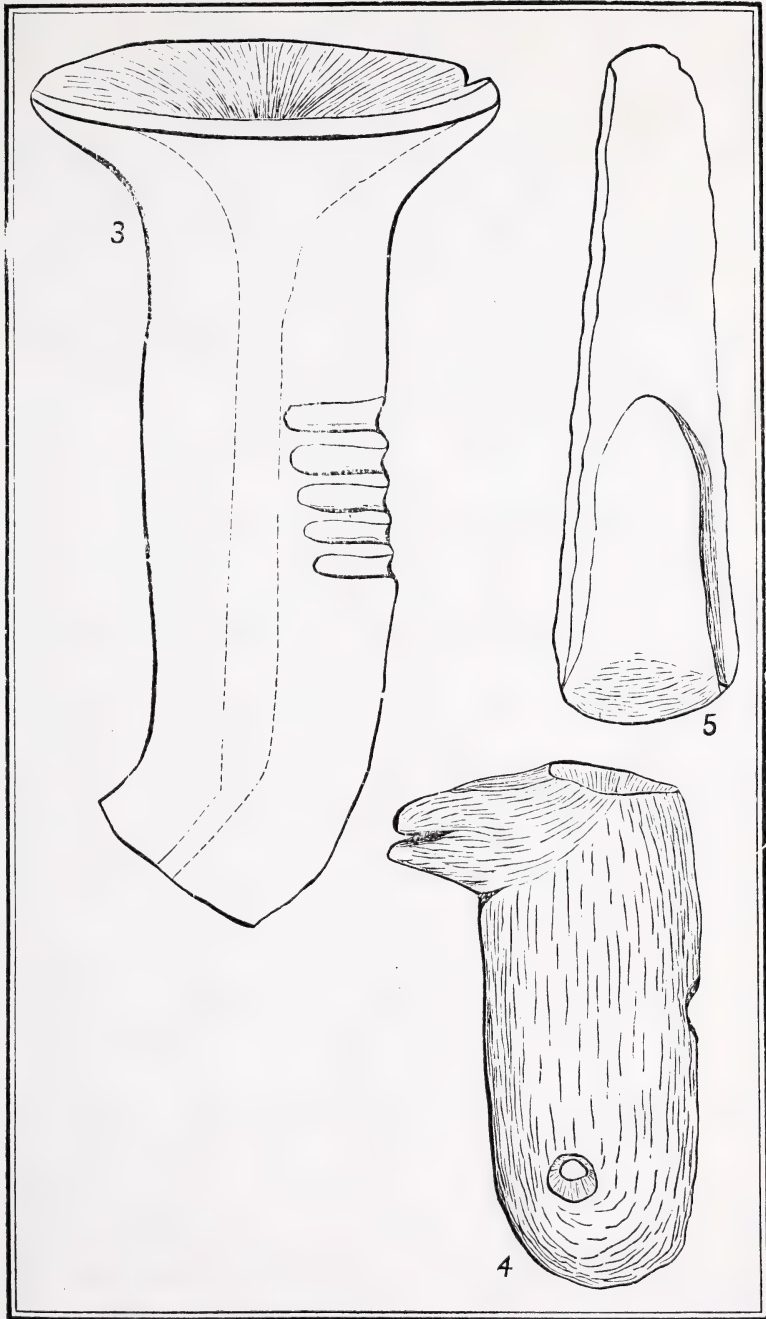


FIGURE 1.

thicker and more completely burned than any other part, and this is most fortunate, because if there were any decoration upon a jar it was always upon the rim, even when nowhere else; and this portion of the jars being that which is preserved, even when all the rest has crumbled, we are able to form a much better idea as to the variety and style of ornament used, than would otherwise be possible. Whatever adornment was used it always consisted of indented or impressed figures. We never find raised designs, nor those painted; neither are jars found moulded into the form of men or animals, as is so common in the pottery found in the West. Our jars are of very variable color, owing in part to the different effect of burning upon different materials, and in part to difference in degree of heat to which different parts were exposed. Some are black, some are reddish-brown, some are buff or light brown. The decoration is very variable, and often really elegant, when all things are taken into account. It consists of many designs, simple in themselves, but often combined into elaborate designs. Lines are especially common. They usually appear to have been drawn on the moist clay with a smooth, blunt point, since the line, or it is rather a fine groove, is not V-shaped, at least not often, but U-shaped. The width of the grooves is quite different in different jars, but they are never wide, and rarely coarse or carelessly drawn. They not uncommonly are carried entirely around the upper edge of a jar, and also a few inches below, the intervening space being filled with a different marking or pattern. Very commonly the rim bears two or three, or more, of these continuous grooves around it. By means of groups of short lines drawn parallel, and either horizontally, perpendicularly, or obliquely, one group being at an angle with the next and often perpendicular to it, very neat and variable designs are readily obtained by simply changing the inclination of the lines. Rarely the lines cross, thus making squares or diamonds. Certain figures, or patterns, were used with the lines. These were stamped with a tube, or other object, making circles, rings, crescents, triangles, squares, dots, key-shaped or ziz-zag figures, and other indescribable forms. Stamps made for the purpose appear to have been used, for we sometimes find a pattern, like saw teeth perhaps, which shows at the end of each inch or two a break or a lap, where the stamp was not exactly placed. Some of the figures are very small and delicately stamped, others may be a fourth of an inch long or more, and deeply stamped. As the lines are often arranged in groups, so are these figures, though they are quite as often in rows, or bands made of several rows. I do not remember that any specimen is ornamented with lines alone, but some are covered with figures alone, without lines, unless it be one or two about the upper edge. A singular feature of many, indeed I think it is true of most jars, is that these figures are much more deeply stamped on one side than the other. This was intentional, because, in any jar it is always the same side that is deepest, and from this the figure slopes up to the general surface. The larger and coarser jars were not

usually ornamented except just about the rim, the remainder of the surface being left smooth; but the smaller were covered with lines or figures over the upper half or two-thirds. A few were even ornamented over an inch or two of the inside of the rim. The lower portion of all the jars seems to have been more or less globular. Very large jars were probably not used. The largest of which I have heard is one mentioned in Thompson's *Vermont*, which is said to have held twenty quarts; but I think that they were rarely larger than the largest in the college museum, which holds twelve quarts, and many held only three or four quarts. It is very difficult to describe the various shapes of our jars without the aid of illustrations. Some were, like the Pomeroy jar, nearly spherical, others were compressed to a rectangular form above, as is the Colchester jar; some were higher than wide, others the reverse. In some the rim was vertical, in others flaring, and somewhat recurved in a few. Occasionally its edge is notched or scalloped, and now and then holes were punched an inch or so below it, presumably that thongs might be tied in them so that it could be readily hung up.

Enough has been said, I think, to prove very conclusively that the ladies of prehistoric Vermont had no little skill in decorating such pottery as they had; and in judging of its beauty and merits we must be careful not to use wrong standards. It must be judged by itself, and the purposes for which it was designed should not be overlooked, nor the material of which it was made. When we remember the rude, unsettled life of the makers and the very simple style of their domestic arrangements, it is well-nigh marvelous that we find so much real elegance of form, gracefulness and regularity of design, variety of pattern, and general attractiveness in their earthenware. The smaller and more beautiful jars were usually for storing dried fruit, or whatever might be placed in them, while the larger and coarser jars were cooking-pots. When Mis-to-ga-be gave a grand feast the table service and the kitchen utensils were all one. Into a large pot hung over the fire was poured water, into which the chief cook threw, apparently at random, bear's meat and fat, venison, fish, corn, beans, garlic, and whatever else might be in the lodge at the time. The guests squatted about the stewing mess, and when it was done each fished out whatever he could lay hold of; and as the supplies diminished they were renewed, enormous quantities of food being disposed of. Indeed, early travelers describe these feasts and their sufferings in being compelled by courtesy to join in them, with great minuteness and ludicrous pathos, enumerating among their sufferings in the new country the stuffing which an Indian feast required. For such a repast the thinnest and most delicate ware was not sought, but rather the thickest and strongest, else the whole *menu* would, by an unfortunate cracking of the pot, fall into the ashes below and become rather too gritty for even an Indian's taste. Strong, therefore, they made their cooking jars, so far as they were able, and some of them were nearly half an inch thick, though

most were less. In closing this discussion of our ancient pottery I think I can do no better than, by way of illustration of what has been said, describe briefly the two entire jars in the university museum. The smaller jar is probably the most elaborate specimen of ancient ceramics ever found in the eastern United States. It is poorly figured in Thompson's *Vermont*, and very much better in *Harper's Magazine* for August, 1882, page 354. It is of a form which, though peculiar, is not unique in this region, for there are fragments of several other jars which were apparently of the same general form, and the ornamentation of these is similar to that of this. The usual globular form is found only in the lower part of this jar. Above this the form changes to rectangular and the sides incline toward each other, so that they are nearer above than below. From the bottom to the beginning of the square portion is about two and a half inches, and the sides above are about the same width. Above this the circular form is again seen, in a neck or wide groove, above which the square form reappears. This time the sides incline outward to the rim, which is about two inches above the neck. The ornamenting is done entirely in rings and lines. Beginning at the lower portion, we find the globular part plain. About the bottom of the quadrangular part is a row of rings deeply stamped, which extends around the jar. These rings are rather less than half an inch in diameter and are of nearly uniform size. They appear as if stamped with a cylindrical, hollow bone. Just above the rings are two lines. Above these the surface of each side is covered with diagonal, vertical, and horizontal lines so arranged as to make a V-shaped figure in the center, filled in with short horizontal lines, while oblique and vertical lines fill the space between it and the outer sides. Above these are two horizontal lines. The corners where these four sides meet are flattened, and ornamented by a vertical row of circles. A row also runs around that portion which has been called the neck. The flat sides above this neck are ornamented in a manner similar to that of the sides below, though the arrangement of lines is somewhat different. Around the inner edge of the rim there is a band of short lines. The entire height of the jar is seven and a half inches, the diameter across the top about six inches; capacity, as before stated, nine pints. It was found in Colchester, under the roots of a large decayed oak. Our other jar is almost wholly destitute of decoration, nor has it the peculiar form of the first-mentioned jar, since it is nearly spherical, with a short, vertical rim or neck. About this neck is a band of oblique parallel lines about an inch wide, below which is a line of notch-like grooves; and another band is about the top, and still another inside of the rim. This jar was found in Bolton. It is about nine and a half inches high and its diameter at the largest part is very nearly the same, although at the neck it is only seven and a half inches. It is about one fourth of an inch thick at the bottom, twice as much at the top, and holds twelve quarts.

Not only jars were made of earthenware, but pipes. Some of these were

quite rough on the outside, others very smooth and of fine material. They are generally shaped very much like the large end of a cornet—that is, they are straight and cylindrical, with one end flaring. They are three or four inches long and about one inch in diameter, except just at the flaring end, which may be two inches across. These earthenware pipes are very rare. The finest of these pipes is shown in Figure 1, Number 3.

Not only dishes of pottery were used by the people we are studying, but they also used those made of soapstone, or freestone. These dishes do not appear to have been very common, and they were heavy and clumsy compared with the earthenware jars. Probably they were not ornamented as a rule, though we have fragments of one which bears rectangular figures arranged in a double row. These soapstone dishes were heavy and shallow and generally of an oval form, if we can judge from the few large pieces which have been found.

Everywhere the greater part of archæological collections consists of objects made of stone, and this is especially true of this region, where metal was used so little by the early inhabitants. People too rude to manufacture some sort of tools from the pebbles that lie within their hands' reach, are rude indeed, and rarely found. Probably no material has been wrought so universally and with so much labor and patience as stone, and it is chiefly from their work in stone that we must learn what we can of any prehistoric people. Accordingly we turn with interest to the thousands of stone ornaments and implements which have been found within the limits of the county, although, because of the abundant record which the earthenware gives us, we are not so wholly shut up to the testimony of the stone work as we should be in some localities. We shall do well to remind ourselves and our friends, especially those who are confident that they can accurately assign its use to each article found, that it is not possible to conjecture even, much less know, the purpose for which stone implements, etc., were designed by their makers, unless one is familiar both with the accounts of the pioneers of the white race in America, those who saw the red men in the condition in which they lived before the influence of civilization reached them, and also with the customs of modern savage tribes. Very often these people accomplish an object in a different way and by the aid of different tools from any known to civilization, and one who fails to remember this will surely be misled. New England is not looked to by archæologists as a rich field for prosecuting their studies; nor is it. Yet by dint of diligent search this county and those north and south of it have been forced to yield a harvest which, if not rich, is certainly very well worth the gathering. I think that even archæologists may be surprised to learn that some of the stone implements found here are as elegant in form, material and workmanship, as far as it goes, as any of those found in either Europe or America; but I am sure that we have in our college collection specimens that

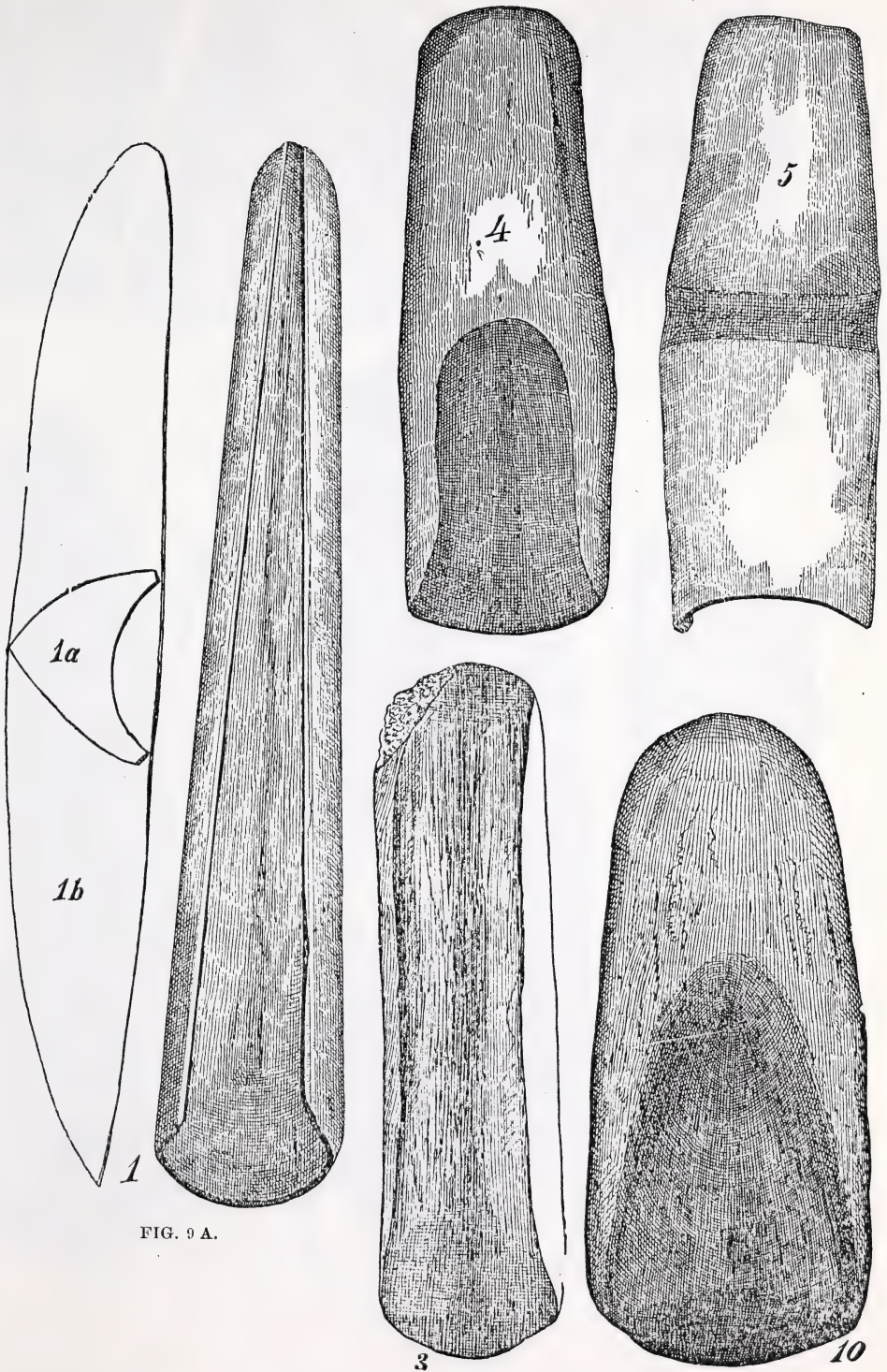
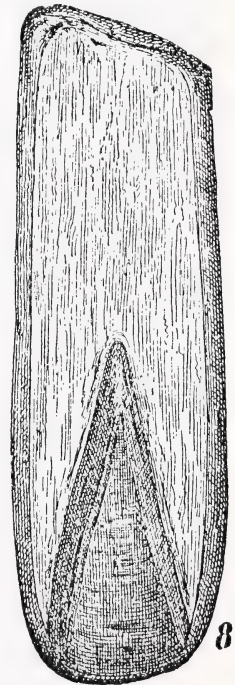
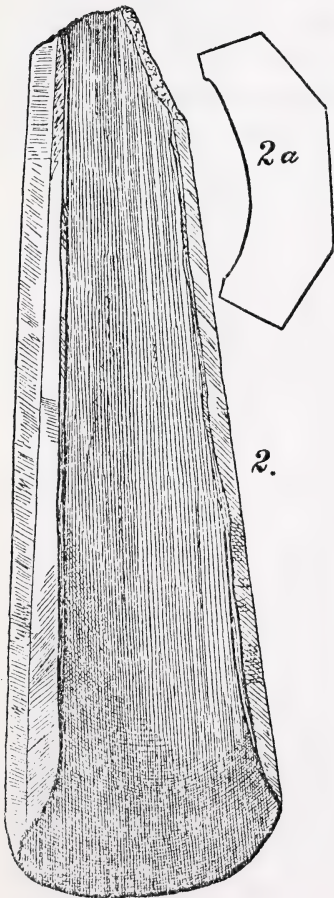
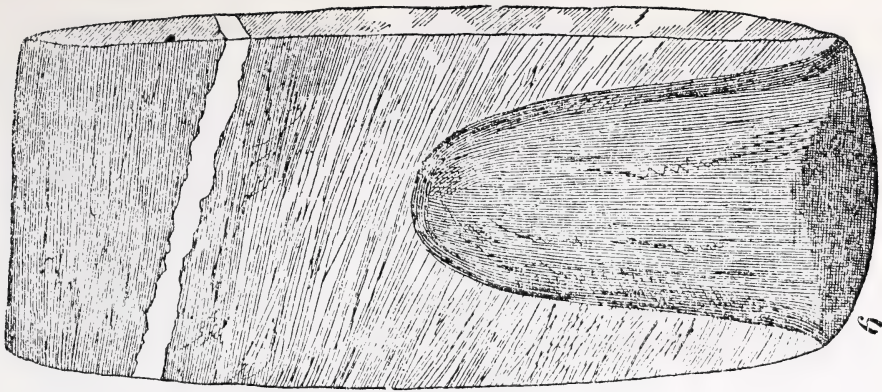


FIG. 9 A.



justify such a statement. In variety this may be inferior to many regions, and we have no carving equal to that found on the pipes from the Ohio mounds, but there are no finer celts, gouges or gorgets than are some of those from Essex and Colchester. There is no class of implements found in this county which is more characteristic of the locality than the so-called "gouges" (Figures 2-10). By this I do not mean that this implement is not found elsewhere, but that nowhere is it found in such relative abundance and so great variety as in Western Vermont. Here the gouges form a very important part of our collections, and not even the ornaments are more beautifully wrought or of handsomer material. They are of all sizes, shapes and kinds of stone, yet they are very rarely ill-formed or rudely finished, but in most specimens are regular in shape and smooth, if not polished, over the whole surface (as is Figure 9), and this notwithstanding the fact that not infrequently they were made from granite or basalt, or some similarly hard and intractable material. In length they are from three to nineteen inches. The groove, which is, of course, the characteristic feature, is as variable as the size and form. Some of the gouges are deeply grooved throughout their entire length, as in Figures 2, 3, 9, while others are only so much grooved as to save them from being celts or chisels. The groove may be wide and shallow, as in Figure 10, or narrow and deep, as in Figure 21, Number 2. The body of the gouge may also be much wider than thick, as Figure 6, or it may be cylindrical, or triangular, or square, in cross sections. Besides the hard material mentioned, softer rock, such as talcose schist, slate or limestone, was used. Some specimens are furnished with a gouge end and a chisel end, as Figure 7, and some have an edge at each end, as Figure 3.

It is not reasonable to suppose that an instrument so varied in all its characteristics (scarcely any two among them all are alike) was always used for one definite object, but rather that different gouges served different uses. Some may have been used for excavating dug-out canoes, which we know were used; some for dressing skins, removing fat, etc.; others for other uses. Because gouges have been most abundantly found in maple-sugar making regions, some have guessed that they were used in tapping the trees; but I see no reason for accepting this view, and the form of a large number of our specimens renders it highly improbable. It is noticeable and very singular that few of our gouges appear to have been used for any sort of work, since they are as perfect as when they first left the hands of the maker. So far as I can discover, we have no account of the gouge and its use in the narratives of early explorers. Champlain must have seen many of them used, but he rarely speaks of the implements of the savages with much detail, and not at all of this. We know that some of the Southern tribes used shell or bone gouges for removing the charred wood from the log that was to be transformed into a canoe. In any case we must admit that, considering the facilities which the aborigines possessed for working stone, the amount of labor expended upon some of our

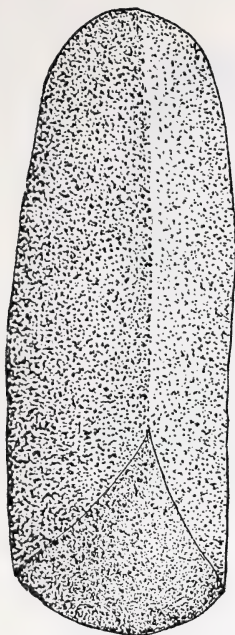


FIGURE 14.



FIGURE 16.



FIGURE 13.



FIGURE 17.



FIGURE 12.

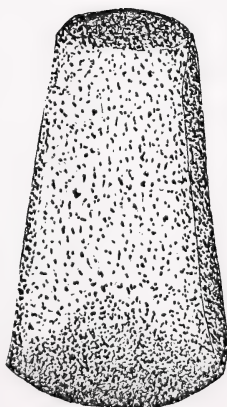


FIGURE 15.

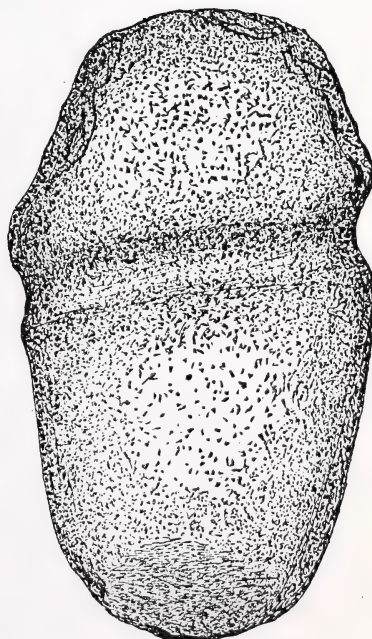


FIGURE 18.



FIGURE 11.

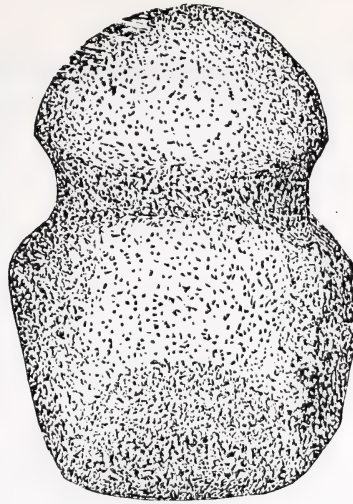


FIGURE 19.

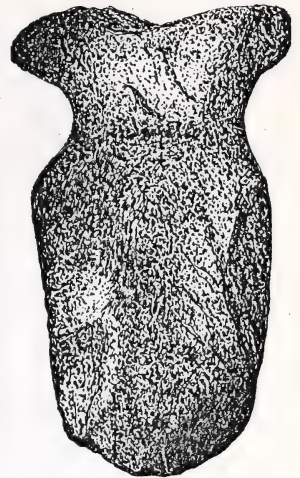


FIGURE 20.

largest gouges was simply prodigious.¹ Another very interesting class of objects are the celts, often popularly called chisels. They may have served as chisels sometimes, but not usually; they were for the most part, undoubtedly, used as axes. Very likely the first implement which primitive men used was a pebble, which they made serviceable as a hammer for cracking nuts or breaking heads. From a pebble used just as it was found, they advanced to one which was hammered with another pebble until it was more easily held or in any way better served its purposes. Then after a time it occurred to some one to rub a flat pebble upon another until a blunt edge was produced. A very rude instrument this, but as it was his one implement with which he must perform much of the labor which the rude necessities of his life required, man would learn to accomplish very much by its aid. With it he felled trees and hewed them into canoes, built huts, slew his enemies, or dug in the earth for roots. A simple beginning, indeed, was this rudely-edged pebble; and yet it was the first step in the long and toilsome series by which man has risen from savagery to civilization. The man of the rude stone axe was a *man*, and therefore he was the forerunner of the man of the steam-engine

¹ Figures 2-10 show some of the more common forms of gouges. Figure 2 is of basalt, well formed and finished; 2 A shows a cross section, giving the peculiar form of this specimen. 3 is a double-edged gouge, also an uncommon form. 4 and 5 show the back and front sides, reduced one-half. This is of a fine-grained, greenish talcose rock; the surface is finely polished. 6 is a chisel gouge, shown full size, of polished talcose schist. 7 is a ruder specimen, with a very peculiar edge. 8 shows, one-half size, a very finely-made gouge in which the groove is pointed above. 9 is a superb gouge, the full length of which is 11½ inches. It is beautifully made and polished. 1 A shows a transverse, and 1 B is a longitudinal section, from which the form can be well made out. 10 shows a specimen of the wide and short gouges. 21, No. 2, shows a much reduced figure of a most elegant gouge of cylindrical form. It is very regular in form, finely polished, and in every way a most admirable piece of stone work. It is over a foot long, of light green stone.

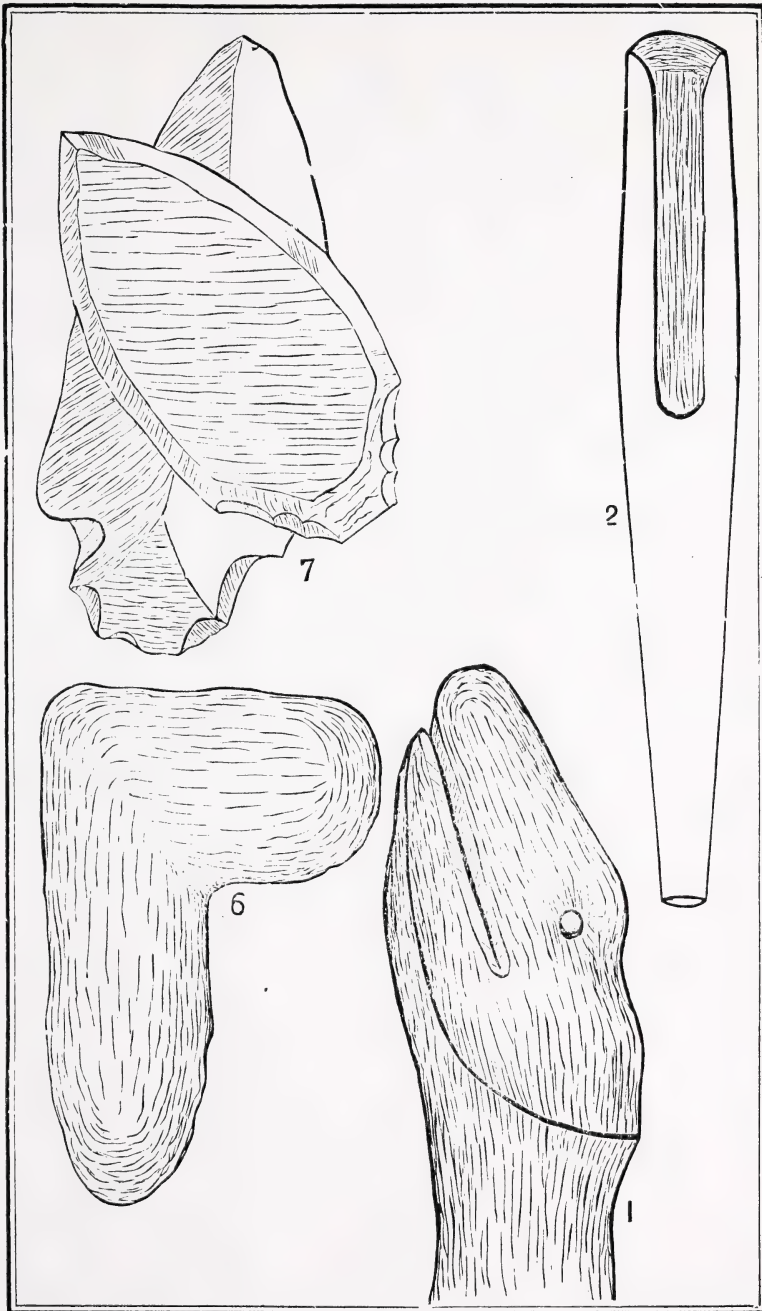


FIGURE 21.

and the telegraph. Doubtless the first axes were used without handles, simply held in the hand. It would seem that no long experience of this sort of chopping would be necessary to impress upon the workman the need of something to spare the hand the shock of the blows, and at length handles were used, at least upon some of the axes. Possibly the pitch from pine or spruce was collected from the forests, and a mass of it attached to the end of the celt, thus furnishing it with a substitute for a handle, as modern Australians sometimes do. Very probably the ingenious mode of attaching a handle to a stone axe, which was known to more southern tribes, was in use here. Having, by perhaps years of labor, brought the stone axe to the desired form, the owner went to the forest, and selected a suitable branch vigorously growing on a tree. This branch was cleft and the axe inserted into it and bound in place. It was then left for weeks, or even months, until the wood had grown firmly about the stone. The branch was then severed from the tree and shaped as the owner chose. That such a method was possible shows the honesty of the people. Would it be practicable to obtain an axe with a well-fixed handle in this way now? Would not the modern inhabitant of Chittenden county be very likely to leave his axe, never to see it again, should he try the experiment? And yet these old stone axes were far more valuable to the owner than any modern steel axe could be. Stone axes are found all over the world, and some of the forms are common to all localities. Each has, however, some peculiar form, and many varieties of celts are found in Vermont, and most of them are found in this county. Most are ungrooved, some are grooved, and a few are notched. Some of the celts were made, obviously, to be used without a handle as hand-axes, as Figure 11.¹ These are short, thick celts, with the upper end rounded so as to fit into the palm of the hand. They are small and well made. Something of the same variety in form, material, etc., already noticed in the gouges is seen in the celts, though not to so great an extent. Some are very rude, being little more than either water-worn pebbles or bits split from a larger mass, one end of which is ground to an edge, the rest of the stone remaining untouched. From these rudest of all our implements we can gradually pass to finer and finer specimens, until we reach in our best celts those which are well-nigh unsurpassed in excellence of material or finish. Very many celts are not polished, and, though more or less regular in form, they still show either the irregularities of surface caused by fracture from a large mass or by some instrument which left little pits, or both. Our best celts, however, are not only smooth, but finely polished. All the more common rocks, hard and soft, found in the State, were used in the manufacture of celts, as well as some of the rarer kinds. Granite, trap, sandstone, mica schist were often used, while less commonly slate, quartz, porphyry, and serpentine were chosen. Some of the serpentine celts are very handsome, and it is remarkable that a

¹All these figures are one-half full size.

material so well suited to the purpose and so beautiful when wrought, should not have been more frequently used, since there are large beds of it in several parts of the State; but with the exception of the few celts mentioned, I have seen no implements made of serpentine. Apparently the celt and gouge were intimately connected, for we find not only, as we have seen, in the same implement at opposite ends as in Figure 6, but from the straight-edged celt to the concave-edged gouge, there is a regular and gradual series. Even when the whole implement is very rude the edge is true and smooth. Its curvature is different in different specimens, never exactly straight, although sometimes very nearly so, it bends more or less strongly from side to side. The inclination, or bevel, is always very variable. In a few instances this is very short and abrupt, but usually there is a very gradual slope from the general surface to the edge, as in a modern axe. In size our celts vary from little hand-axes or hatchets two or three inches long, to large, and often, though not always, clumsy specimens ten or twelve inches long, the more common size being five or six inches long. There is no evident relation between length, breadth and thickness. Some of the longest celts are thinner than most of those which are much shorter, and some of the shorter are wider than some that are longer. In most cases the length is much greater than the width (as in Figure 12) and always much more than the thickness. In cross-section some are oval, some quadrilateral, some circular. All of our specimens may be conveniently placed under four heads, those that are much longer than wide or thick, those quadrangular in outline, those narrower at one end than at the other, and those that are triangular. Most of our longest and largest celts are of the first class, Figures 12, 13 and 14. Some of them are rude, some very well finished, occasionally they were ground at each end, and some may possibly have had a handle attached in the middle, as a few are narrowed at that point, though not so decidedly as to make it certain that this was intentional. In one specimen, Figure 13, from Addison county, the edges at either end are transverse, and in Figure 14 we have the section diamond-shaped. Usually of small size, though now and then a larger specimen occurs, are what we may call quadrangular celts, those in which the length does not greatly exceed the width. These celts are less carefully made and finished, as a whole, than those of other classes, and seem to have been designed for rough work. They are not usually large, though one in our collection is nine inches long and rather more than four inches wide; but most are not half so large. Another group is similar in form to the last named, but in these one end is narrower than the other, and often both ends are sharpened (Figure 15). Some of our handsomest specimens belong to this class, and most of them are well made and of fine-grained material, such as could be polished readily. Some of them closely resemble some of the axes found in the Swiss lakes and other parts of Europe. It is an interesting proof of the fact that the human mind tends to work in much the same manner

everywhere, that we find almost exact duplicates of the stone axes found in this county, not only in other parts of North America, but also in Europe, Asia, and Pacific Islands. In studying stone implements in a comparative way the student is often almost startled by the similarity of objects found in widely different localities. Other celts are triangular in outline. These are, some of them, beautiful specimens of stone work. The form is not a common one among our celts, and when found they are usually of iron-stone, porphyry, quartz, or some very hard, compact material. Most of our celts are much wider than thick. They do not appear to have been made as often of a water-worn pebble as from a bit of a ledge or boulder split off for the purpose. Some authors speak of globular celts, wrought from a thick pebble, but we do not find such here. Lafiteau tells us that some of the stone axes which he saw were not made in one lifetime, but were handed down from father to son, and some of our Vermont specimens might well be of this sort. Perhaps the curious specimen shown in Figure 21, Number 6, should be regarded as a sort of double-edged celt. Notched and grooved axes are found in this county, as they are in other parts of the State, but nowhere commonly.

It is interesting to notice how we can arrange series of specimens showing what we may call the evolution of the grooved axe from the celt, just as we have done in the case of the gouge. In one implement the groove is longitudinal, in the other transverse; and in each case the change from the simple, rude celt involved skill and labor. What I have called notched axes are intermediate between celts and regularly grooved axes (Figures 16 and 17). They are celts in which the sides are drawn in so that they are broadly and deeply notched, presumably that a handle may be more firmly or conveniently attached. As the notches are only on the side, it may be that some of them were used as adzes, and this may be said of many of the celts; or the notches may have been made merely to enable one holding the implement in the hand to grasp it more readily and firmly. They are nearly all small axes—that is, from four to six inches long, two or three wide, and from three-fourths of an inch to an inch thick. When the notches extend entirely around the axe they form a groove, and we have the typical grooved axe. This, in this section, is always of considerable size. Elsewhere little axes, the so-called "toy axes," are found; but we never find a grooved axe here less than five or six inches long. On the other hand, we never find such large and heavy axes as are many of those found in the West and South, where they are sometimes picked up weighing ten or even fifteen pounds. The Vermont axes (Figures 18, 19, and 20) are most commonly from five to seven inches long and two to four pounds in weight. The largest which I have seen is rather more than nine inches long and weighs four pounds. The groove is a little above the middle and parallel with the edge, as a rule. There are specimens, however, in which the groove is oblique, as in Figure 18, and a few in which both groove and

edge are oblique, in opposite directions. There can be no doubt that this position of the groove was intentional; but that of the edge may be due to re-sharpening after a bit had been broken from one corner. Some of our grooved axes were made from flat, water-worn pebbles, and the upper portion is left untouched, though most appear to have been ground and picked from rough pieces broken from a ledge or large mass. In general outline our axes are wider and shorter than most Western axes, and, as has been seen, lighter. We do not find grooved axes so finely smoothed and polished as are the best celts and gouges. The edge is always smooth and so, often, is the groove; but the rest of the surface is covered with little pits, made as if by a pointed hammer. One side is often much less convex than the other and this flat surface is smoother than the other, a feature we can readily understand when found in hand-axes and skin-dressers, in which one side might have been held down and thus become smoother; but it is quite difficult to understand the reason for it in large axes. Some of our stone axes have very good edges for stone axes, but not such as to encourage a white man to do much chopping; and many archæologists have supposed that the Indians did not use them for cutting, but only attempted to bruise a tree or log, depending upon fire to do most of the work. Others have thought that they were largely used to break ice in winter fishing. Certainly the best stone axe compares poorly with a fine steel axe; but yet I think the stone axe was a far more efficient instrument in the hands of a stalwart Indian than many have supposed. Early travelers speak of the stone axe as a cutting instrument. Champlain mentions the felling of trees often in his narrative, and by stone axes, although iron ones had already begun to be used. In describing the usual mode of arranging the camp when the enemy is supposed to be near, he tells us that one evening, as soon as the Indians had chosen a place for their camp—and this was probably on Grand Isle—they began at once to cut down trees to make a barricade; and he says that they know how to do this so well that in two hours they make so strong a defense that five hundred of their enemies would not be able to break through without a great loss of life. These were Algonkins; but elsewhere he speaks of tree cutting by Iroquois in a similar way, and nowhere mentions fire as an aid in the process.

Corn, acorns, nuts, seeds, and similar substances formed an important part of the ordinary diet of an Indian family. That these might be readily cooked they were pounded in a stone mortar with a stone pestle until a coarse meal was obtained, which was undoubtedly often re-enforced by bits of the mortar and pestle. The mortars were made by digging out a bowl-shaped cavity in any large stone and sometimes several, and on either side, so that in some cases the bottoms broke through and the mortar became useless. These mortars must have been common in ancient villages, but we find very few of them now. Pestles are more numerous, though they are prized as among the most precious of our archæological treasures. I think that many of the so-called pestles were

never intended or used for pounding, but rather that they were stone clubs. These latter are long, slender, carefully made, and in this region often have the upper end more or less rudely carved, so that it bears a resemblance to the head of some animal (Figure 21, Number 1). The longest are from twenty-five to thirty inches from end to end. They are always cylindrical and well made. The undoubted pestles are of various forms; some are nearly square, others oval, others cylindrical; some are flat on two sides and convex on the other two; some are of nearly uniform size throughout; others are largest in the middle and taper toward the ends, which are rounded and smooth. They are always much shorter than the clubs and usually of greater diameter. Some appear to have been used not as pestles for pounding, but as rollers, for crushing and rolling, since we find both ends worn and polished, as if by long friction with the hands.

The use of tobacco in pipes (there is no evidence that it was used in any other way) must have originated in America in very early times, for all over the United States, wherever stone relics occur, pipes are found; and perhaps no objects exhibit such skill and care in their workmanship as do these. No one who has seen them can have failed to admire the exquisite carving of some of the pipes from the mounds. Such work as this we do not find in Vermont; but we do find besides earthenware pipes a few of stone of different sorts, some of them shaped much like the modern clay pipe, others quite unlike this (Figure 1, Number 4). They are all polished and of compact, handsome material. One of these is shown in Figure 1, Number 3. Although we cannot doubt that the prehistoric Vermonter smoked his pipe, the practice does not appear to have been very universal, for a dozen pipes sufficed, apparently, for the whole State; so that either very few used the weed or else there must have been an amazing activity in borrowing and lending. Or perhaps the ancient Vermonter discovered that a very serviceable pipe could be made from a corn-cob; and thus the lusty warriors, when they were about home in their everyday clothes—which in their case meant almost none at all—regaled themselves with a common and inexpensive cob pipe; but when they had daubed themselves with ochre, soot, clay, or whatever else was needed to make them attractive, and gathered together for a grand pow-wow, the stone pipe was brought out and passed around. I think it most probable that to our stock of undoubted stone pipes should be added certain curious stone tubes which have been found chiefly in the graves near Swanton, mentioned previously. They are, like many Indian pipes, more like a large cigar-holder than a pipe, being straight, and shaped (at least some of them are) much like a base-ball club, from seven to thirteen inches long, and an inch or less in diameter. They are beautifully regular and smooth, and the labor of making them, and especially of boring through them from end to end, must have been great. There is a group of stone objects found in many portions of the United States, as well as

this county, which have always greatly puzzled students of stone implements. They are, so far as appears, of no practical use, but are very carefully made, finely polished, and often of very pretty material. By common consent they are regarded as ornaments, badges of office, or amulets.

The rarest form of this sort of object is the "bird's-head stone," so called because it is carved stone resembling, generally rather remotely, the head and neck of a bird. Only two typical specimens of this have been found in the State, both at Swanton; but several of the same general character have been found, one of them in South Burlington. There are, at the base of the neck, holes drilled at each end, showing that they were tied or suspended. Probably of the same sort are the "boat-stones." As the name indicates, these are canoe-shaped objects; some long and slender, others short and deep. These, too, are pierced with holes near each end. Some very beautiful examples of this class have been found in Essex and Colchester. Gorgets, or "two-hole stones," are thin, flat, more or less quadrangular objects, often made in this region of red or purple slate. They are sometimes convex on the sides; sometimes the corners are cut off. They are from three to six inches long, and two to four inches wide, and from one-fourth to one-half of an inch thick. Adair tells us of a priest among some of the Southern Indians who wore what he calls a breast-plate during certain ceremonies, and the description of this shows that it was much like our two-holed stones, except in material, for it was made of shell. What are called sceptres, or "banner-stones," are also found here and there in this county. They must have cost a greater amount of labor than either of the other groups of ornamental stones, for they are larger, less simple in form, and are perforated through the middle by a hole which may be half an inch in diameter. The labor of drilling a hole of this size through three or four inches of granite, or some such rock, in itself could not have been small. The banner-stones are of many shapes; often more or less crescent-shaped, some like a modern pick-ax in miniature, and of beautifully veined and polished stone; others are more or less oval, or quadrangular, with rounded corners and so on. Some of them are made of easily worked stone, but most are of slate or a harder material. Whatever may have been the use of these objects, whether for a personal decoration, or ceremonial observances, or batons of office, they were certainly carefully and laboriously fashioned. It is strange that with all the evident care in the making of these objects, many kinds of our most attractive stone were left unnoticed. Serpentine was used in the celts, but in no other implement or object. Marble, in all its abundance or variety, was almost entirely overlooked; a single "bird's-head stone" is all that I have seen made from it. The same may be said of the finely-veined slates found all along the shore of the lake, from Shelburne Point to Alburgh. Perhaps we should class with ornamental objects one or two ovoid specimens with a knob at one end of each. These may have been sinkers of fishing-lines or nets, or

pendants. A very interesting class of specimens, which seem to be very rare everywhere outside of the Champlain valley, includes certain knives, or possibly some may have been spear-points, made from a thin plate of slate, red and purple roofing slate usually. They are sometimes polished, but not always, and of very regular form, and their special peculiarity is found in the haft, as shown in Figure 21, Number 7, along each side of which is a series of notches, large in one specimen, small in another. Some of them are so long and slender that it is difficult to understand how they could have been used for any purpose. The longest is nine inches and the shortest is about two inches long. The width is from an inch to an inch and a half. These slate knives are found in about equal abundance on both sides of Lake Champlain, and they are also found in the Mohawk valley, and very rarely elsewhere. Knives of slate of other shapes are found in many localities, but these, shaped like large spear heads, are not. All of the various objects hitherto mentioned were fashioned according to the taste of the maker by rubbing or grinding; but there are many implements, found in all localities in which hard, brittle rock occurs, which were not ground, but flaked or chipped into the desired form. For some purposes this is better than grinding. A knife or arrow-point can be made from a block of quartz in this way not only more easily, but with a far keener edge than could be obtained by grinding. Therefore flaked or chipped objects, usually of silicious material, form an important part of our collections. Among chipped implements we find the uniformity already noticed in implements from widely separated localities, and made by different races, displayed in a remarkable degree. Chipped flint arrow-points and other larger objects found in Madras and other parts of the East, are exactly duplicated in form in this county, and this similarity extends through a very considerable series of specimens. However, here as elsewhere, many of the specimens found are more or less characteristic of the particular locality in which they occur, for every maker had his own idea of form and proportion, which controlled his work and gave to it a certain degree of individuality. Different tribes and nations also, while shaping their utensils, etc., very much alike in many respects, manifest some inclination to work in certain directions and produce certain forms rather than others. Hence a skilled observer can usually tell with at least approximate accuracy the locality of any large collection of stone objects which may come to his notice. The classes or groups into which chipped or flaked implements may be separated are very numerous; and besides those that can be assigned to some special group, there are not a few which perplex us greatly and which cannot be placed in any group. It should perhaps be noticed that, although American archæologists speak often of flint implements, true flint is not found in this country. The term, however, is a convenient one, and includes a variety of quartzose or silicious rocks, some of which very closely resemble the flint of Europe. In most places the arrow, spear or other



points are made of some stone that is found in ledges, or at least in abundance near by; and in Vermont a very large number of our specimens of this sort are made of a very pretty bluish-gray quartzite, varying in shade from almost white to dark gray. On this account a collection of our chipped specimens does not present so varied and, possibly, so attractive an appearance as one found in a region where mottled or variously colored stone was used. I suppose we must admit that as a whole our collections are of duller and more uniform color than those from western or southern regions. Nevertheless we find single specimens as perfectly formed, delicately edged and pointed, and of as beautifully hued material as can anywhere be seen; and there are many of these, although they do not make up the greater part of our collections. There can be no doubt that the Indians who occupied Vermont in former times cultivated the soil, nor that they used some sort of hoes and spades; but unquestioned agricultural implements are not common. It may be that we do not recognize them, and that some of our knives or axes were hoes or spades; it may be that these tools were most often of wood or bone, as we know they were sometimes, and have perished. There are some large flaked specimens, seven or eight inches long and three or four wide, the use of which, if they are not spades, is not known; and there are many smaller, oval or quadrangular specimens, which most probably were also hoes and spades. Some of these would try the patience of a modern farmer sorely; but we must remember that a very slight spading and hoeing satisfied these ancient agriculturists, and they may have used much smaller tools than we should naturally suppose. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that in several localities where we know there were permanent villages no large spades or hoes have been found, although numerous small ones, or what may have been such, do occur.

We are told that small flint hatchets, some of them not more than half an inch long, were in use at the coming of the first Europeans, and we find specimens which were probably used as hatchets all over the State. In finishing arrows, and in other tasks, scrapers were used; and we find a great variety of these, some of them not more than half an inch in either diameter, some several inches. The scraper, once known, is easily recognized; for it has a peculiarly beveled edge, very abrupt, with the bevel all on one side, and in many specimens it is worn by use and presents a rounded, polished border. The most common form is oval, but several others are not infrequently found. Some of them are simply flakes, used as they flew from the mass from which they were struck; others are finely re-chipped.

We have seen that the art of drilling stone was well known to the aborigines, and of course they must have had drills. In making holes several inches long, such as we find in some of the pipes and banner-stones, stone drills would not have served the purpose, and we find striæ, which show that these were made either by means of a reed or stick with sand; but holes, such as those found in

the gorgets, were evidently made by a different sort of drill, and this we find among our chipped specimens; a slender, pointed instrument, the end often worn smooth with perhaps a T-shaped handle. Some of the drills were shaped like arrow-points, but the rounded and worn point reveals their true character. Clumsy and coarsely made drills are common, but many are very nicely made and must have been very serviceable articles, although they are brittle and easily broken; and this often happened, for broken drills are more common than entire ones everywhere. Most of the drills are only an inch or so long, but now and then we find one which is three or four inches and not more than half an inch wide. Knives including all forms were very commonly used in ancient as well as in modern times, but the form of the old stone knife is often very unlike that of the modern steel blade. There is no doubt that very many specimens which are called spear-points because of their form, were really knives; indeed, the spear-point or lance-head and knife may often have been made in the same way and be indistinguishable. The edge of the stone knife was often not only along one side, but about the entire margin, and especially across the end away from the handle, as is the stone knife of some modern savage tribes. Some of the stone knives were attached to handles, many were not. The more common forms are oval, oblong, triangular, crescentic, leaf-shaped, circular, and almost any form may be found among these tools. Some are rude, mere flakes of quartz or hornstone, wholly unwrought, others are very carefully made; some are several inches long, some are not more than one; the edge is not always very keen, but specimens are found which could, in lack of anything better, be made quite serviceable even by a white man. Here, as everywhere, in our judgment of savages and their arts we must be careful not to decide upon the utility of any implement by trying it ourselves, and if useless in our unskilled hands, condemning it as of necessity useless in any hands. There is no doubt at all that the hard stone knives were exceedingly serviceable in hands that had learned how to use them. We find that savages sometimes prefer their stone implements to those of steel and iron which the white trader carries to them. This is not a common experience, but it has happened more than once. An African traveler tells us that a tribe among whom he journeyed cut up a rhinoceros more neatly and quickly with their stone knives than his men could with their steel knives. And some of the northwest coast tribes of America could hollow their canoes with the shell and stone adzes to which they had long been accustomed, better than with those of English steel. While no one would think of denying the obvious fact that iron and steel are much better than shell and stone for the manufacture of tools, yet it has sometimes happened that the iron in the hands of the savage was less to his liking than the long-used stone, and that not from mere prejudice; but because actually less efficient. The knives as a class are of less beautiful material than the spear-points, although, as has been pointed out, it is probably not pos-

sible to distinguish between them in all cases, and on that account we cannot speak with entire certainty concerning either. Some of the spear and lance-points are made from milky or smoky quartz, others from yellow or red jasper or other handsome material; and these are very attractive specimens and really ornamental in themselves, aside from the interest which the archæologist feels in them. Some of our finest spear-points are among the largest, and may well have been used not merely as weapons, but as ornaments, in the ceremonies of which the early occupants of this country were so fond. That the Indians used large spear-points we know from trustworthy testimony. Our largest specimens are six or seven inches long and of variable width, some being very narrow and slender, others wide at the base. This base is sometimes cut off abruptly, sometimes prolonged in a stem or haft, and this latter is the usual form. Some are barbed, though this feature is not common, and still less commonly do we find the base notched once or twice on each side. Some of the spear-points are very thin, others thick and strong. It has been suggested that some of these were used as fishing-spears, some for hunting and some for war-spears; but, while it is quite likely that all of these kinds were used, yet we have not I think any sufficient basis for a classification of this sort, and, doubtless, if an Indian on the war-path saw occasion his battle-spear went whizzing after a deer or splashing after a large fish. As it is not always possible to separate the spear-points from the knives, so it is also impossible to draw the line between spear-points and arrow-points. So far as all modern observations go the arrow-point was always small, that is, half an inch or at most an inch long; and it is altogether probable that ancient archers used no heavier bows nor larger arrows than modern. On this account I am always inclined to doubt the accuracy of a classification which includes among arrow-points anything more than an inch long, unless it be an exceptionally light and slender specimen. Peter Kalm, *Travels in North America*, London, 1771, says: "At the end of their arrows they fasten narrow, angulated pieces of stone; these points were commonly flints or quartzes, but sometimes likewise another kind of stone. Some employed the bones of animals or claws of birds and beasts. Some of these ancient harpoons are very blunt and it seems that Indians might kill birds and small quadrupeds with them, but whether they could enter deep into the body of a great beast or of man by the velocity they get from the bow, I cannot ascertain; yet some have been found very sharp and well made." Probably the blunt points, and they are found everywhere, were used to kill or at least stun by the force of impact, and could be used only in hunting birds or small animals; but we know that modern savages are able to give tremendous force to a well-pointed arrow and there is no reason to doubt its power in the hands of their ancestors.

In discussing our arrow-points we are embarrassed by the great number and variety of the specimens, and it is wholly impossible to convey any satisfactory idea by verbal description merely. Only as one looks over a large col-



lection can be gain an adequate conception of the great diversity in form, finish and material which is found among our arrow-points. Many persons have wondered how it was possible for the Indians to make so slender and fragile points, as some of our specimens are, from so hard and brittle material. We guard our finest treasures as if they were made of glass, in danger of destruction from any slight fall, or at least of losing their sharp point and narrow barb. The perplexity arises from a wrong idea as to the method followed by the ancient arrow-makers. While very probably any Indian in need of a spear or arrow would be able to chip from a bit of quartz something which would answer his immediate need, the finer points were made by expert workmen, and the arrow-maker was an important man in many tribes when the first settlers reached the country, and undoubtedly had been for a long time. Probably not only arrow-points, but knives, drills, scrapers, and all the smaller chipped or flaked implements were made in much the same manner, and in ancient, as in modern times, the first large flakes were struck from a mass of quartz or flint by sharp, quick blows, or very likely the larger mass was heated and then plunged into water, and thus shattered. After this the process was carried on, not by blows, but by a steady, even pressure against the edge of the piece that was to be an arrow-point. Mr. Paul Schumacher, in one of the *Bulletins of the United States Geological Survey*, describes this in an account of a visit to the Klamath Indians, when he met the last arrow-maker of the tribe, and saw him at his work. After reducing a block of stone to flakes, these were sorted according to size; one was then chosen, wrapped in buckskin, and held in the palm of the left hand. In the right was a stick about eighteen inches long, like the shaft of an arrow. To the end of this was fastened a blunt, somewhat curved point, brought to a sharp edge on one side, made of the tooth of a sea lion, a bit of elk horn, or some other hard, tough material. The buckskin covering the flake is removed from the edge to be worked, and chip after chip is broken by a firm, steady pressure now in one direction, now in another. The first chips are largest, then as the work approaches completion, finer and finer chips are removed. The barbs and points are finished by the use of a bone needle, in the same manner as the larger implement. The worker begins at the point and chips from that towards the base. Other tribes made their points in a somewhat different manner, though the difference is in the minor details of the process, rather than in its general principles. As a whole our arrow-points are larger than those found in many localities, especially those of the Pacific coast. We rarely find a point less than half an inch long, and very few so small as this. The most common form is a simple triangle, without stem or barbs, and very probably this was the original form of the arrow and spear-point the world over, for it seems that which primitive man would most naturally hit upon; and from this all the other forms could have been gradually developed, until the graceful and effective sharp-pointed and

barbed specimens that adorn our collections were attainable. Between the simple, straight-edged point, and the most elaborate, with stem and barbs, we find in this county all grades. Some are of translucent quartz, others of pure white quartz, and very handsome they are, though for some reason, best known to the makers, these beautiful materials were not commonly used. Still more rare and very pretty are points made of smoky quartz. Variously hued and veined jasper was also used; some of it was probably obtained from the West, where it occurs, as it does not in this State except very rarely, in the boulder drift. Different localities are characterized by a predominance of specimens of a certain form which is, perhaps, very rare elsewhere. For example, over a few acres of meadow or upland most of the points found are broad, thin, and well formed; in another field they are more clumsily made, narrow and thick; here many barbed and stemmed points are found, there these are rare, though others are common. These localities may not be very near each other, but they are all to be found within the limits of the county. There are also other localities where all sorts of points are found, with no single or few forms noticeably common.

During the last ten years the western portion of Vermont, especially that portion of it included in Chittenden and Franklin counties, has been much more diligently and systematically studied than has any other part of the State before, and as a result we have a much more complete knowledge of the archæology of this region than has been possible heretofore. The more thoroughly this county has been searched, the more abundant and varied have the objects discovered proved, and the more complete and interesting the story which they tell. Had there been enthusiastic collectors who recognized the value of the stone implements which were from time to time picked up, only to be thrown away as worthless, a hundred years or more ago, a very large amount of most valuable material would have been preserved, which, through ignorance and thoughtlessness, has been wholly lost. One of the sorest trials which the collector meets is the oft-repeated and detailed account of this or that specimen which would have been of great value to him, but which has been lost or actually thrown away by the inappreciative finder. Were all, or a part, of this lost material at hand, the ancient history of this county might be more satisfactorily written. Without doubt new specimens, many of them, will yet be found; our soil is proving much less barren in these things than has been supposed, and it may contain unexpected treasures for the reward of the diligent searcher. Every forest-covered hillside, every turfy meadow, even the sand-banks and barren plains of our county, may conceal beneath their surface much that we would very gladly have, and some of which we shall have sooner or later. Any chance thrust of the spade, or furrow turned by the plow, any wind-swept sand-ridge or freshet-washed ravine, may add something important to our ancient history, something which we shall be glad to read; neverthe-

less, we may well believe that the general outlines of this history, as they have been sketched in the preceding pages, will not be essentially changed by any future discoveries ; and yet, who knows ?

CHAPTER III.

LAKE CHAMPLAIN BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

Discovery and Voyage of Champlain—French Forts and Settlements—Occupation of this County—Seigniories Annulled—War Between French and English—Expeditions Against the French—Massacre of Fort William Henry—Campaign of 1758—Attack on Fort Ticonderoga—Events of 1759—Rogers's Expedition—Reduction of Montreal.

FOR more than one hundred years after the discovery of the American continent by Christopher Columbus, in 1492, this beautiful Champlain valley lay concealed from sight of the civilized peoples of the earth. In 1534 James Cartier, in the service of France, discovered the gulf and river to which he afterward gave the name of St. Lawrence. In the following year he returned with three ships, which he left at anchor between the Island of Orleans and the shore, and ascended the St. Lawrence two hundred miles farther with his boats, to the Indian town of Hochelaga, to which he gave the more euphonious name of Mont-Real (Mount-Royal). Two days afterward (October 4, 1535) he departed, and passed the winter with his party at the Island of Orleans. In 1540 Cartier visited Canada the third time and attempted to found a colony; but the attempt resulted disastrously.

In the year 1603, Samuel de Champlain, a nobleman of France, visited the several places which Cartier had described, and returned to his country filled with the burning zeal of an explorer, determined to procure assistance and establish a colony. In 1608 the French court fitted out a fleet and placed it under his command. He arrived at Quebec in the early part of July. Here he remained until the following spring, clearing the land, building houses, and preparing the soil for cultivation. Learning from the Indians, the Algonkins, who inhabited the territory north of the St. Lawrence, that there was a large body of water to the south between them and a powerful tribe of Indians, the Iroquois, who were their enemies, he resolved to explore it. He set out on the 10th of April, 1709, in his *chaloupe*, accompanied by several of his friends and a number of Indians in their birch-bark canoes, and arrived at the Falls of Chambly in June. Here he was joined by a war party of sixty Algonkins and Hurons. All but two of his French companions left him, however, and he was obliged to trust to the fidelity of his copper-colored friends during the rest of his journey. Notwithstanding these discouragements he pushed on, passing the



Falls of Chambly by carrying the canoes, baggage, and arms around them. On the 2d of July he left the rapids, stayed that night at St. Theresa, nine miles above the falls, and on the morning of the 4th of July entered the lake to which he afterward gave his own name.

The lake was known among the aboriginal Indians as Pe-Tonbonque, or "The Waters which Lie Between," viz., between them and the Iroquois; the Iroquois themselves called it Caniaderi-Guarunte, that is, the "Lake that is the Gate of the Country;" while the Dutch and English called it Corlear, after a Dutchman, from Schenectady, who was drowned in its waters near Fort Cassin in 1665.

It has become well settled by circumstantial evidence that Champlain, on his first voyage up the lake, landed on the site of the present city of Burlington. In the second volume of his history of his voyages, page 196, he says, referring to his advance from St. Johns: "Continuing our route upon the west side of the lake, I saw on the east side very high mountains capped with snow. I asked the Indians if those parts were inhabited? They answered 'Yes, and that there were in those parts beautiful valleys and fields fertile in corn, with an innumerable variety of other fruits, and that the lake extended close to the mountains, where canoes could go.'" He says further that other mountains were soon discovered south upon the west side of the lake, which the Indians informed him were in the land of their enemies. On page 195 he says that he found upon the shores in the vicinity of the lake large chestnut trees, which were the only ones he had seen "since his first voyage to this country."

The mountains referred to in the first sentence of the foregoing quotation are undoubtedly Mount Mansfield and Camel's Hump, while the statement that the lake extended close to the mountains, where canoes could go, means nothing if it does not refer to the Winooski River. Champlain does not, however, distinctly say that he crossed to this side of the lake. But as the entire west side constituted the hunting-ground of the Iroquois, who came down from their country beyond Lake George, it is scarcely to be believed that he and his party would venture farther south on that side than the mouth of the Ausable River, or the south end of Valcour Island, but rather that they would cross to this side, which afforded a far better view, and placed them at a safe distance from their enemies. This opinion is corroborated by the statement that chestnut trees were found upon the shore; for there is but one place on either side of the lake about which such a statement could be made, viz., on land now known as the Van Ness farm, on the brow of the hill in Burlington, just south of the meadows upon the Winooski. Moreover, the mountains "south upon the west side of the lake" could not have been seen from the west.

"Thus," says an able writer, in the *Vermont Historical Magazine*,¹ "before the Dutch had commenced their settlements upon the island of Manhat-

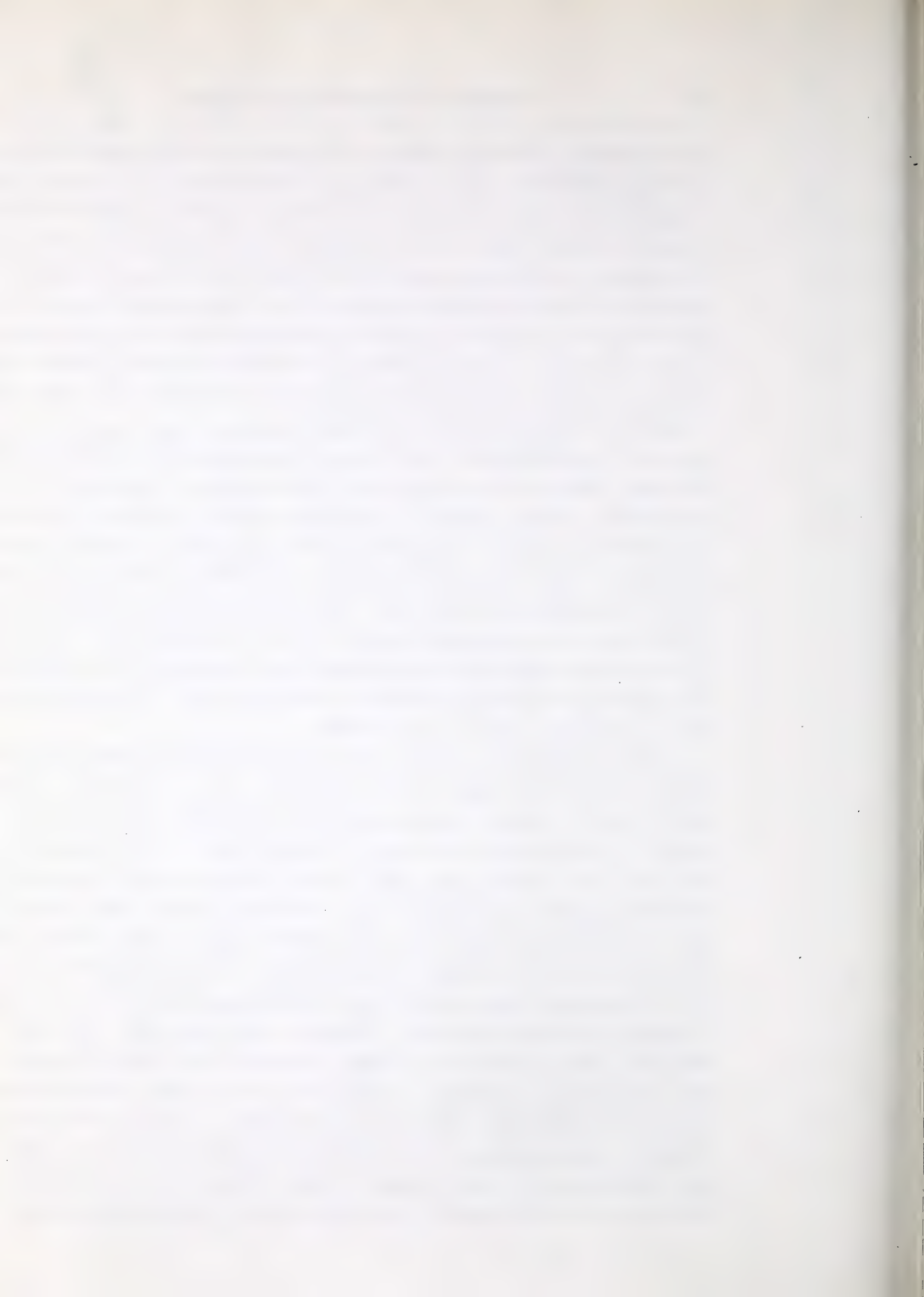
¹Thomas H. Canfield.



tan, or Hendrick Hudson had discovered the noble river which bears his name, before the *Mayflower*, with her cargo or Puritans, had landed at Plymouth, or John Smith had explored the coasts of Massachusetts, had the western borders of Vermont been discovered and the waters of Lake Champlain been explored by Samuel de Champlain. This channel thus opened formed the great highway between the Algonkins and Iroquois, as well as for the French and English between Montreal and Fort Orange, and for a century and a half after became the theatre of the most savage and cruel wars between the great Indian tribes; and some of the most bloody battles recorded in history, between the French and English, were waged near these waters long before the struggle of the colonies for their independence commenced."

It is a good example of the irony of history that the nation which honored rather than profited herself by the discovery and first settlement of this teeming valley, should so soon see the fruits of her enterprise in the possession of her enemies. France, with all her versatility of genius, could not withstand the overpowering spirit of colonization which has raised the British flag in every clime of the earth. The first civilized establishment within the limits of Vermont was made by the French on Isle La Motte, in the year 1665, when Captain de la Mothe built a fort about a mile from the north end of the island, on the west shore, and named it Fort St. Anne. It was intended to serve as a rendezvous and protection of the French from the attacks of the Indians. This was the first building erected in the Champlain valley. The island was called "La Mothe," in honor of the captain.

There is considerable evidence that a French settlement existed on Colchester Point about as early as on Isle La Motte. The Fort St. Anne, or La Motte, as it was soon called, was undoubtedly occupied by the French for many years as a garrison, and the island was occupied by them for near a century. It appears that in the spring of 1666 a party of ten or twelve men and two French officers were killed by the Mohawks while out hunting, whereupon Captain de Sorel left the fort with a force of about three hundred men, to chastise the "barbarians." Not long after M. de Tracy, governor of New France, embarked with an army of 1,200 men in three bateaux and birch-bark canoes, from Fort St. Anne, with the purpose of terrifying into submission all the rude inhabitants of the valley of the Mohawk, and the communities of Iroquois in Western New York. To return to the probability of the existence of a French settlement on Colchester Point: when the town of Colchester was first settled the remains of a fortification and of other buildings were plainly visible on the point, and, even at that early date, bore the marks of great antiquity. On the farm originally settled by Benjamin Boardman were found the bottom of an old chimney and the remnants of the walls of a few old buildings. One plot on this place had the appearance of having served years before as a garden, and contained rows of decayed white and red currant bushes.



On the south beach of the extreme point, within a few years, could be seen the foundations of two ancient buildings, evidently erected for military purposes. It is not possible, from written or traditionary account, to tell the date or origin of these old works. The most probable explanation is that the French occupied this point at the time that they extended their line of fortifications into Lake Champlain. Such occupation would be most consonant with the general purpose of those adventurous explorers. They were determined to fortify and hold every part of the valley which would render them secure in their excursions from Canada to the Mohawk valley against the Iroquois. To have spent the vast amount of means and labor upon fortifications on Isle La Motte and at the mouth of the Sorel River, however important those points might be, without establishing a trading settlement at so safe and convenient a situation as Colchester would betray a lack of sagacity which cannot be charged against the people of France at that period. Colchester Point was one day's journey south from Isle La Motte, and was the most convenient place for the next post in their line of progress up the lake. It commanded a more extended prospect, and was therefore a more advantageous position as an outpost for observing the movements of an enemy than any other point on the lake. Further testimony in support of this theory is found in the fact that Colchester Point was named on the first English map of the lake, published soon after the close of the French War, as Windmill Point. The custom of the French at that early day, of erecting windmills for the grinding of their grain, at every point on which they established a settlement, is too well known to be described at length in this place. Moreover, what reason can be assigned for giving the point that name, more plausible than that a windmill either then, or at an earlier period, stood there.

In the history of the town of Colchester, contributed to the *Vermont Historical Magazine* by the Hon. David Read, the Hon. John W. Strong, of Addison, is quoted as authority for the statement that his wife's grandfather, Dr. E. Tudor, had in his lifetime spoken of a block-house at Burlington, which he had seen at the time of the invasion and conquest of Canada by the English. It is more than probable that he intended Colchester Point, which at that period could hardly be distinguished from the site of Burlington. Dr. Tudor was a trustworthy witness with reference to the time and scenes of which he spoke, for he took part in the capture of Quebec by Wolfe, and returned from that memorable battle by the way of Lake Champlain.

Indeed, the proof is so abundant and convincing that the French did establish a settlement on Colchester, that the mere recitation of the evidence is alone sufficient. The only question that can be raised is concerning the date of this settlement. The evidence does not, in legal phrase, preponderate in favor of either of the two possible dates, viz.: At the time of the erection of Fort St. Anne, or more than half a century later, when the French constructed Fort St. Frederic at Crown Point, and built their village at Chimney Point, in 1731.



During the long interval of peace that succeeded the Treaty of Utrecht the French quietly extended their settlements on both sides of the lake, from the northern to the southern extremity, in the belief that their possessions would remain undisputed. In accordance with this belief they granted broad seigniories throughout the valley, which were surveyed and laid out, and in many instances settled by families, or rather communities, from France. That immense tract of fertile land afterward successfully colonized by William Gilliland, and now comprising the thriving towns of Essex and Willsborough, on the western border of the lake, was regarded by the French as one of their most precious possessions. The point to the south of the present village of Essex was inhabited by a wealthy Frenchman, and cultivated so thoroughly as to prepare the way for the English settlers of a later date. The most important settlement was at Chimney Point, and extended for several miles along the lake. The remains of this old village are still faintly visible, but are fast disappearing beneath the relentless plowshare of the farmer. Fort St. Frederic, as before stated, was erected in the year 1731; and the streets and cellar pits of a seemingly prosperous village are quite distinctly traceable on Crown Point to-day.

One of these grants or seigniories, belonging to Captain de la Peirere, which was created on the 7th of July, 1734, commenced at the mouth of Ouynouski (Onion) River, and extended each way one league and three leagues back, thus comprising the southern part of the present town of Colchester, the north line running east from the head of Ouynouski, or Mallet's Bay. Another seignior, created on the 30th of April, 1737, and granted to Lieutenant-General Pierre Raimbault, adjoined the tract of Captain De la Peirere on the north, and extended four leagues north and south and five leagues back. There is no evidence, however, that the lands were occupied under these grants, unless the settlement before mentioned was made at this period. The grants of the French, like those of their English successors, contained a condition that a settlement should be made under them within a given time, under pain of forfeiture, and the grant of Captain De la Peirere was afterward declared forfeited to the crown of France for non-compliance with this condition. On the 27th of September, 1766, the grant to General Raimbault was conveyed by his heirs in Montreal to Benjamin Price, Daniel Robertson and John Livingston, for the consideration of 90,000 livres. This conveyance, it will be observed, was made after the conquest of Canada, the cession of that country and its dependencies to the British crown, confirmed by the treaty of Paris in 1763, and pending the litigation concerning the validity of the titles to these French seigniories before the king and council of England. New York at the same time claimed jurisdiction over this territory, and made large grants to her retired officers and soldiers, many of whom proceeded to settle under them. In this tripartite controversy it was but natural that New York and England,



then bearing to each other the relation of a colony and the mother country, should unite against the common enemy. Thus, through the skill and eloquence of Edmund Burke, who was employed to support the New York titles, the French seigniories were annulled.

In 1744, when England and France were again involved in war, the English began to feel, in the depredations of the enemy and their savage allies, their folly in having permitted them to establish themselves at Crown Point. The war was prosecuted in a feeble and indecisive manner until 1749, the New England frontiers being continually harassed by small parties of Indians, without the stimulus of any considerable expeditions either by the French or English. By the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, the controversy between the belligerent countries respecting claims in America was to be referred to commissioners appointed by the sovereign powers of the two nations. The commissioners met in Paris in 1752; but, after laboring for some time to establish the rights of the litigants, were forced to abandon the subject, and the countries were once more involved in war. It is a remarkable fact that this combination of events gave birth to the conception of a union of the British colonies in America, which was consummated by the Declaration of Independence. On the 4th of July, 1754, a convention of delegates from the several colonies was held at Albany for the purpose of devising some general and efficient plan of operations in the impending struggle. The deliberations resulted in a resolution to apply to the British Parliament for an act constituting a grand legislative council, to be composed of delegates from the colonial assemblies, the proceedings of which were to be subject to the negative of a president-general appointed by the crown. The plan, however, was rejected by both the colonies and the mother country; the former fearing that it conceded to the crown prerogatives which would jeopard their liberties, and the latter supposing it to clothe the colonial assemblies with powers which it was by no means prepared to acknowledge. It is furthermore a singular fact that the Declaration of Independence was promulgated exactly twenty-two years after the colonial union was proposed by this convention.

Early in the year 1755 Governor Shirley convoked the Assembly of Massachusetts, and communicated to them a plan which he had formed for the reduction of the French fortress at Crown Point. The plan met the approval of the Assembly, and the co-operation of the neighboring colonies was solicited. While the colonies were preparing for this expedition, General Braddock arrived in Virginia with two Irish regiments. Thereupon a convention of the several governors and commanders in the English colonies, was called at Albany, by which four expeditions against the French were planned for the following summer; one under Braddock, against Fort Duquesne; one under Shirley, against Niagara; one under Colonel Johnson, against Crown Point; and one under Colonels Monckton and Winslow, against the French settlements in

Nova Scotia. The first expedition, owing to the fool-hardy disdain of General Braddock for the advice of those who were familiar with Indian modes of warfare, ended in disaster. The forces designed for the reduction of the fort at Niagara effected nothing beyond the strengthening of the fortifications at Oswego. Johnson placed General Lyman in command of the five or six hundred provincial troops, which he had collected at Albany for the expedition against Crown Point, and sent him forward to the site of the present village of Fort Edward, where they erected the fort from which the village takes its name. Johnson left Albany on the 10th of August, and shortly after proceeded fifteen miles beyond Fort Edward, and halted near the south end of Lake George. Here he received intelligence from his scouts that the French had taken possession of Ticonderoga, which commanded the communication between Lakes George and Champlain. Before he could prepare his artillery and bateaux for the purpose of advancing and dislodging the enemy, they had erected fortifications competent for a defense against surprise or an easy conquest. The exaggerated accounts of the force assembled at Lake George and threatening the reduction of Crown Point, hastened the arrival of Baron Dieskau to its defense with a numerous army of French and Indians. Designing to forestall their attack, he immediately embarked his army of 1,800 men in bateaux, and landed at South Bay, near the south end of Lake Champlain, where he was informed by an English prisoner that Fort Edward was practically defenseless, and that Johnson's camp at Lake George was unprotected by either entrenchments or cannon. He therefore directed his march towards Fort Edward, with the design of attacking it, but was forced, through the resistance which his army opposed to the plan, to proceed towards the English camp at Lake George, which they deemed the more easy of conquest, supposing that muskets would be the only arms employed against them. A general engagement ensued, in which the French were worsted, Dieskau receiving a mortal wound. They were attacked in their retreat by a detachment from Fort Edward, and again dispersed in every direction. The total loss of the English in these several engagements was 130 killed, and sixty wounded, among the former being Colonel Williams, the founder of Williams College; Major Ashley, and Captains Ingersoll, Porter, Ferrel, Stoddard and M'Ginnes, while Colonel Johnson was wounded. About forty of the Indians belonging to Johnson's army were slain, among them being Hendrick, a distinguished Mohawk sachem. The loss of the French was much heavier, and was estimated at about 700 killed. Johnson, deterred, it is said, by fear, from pursuing the enemy, devoted the remaining period of the campaign of 1755 to the erection of a fort at the south end of Lake George, which afterward received the name of Fort William Henry. The years 1756 and 1757 were disastrous to the English. Notwithstanding the considerable re-enforcement of the English troops at Albany and Fort William Henry, by forces and officers from Eng-



land, their vacillating and inactive course enabled the French under Montcalm to prosecute their affairs with energy and success. They took and demolished the forts at Oswego, and captured 1,400 prisoners, 120 pieces of cannon, fourteen mortars, a large quantity of ammunition, military stores and provisions, and also two sloops and 200 bateaux. As early as the 20th of March, 1757, Montcalm attempted to take Fort William Henry by surprise, but was repulsed by the garrison, and several of his men killed. A few weeks later Colonel Parker, who was sent down the lake in command of a detachment of four hundred men, to attack the advanced guard of the French at Ticonderoga, was decoyed into an ambuscade of French and Indians, who fell upon him with so much impetuosity that not more than two officers and seventy privates of the entire detachment escaped. This success stimulated Montcalm into another attempt at the reduction of Fort William Henry. In pursuance of this design he collected all his forces, amounting to 10,000 men, regulars, Canadians and Indians, at Crown Point and Ticonderoga. Meanwhile General Webb, successor to Lord Loudon in the command of the English forces, wishing to inspect the works at Lake George, and determine the force and condition of the enemy on Lake Champlain, selected Major Putnam with two hundred men to escort him to Fort William Henry, whence, soon after, Putnam started to reconnoiter the enemy at Ticonderoga. Before he reached the Northwest Bay on the western shore of Lake George, he discovered a body of men on an island, and hastened in one of his three boats to convey the information to Webb. Webb reluctantly permitted him to return for the purpose of bringing back the other boats, and, if possible, of making further discoveries. This time he was observed and pursued, but effected his retreat to the fort. Webb thereupon, with an injunction of secrecy to Putnam, ordered him to make preparations to escort him immediately to Fort Edward, and, on the next day, repaired thither, despite the respectful remonstrance of Putnam. On the day following he dispatched Colonel Monroe, with his regiment, to enforce the garrison at Lake George. On the day after Monroe's arrival, Montcalm appeared upon the lake in command of the French and Indians, and with little opposition effected a landing and at once laid siege to the fort. In response to a letter from Montcalm, urging the surrender of the fort before any of the Indians were killed and their unmastered passions inflamed beyond the power of resistance, Colonel Monroe replied that as the fortress had been intrusted to him he felt bound by his honor and his duty to defend it to the last extremity. The garrison, which was about 2,500 strong, made a gallant resistance; while Monroe sent frequently to Fort Edward for aid, Webb remained inactive and seemingly indifferent, and on the eighth or ninth day of the siege, after having retracted a permission to General Johnson to relieve the garrison with the provincial regiments and Putnam's rangers, after they had already proceeded three miles towards the lake, he wrote to Monroe that he could render him no



assistance, and coolly advised him to surrender on the best terms he could procure. The letter was intercepted by Montcalm, who sent it in to Monroe with further proposals for a surrender. Articles of capitulation were thereupon subscribed by Montcalm and Monroe, by the terms of which the garrison were to march out with their arms and baggage, and to be escorted to Fort Edward by a detachment of the French troops; and were not to serve against the French for a period of eighteen months; the works and all the warlike stores were to be delivered to the French; and the sick and wounded of the garrison were to remain under the protection of Montcalm, and to be permitted to return as soon as they were recovered. Not apprehending any further trouble, the garrison marched out of the fort. It has been stated that the Indians served in this expedition on the promise of plunder, and were enraged at the terms of capitulation. However that may be, their victims had no sooner left the fort, than they began the perpetration of a massacre more barbarous and sanguinary than it is possible to describe. They fell upon the defenseless soldiers, and, without resistance from the French, who stood idle spectators of the terrible scene, plundered and murdered all who came in their way. Not satisfied with depriving their victims of life, they mangled their dead bodies with scalping-knives and tomahawks, in all the wantonness of Indian fierceness. On the following day, when Major Putnam arrived upon the scene, he found the fort entirely demolished, the barracks, out-houses, and buildings a heap of ruins, while more than one hundred women, butchered and shockingly mangled, lay upon the ground, still weltering in their gore.

The French were apparently satisfied with this victory, and retired to their works at Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and owing to the inefficiency and want of energy on the part of the English generals nothing more of importance was effected by either party during the remainder of the year. A change of the English ministry now brought William Pitt into the position for which he was by nature and education peculiarly adapted. Henceforth the British affairs in America assumed a more favorable aspect. The English forces had been so unfortunate as to win the contempt of their enemies; they soon came to be respected and feared.

According to the plan of 1758 the French settlements were to be attacked at several points at once. General Amherst took command of 12,000 troops, which were to attempt the reduction of Louisburg, in the island of Cape Breton; General Forbes commanded 8,000 against Fort Duquesne, while the command of a force of 16,000 troops against Ticonderoga and Crown Point devolved upon General Abercrombie.

On the 28th of May the forces under Amherst embarked in a fleet consisting of 157 sail, from Halifax, in Nova Scotia, and on the 2d day of June anchored about seven miles west of Louisburg. On the 8th of June General Wolfe, who, with Whitmore and Lawrence and Admiral Boscawen, assisted



Amherst in this expedition, effected a landing, and in a few days had the place completely invested. Amherst proceeded with such care and vigor that the six ships of the line and five frigates with which Chevalier Drucour defended the harbor were destroyed, and on the 26th of July the garrison of 3,000 men, chiefly regulars, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

At the same time General Forbes was advancing on Fort Duquesne, and on the 25th of November, the French having abandoned it and retreated down the Ohio River, he took possession of the place and changed its name to Pittsburgh, in honor of William Pitt.

General Abercrombie was not, however, equally successful in his expedition against the French posts on Lake Champlain. On the 5th of July he embarked his army, of 7,000 regular and 9,000 provincial troops, at Fort William Henry, on board 900 bateaux and 135 whale-boats, and landed the next morning, without opposition, near the north end of Lake George. He formed his men into three columns and moved forward toward the enemy, whose advanced party of one battalion lay encamped behind a breastwork of logs. They retreated with precipitation before the English, after setting fire to the breastwork and tents, and the English, in their attempts to advance, became embarrassed and somewhat disordered by the thickness of the wood. Lord Howe and Major Putnam were in the front of the center column. A skirmish occurring on the left with the enemy, these officers filed off at the head of a hundred men and soon became engaged with the enemy. The first fire was fatal to Lord Howe. Putnam and his party were warmly attached to the English lord, and were animated by his fall to such a degree that they cut their way through the enemy and, with another party of the English, killed about 300 of the French and took 148 prisoners. The English troops then marched back to the place where they had landed in the morning, and on the following day Colonel Bradstreet with a detachment of the army took possession of the saw-mills. The fort at Ticonderoga, washed on three sides by the lake and protected on the other side, in part, by a deep swamp, was situated in a place of easy defense. The remaining passage on the land side, not protected by the swamp, had been fortified by a breastwork nine feet high, before which the ground had been covered with felled trees and bushes to render the approach of the enemy more difficult. The fort was garrisoned with 6,000 French troops, and a reinforcement of 3,000 men under M. de Levy was expected soon to join them. Abercrombie's wish was to take the fort before the reinforcement should arrive, and he sent forward his engineer to reconnoiter the works, who reported that the breastwork was assailable and that he believed the fort could be taken by an assault with musketry. Confiding in this report the general immediately ordered an attack. Notwithstanding the well-directed fire of the enemy the troops marched forward without wavering, until they became entangled in the trees and bushes which had been thrown before the breast-



work to retard their assault. They attempted to cut their way through with the sword to the breastwork, and withstood the relentless fire of the enemy during four hours while engaged in this attack, and were at last compelled, only by their rapidly diminishing numbers, to retreat in order to their encampment.

The loss of the English in this encounter was 1,800 men killed and wounded and 2,500 stand of arms. The severity of the loss determined Abercrombie to withdraw to his encampment at Lake George, whence all the wounded who could be removed were sent to Fort Edward or Albany.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate event of this battle, Abercrombie continued the prosecution of affairs with commendable vigor. He dispatched General Stanwix to the carrying place between the Mohawk and Onondaga Rivers, where he erected a fort. Colonel Bradstreet was ordered to proceed with 3,000 men, mostly provincial troops, against Fort Frontenac, at the outlet of Lake Ontario. This expedition was attended with success. Bradstreet landed his troops within a mile of the fort before the enemy was apprised of his approach, and the little garrison of 110 Frenchmen and a few Indians surrendered at discretion. The fort contained sixty cannon, sixteen mortars, and small arms, military stores, merchandise, and provisions in large quantities. After capturing, further, all the armed vessels of the enemy on the lake, numbering nine, Bradstreet destroyed them and the fort, and returned to Oswego.

The favorable termination of the campaign of 1758 determined the British secretary of state to prosecute the following campaign with such vigor as to complete, if possible, the conquest of Canada. He therefore projected three expeditions against the enemy, believing that by the simultaneous attacks of these troops at different points the forces of the enemy would be divided and their councils effectually embarrassed. General Wolfe was to command the expedition against Quebec; General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson were to conduct their forces against the French fort at Niagara; while General Amherst, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, was to attempt the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

At the same time important events were transacting on Lake Champlain. On the 27th of July the French, after making a feeble effort to withstand the siege of General Amherst, who had begun the reduction of Fort Ticonderoga, dismantled that fortress and repaired to Crown Point. The English general thereupon took possession of Ticonderoga and proceeded to repair it, at the same time employing scouting parties to watch the movements of the enemy at Crown Point. Having received intelligence on the 1st of August that the French had also abandoned Crown Point and gone down the lake without destroying the works, he dispatched a body of rangers to take possession, and on the 4th moved forward with his whole army and commenced the construction there of a new and strong fortress.



The French troops retired to the Isle aux Noix, which commands the communication between the lake and Canada, and having collected their forces to the amount of 3,500 men and supplied themselves with sufficient artillery and four vessels mounted with cannon, determined to make a stand against the English. Amherst thought it best to provide a superior naval force before venturing an attack at this point. The Indians had been making cruel and destructive depredations on the English colonies, and Amherst took this opportunity to make them feel his resentment. He therefore selected Major Rogers, a brave and capable officer from New Hampshire, to conduct an expedition against the village of the St. Francis Indians, on the south side of the St. Lawrence not far from Three Rivers. On the 12th of September Rogers embarked at Crown Point with 200 men and proceeded down the lake in bateaux. On the fifth day after his departure, while encamped on the east side of the lake, a captain and several of his men were wounded by the explosion of a keg of gunpowder, and were attended to Crown Point by a party, which reduced Rogers's force to 142 men. He pushed on, however, to Missisco Bay, where he left the boats in charge of two rangers, with provisions sufficient to carry them back to Crown Point, and advanced in the direction of the Indian settlement on the St. Lawrence. On the second evening after he left the lake he was overtaken by the rangers and informed that a party of 400 French and Indians had captured the boats and sent them away in charge of fifty men, while the rest were in pursuit of the English. Rogers immediately dispatched a lieutenant, with eighteen men and the two rangers, to Crown Point with a request to Amherst to send provisions to Coos on the Connecticut River, by which route he had determined to return. He then pushed rapidly towards St. Francis, with the design of accomplishing the object of his errand before being overtaken by his pursuers. He reached the village on the evening of October 4, and went forward in Indian garb to reconnoiter the place while his men were resting. He found the Indians wholly unaware of their danger, engaged in a grand dance. He returned to his men about one o'clock and led them forward to within 500 yards of the town. The dance ended about four o'clock and the Indians, thoroughly fatigued, retired to rest. The assault commenced at day-break and was conducted on the Indian method of indiscriminate slaughter. The ferocity of the assailants was stimulated by the discovery of several hundred scalps which had been torn from the heads of their countrymen, and suspended on poles as trophies of Indian cruelty. The place was completely surprised. Of the 300 souls which the village had contained at sundown on the previous day, 200 were slain and twenty taken prisoners. The English loss was one killed and six slightly wounded. Rogers reduced the village to ashes and refreshed his men, after which he set out on his return, at eight o'clock in the morning. He proceeded up the St. Francis River with the intention of avoiding his pursuers, and directed his course toward Coos, on the Connecticut River.



He was soon overtaken, however, and several times attacked in the rear, with a loss of seven men. He therefore formed an ambuscade on his own track and routed the enemy.

In answer to Rogers's request for provisions, Amherst sent Samuel Stevens and three others up the Connecticut River from Charlestown with two canoe-loads of provisions. They encamped the first night on Round Island at the mouth of the Passumpsic River; but in the morning were so terrified by the report of what they supposed the guns of the Indians, that they hastily re-loaded the provisions and went back to Charlestown. About noon of the same day Rogers and his party arrived at the mouth of the Passumpsic, and seeing a fire on the island, constructed a raft and went over to it. The disappointment of his men on discovering that no provisions had been left, so disheartened them that a number of them died within twenty-four hours. They were all reduced to a state of starvation. Rogers therefore relinquished his command and told his men to take care of themselves. A few of them perished in the woods, but most of them, after suffering intensely from cold and hunger, succeeded in reaching Charlestown. Here Rogers resumed command and proceeded with his band to Crown Point, which they reached on the 1st of December, having suffered a diminution, since leaving St. Francis, of three commissioned officers and forty-six non-commissioned officers and privates.

In the mean time General Amherst was preparing a naval force to expel the enemy from the Isle aux Noix, and early in October proceeded down the lake with that object. But owing to the lateness of the season and the tempestuous state of the weather, he abandoned the enterprise and returned to Crown Point, after having taken or destroyed most of the enemy's shipping. Here he passed the remainder of the season in getting everything in readiness for another campaign.

The only place of much strength or consequence now in the possession of the French was Montreal. Consequently, at the opening of the campaign of 1760 the English concentrated all their forces towards this point. General Murray was to conduct the English forces at Quebec up the St. Lawrence; Colonel Haviland was to make the approach from Lake Champlain, while General Amherst was to lead his troops to Montreal by the way of Lake Ontario. In pursuance of this determination the armies moved forward, and by a singular coincidence, without any knowledge of one another's progress all arrived at Montreal on the 6th and 7th of September. While Amherst was preparing to lay siege to the city he received a flag of truce from the French commander, Vaudreuil, demanding terms of capitulation. The French finally submitted to the terms offered, and the whole province of Canada was surrendered to the British on the 8th of September, 1760. By the treaty of peace signed at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763, this province was formally ceded to the king of Great Britain.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONTROVERSY WITH NEW YORK.

Settlement Retarded by the French Wars—The Impending Strife—Proclamations and Counter-Proclamations—Interpretations of the Royal Decree—Organized Opposition to New York—Ethan Allen at Albany—First Military Company—Rewards Offered for the Capture of the "Rioters"—The Beech Seal—Governor Tryon's Attempted Reconciliation—Difficulties with Colonel Reed—The Durhamites—Despotic Legislation of New York—Reply of the Green Mountain Boys—Disturbance at Westminster—Vermont Declared Independent—Allen's Address to the People—Controversy with New Hampshire and with Congress—Territory of Vermont Extended—Negotiations with the British—New York Become Lenient—Disturbances by Malcontents—The Controversy Settled—Vermont Admitted into the Union.

THE territory comprised within the present limits of Vermont being the principal theatre of action in the war between the English and French, and regarded as dangerous ground on which to attempt the establishment of communities, remained under the sovereignty of nature until after the conquest of Canada was completed by the English, in 1760. The previous occupation of the country by the French, though undertaken in the hope that their right to remain would not be successfully disputed, was yet continued with so precarious a tenure as to deserve no other title than that which the uncertain supremacy of arms could give. They all retired with the French garrison at Crown Point before the advance of General Amherst, in 1759. The English colonists, in the same expeditions against the French, had made themselves acquainted with the fertility of the lands west of the Green Mountains and the advantages of situation and elevation. As soon, therefore, as the perils of the French and Indian depredations were abated, the more adventurous of the colonists from the older settlements began to select suitable tracts of territory along the lake for the purpose of cultivation and settlement.

But the discovery of the value of the land led not to good alone. The avarice of two powerful colonies was awakened, and it soon became evident that a conflict was imminent. A long and tedious controversy between New Hampshire and Massachusetts had been settled in favor of the former in 1740, by the decree of King George II, establishing the boundaries of the contending colonies and declaring, in effect, that the disputed territory, Fort Dummer, lay within the province of New Hampshire. The northern line of Massachusetts was described as a "similar curve line" pursuing the course of the Merrimac River, and three miles to the north of it, extending from the Atlantic Ocean to a point due north of Patucket Falls; thence due west until it meets his majesty's other governments. The line was surveyed in 1741 by Richard Hazen. As Fort Dummer was found to lie beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts to the north, and as his majesty repeatedly called upon the Assembly of New Hampshire to provide for its support, it was generally supposed to rest



under the jurisdiction of that province; and as it was situated on the west side of the Connecticut River, the west line of New Hampshire was supposed to have been extended as far west as that of Massachusetts, to wit, to a line twenty miles east of the Hudson River. In pursuance of this supposition, Governor Benning Wentworth, who was commissioned governor of New Hampshire in the year 1741, conceived the plan of granting out townships to those who applied in apparent good faith for a charter. The first grant drew on the conflict. On the 3d of January, 1749, Governor Wentworth granted a township six miles square on what he held to be the western border of New Hampshire, being twenty miles east of the Hudson and six miles north of Massachusetts. This township, in honor of himself, he denominated Bennington. The governor of the province of New York opened a correspondence with Governor Wentworth concerning the title of that province to the lands west of the Connecticut River; notwithstanding which claim, Wentworth proceeded to extend settlement under New Hampshire jurisdiction by the making of further grants. By the year 1754 these grants numbered fifteen, but the commencement of hostilities between the French and English caused a suspension of further application for grants until the completion of the conquest of Canada, in 1760. But the New England troops, upon the close of the war, eagerly sought the means of acquiring title to those portions which best suited their tastes.

So urgent were the applications for grants that Wentworth, with the advice of his council, ordered a survey to be made of Connecticut River for sixty miles, and three tiers of townships to be laid out on either side. As the applications multiplied, further surveys were ordered; so that in the year 1761 no fewer than sixty townships, each six miles square, were granted on the west side of the Connecticut River. Within the two following years the number increased to one hundred and thirty-eight. Their extent was from the Connecticut River westward to within twenty miles of the Hudson, and northward as far as that stream extended, and then as far west as Lake Champlain. It may well be presumed that Governor Wentworth was the more willing to maintain the title of New Hampshire to this territory because of the fat emoluments proceeding from the grants and the right of reserving five hundred acres in each township for himself. The same motive, however, stimulated the government of New York into a determined resistance to the legality of these grants and the titles of the grantees. Accordingly, on the 28th of December, 1763, Lieutenant-Governor Colden, of New York, issued a pronunciamiento, in which he recited the grants made in 1664 and 1674 by King Charles II to the Duke of York, which included "all the lands from west side of Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay." He therefore ordered the sheriff of the county of Albany to make returns of the names of all persons then possessed of lands on the west side of the Connecticut under titles derived from the government of New Hampshire.



Thereupon Governor Wentworth, on the 13th of March, 1764, issued a counter-proclamation, intended to inspire confidence in the grants of New Hampshire, in which he alleged that the grant to the Duke of York was obsolete, and that the grants made by New Hampshire would be confirmed by the crown if the jurisdiction should be altered. The settlers were exhorted to be industrious and diligent in the cultivation of their lands, and not to be intimidated by the menaces of New York. The civil officers were required to exercise jurisdiction as far west as grants had been made and to administer punishment to all disturbers of the peace. This proclamation had the desired effect of quieting the fears of the settlers, who had no idea that a controversy between the two provinces respecting the extent of their jurisdiction would ever affect the validity of titles derived under a charter from a royal governor.

Fearing to rely further upon so precarious a tenure as the grant to the Duke of York, the government of New York now made application to the crown, by a petition which fraudulently claimed to contain the signatures of many of the settlers on the New Hampshire grants, praying that the western bank of the Connecticut might be established as the eastern boundary of New York, for a confirmation of her claims. His majesty thereupon, on the 20th of July, 1764, decreed that "the western bank of Connecticut River, from where it enters Massachusetts Bay, as far north as the 45th degree of north latitude, be the boundary line between the said provinces of New Hampshire and New York." It appears that this determination was not founded upon any previous grant, but was made on the supposition that the desires and convenience of the people demanded it.

The settlers under the New Hampshire grants were more surprised than alarmed at this order, for they apprehended that the only manner in which it could affect their interests would be to extend the jurisdiction of New York over their territory, without in any way attacking their titles to the lands which they occupied. They did not imagine that the same power which had created their titles could interfere with the vested rights which it had encouraged. Governor Wentworth at first remonstrated against the change, but was at last induced to withdraw from the contest, and issued a proclamation recommending obedience to the authority and laws of the colony of New York. This was the starting-point of the real controversy between the government of New York and the settlers under New Hampshire. The latter regarded the decision of the crown as merely prospective, and that while they were called upon to submit to a different provincial authority, they would remain on their lands unmolested. But the same motives which impelled the authorities in New York to obtain this jurisdiction, impelled them to place a very different construction upon the decree of the crown. They held that the order was confirmatory of the grant to the Duke of York; that it was therefore endowed with retrospective energy, and that the titles of the settlers under the grants from Benning



Wentworth were void. The government of New York therefore proceeded to carry into practical effect the theories which they held. The settlers were ordered to surrender their charters and purchase their titles under grants from New York. A few of them complied with this order, but for the most part it met with peremptory resistance. The lands of those who opposed the order were therefore sold to others, who at once instituted actions of ejectment in the courts of Albany, where they were invariably successful in obtaining judgment as opposed to justice. Finding that they could hope for nothing from the forms of law, the settlers determined upon resistance to the execution of the judgments of the court at Albany, till his majesty's pleasure should be further known. To render their opposition more effectual, they united in several associations, and at last convoked a convention of representatives from the different towns on the west side of the mountains. They met in the autumn of 1766, and after due deliberation appointed Samuel Robinson, of Bennington, to represent the grievances of the settlers to the court of Great Britain, and obtain, if possible, a confirmation of the New Hampshire grants. No attention was paid to the actions of ejectment still performing their farce at Albany, further than to see that the judgments were not carried into execution. Meanwhile, the busy speculators in New York had, on the 3d of July, 1766, procured the passage of an act, by the Colonial Assembly of New York, erecting a portion of the territory west of the Connecticut and north of Massachusetts into a county, to which they gave the name of Cumberland, and providing for the construction of a court-house and jail at Chester. Before this act could be consummated, Mr. Robinson had obtained an order from his majesty, dated on the 26th of June, 1767, annulling this act of the provincial Legislature; and on the 24th of July following, another special order was issued, prohibiting the governor of New York, "upon pain of his majesty's highest displeasure," from making any further grants whatsoever of the lands in dispute, until his majesty's further pleasure should be known. Unfortunately for the object of his mission, Mr. Robinson died in London in October, 1767, of the small-pox, before he had fully accomplished his purpose, and, so far as known, before he had transmitted a detailed account of his proceedings, to the people who had made him their agent. Notwithstanding the orders of the crown annulling the act of the Legislature of New York, and prohibiting the granting of further lands in the disputed territory, the government of New York assiduously prosecuted their designs by making additional grants and dividing the territory into counties. They had gone so far as to establish a Court of Common Pleas, and appoint judges in the county of Cumberland when, on the 2d of December, 1767, they were officially apprised of the order annulling their aggressive legislation. Even this did not suffice to make them desist. On the 20th of February, 1768, with the advice of their attorney-general, they re-enacted the law which had been annulled by royal decree, and proceeded in the organization of the county.



This new county extended north to the south line of the towns of Tunbridge, Strafford and Thetford. For the first four or five years the courts were held at Chester, but no county buildings were erected; and in 1772, upon the recommendation of the supervisor of the county, the county-seat was removed to Westminster and a court-house and jail were there erected. A portion of the inhabitants were disposed to acquiesce in the jurisdiction of New York, as may be learned from many of the transfers of titles to lands in those times which described the subject of the deed as lying within the town of —, in the province of New York. The larger portion, however, were more resolutely determined to resist.

On the 7th of March, 1770, another county, by the name of Gloucester, was erected, comprising all that territory lying north of Cumberland county and east of the Green Mountains. Its county seat was fixed at Newbury. At this time this county contained probably 700 inhabitants, for the most part opposed to the jurisdiction of New York. In 1772 another county was established on the west side of the Green Mountains, by the name of Charlotte. This county thus set off from the old county of Albany on the 12th of March, 1772, was bounded south by the north line of Sunderland and Arlington and a line running thence westward to Hudson River, and included all the country to the northward, on both sides of the lake to the Canada line. It embraced, of course, the present county of Chittenden. The county seat was erected at Skeenesborough, now Whitehall, and Philip Skeene was appointed one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas. All that part of Vermont lying south of this county and west of the mountains, was included in the county of Albany. The province of New York thus continued to organize new counties until the declaration of the independence of Vermont, in 1777.

Agreeably to a decision made by the Council of New York, to the effect that the "king's order did not extend to prevent the governor from the granting of any lands which had not been previously granted by New Hampshire," the governor had continued to make new grants to his friends and favorites. He did not confine himself to the ungranted territory, but frequently re-granted such as were already covered by New Hampshire charters. At the same time the endeavors of his grantees to obtain possession of the lands were unremitting. They were everywhere defeated by the vigilance and determination of the settlers under the New Hampshire grants. In October, 1769, a party of surveyors from New York was observed to be running a line across the farm of James Breckenridge, in Bennington, and were forbidden, by Breckenridge and others who had collected at that place, to proceed. They returned to New York. Thereupon Abraham Ten Broek, one of the proprietors of the patent of Wallumschaik, presented a petition to the Governor and Council of New York, alleging that the commissioners and surveyors for dividing that patent had been "riotously opposed by sundry persons, and prevented by their threats



from executing the trust reposed in them." The governor then issued a proclamation "for apprehending the principals and ringleaders," and at the following January term of the court at Albany the Rev. Jedediah Dewey, Joseph Robinson, Elijah Fay, Thomas Henderson, Ebenezer Robinson, and John Stewart were indicted as riotors. None of them, however, was arrested or brought to trial.

On the 18th of October, 1769, the settlers petitioned the Governor and Council of New Hampshire to interpose with the crown in their behalf. This petition was repeated on the 24th of the same month, the last petition being subscribed by Samuel Safford for Bennington, Benjamin Gardner for Pownal, Jehiel Hawley for Arlington, Benjamin Purdy for Manchester, Thomas Barney for Sunderland, and Benjamin Colvin for Shaftsbury. It was about this time that Ethan Allen came to reside in the grants, and he at once undertook to defend the actions in ejectment brought against the New Hampshire grantees. He went to New Hampshire, where he procured the documents necessary for the establishment of his claims, engaged the services of Mr. Ingersoll, an eminent lawyer of Connecticut, and in June, 1770, proceeded with him to the court at Albany. The trial of Josiah Carpenter, of Shaftsbury, came on, and the counsel for the defendant produced to the court the documents which Allen had brought from New Hampshire, among which were the charter of the township and the defendant's deed from the original proprietors. These were immediately set aside by the court, on the alleged ground that the New Hampshire grants were illegal, and a verdict was rendered against the defendant. Thus was established a precedent to annihilate all the titles of land held under the New Hampshire grants. Ingersoll and Allen thereupon retired from the court. In the evening, it is related, three New York lawyers by the names of Kemp, Banyar, and Duane called on Allen, and Kemp, the king's attorney, observed to him that the people settled on the New Hampshire grants should be advised to make the best terms possible with their landlords, for might often prevailed against right. To this Allen replied: "The gods of the valleys are not the gods of the hills." Kemp asked for an explanation, whereupon Allen remarked that if Kemp would accompany him to Bennington the phrase should be explained. Kemp proposed to give to Allen and other men of influence on the grants large tracts of land to secure peace and harmony; but the proposal was rejected without the compliment of consideration, and the conversation ended. The inhabitants of the grants were thoroughly indignant at the unjust and contemptuous consideration bestowed upon their claims in Albany. On Allen's return a convention was called at Bennington, in which it was "Resolved, to support their rights and property which they possessed under the New Hampshire grants, against the usurpation and unjust claims of the Governor and Council of New York, *by force*, as law and justice were denied them." This was a bold measure of a hundred men, united in opposition to the most



avored colony under the crown. The people on the grants, however, were intelligent enough to see that the controversy did not lie between themselves and the body of the people in New York, but was alone with the Governor and Council of that province, "and their land associates, who were but a small and Jesuitical part of the community."

The spirited resolution just quoted was followed by so determined a resistance to the execution of the provincial decrees of New York that several of the settlers were indicted as rioters; but the officers sent to apprehend them "were seized by the people," as Ira Allen has vigorously written, "and severely chastised *with twigs of the wilderness*."

Every day witnessed the occurrence of stirring events. To be in readiness for any emergency that might arise, the settlers organized a military association, of which Ethan Allen was appointed colonel commandant, and Seth Warner, Remember Baker, Robert Cochran, Gideon Warren, and some others were appointed captains. Under them the inhabitants of the grants were armed, and frequently met for military exercise and discipline. Of this organization Governor Tryon learned early in the year 1772, from a letter written to him by John Munro, one of the most assiduous supporters of the authority of New York, who resided near the west line of the town of Shaftsbury. Among other things, the letter states that "the rioters have established a company at Bennington, commanded by Captain Warner; and on New Year's day his company was reviewed, and continued all day in military exercise and firing at marks."

Under the encouragement of the government of New York a number of settlers had established themselves in the western parts of Rupert and Pawlet, and armed themselves for defense against the New Hampshire grantees. In October, 1771, Ethan Allen, Remember Baker, and Robert Cochran, with six others in sympathy with them, proceeded to warn off the intruders. Finding resistance useless the "Yorkers" fled to New York, and left the log houses, which they had erected, to the mercy of their pursuers, who pulled them down, laid them in heaps, and burned them. In consequence of this deed, Alex. McNaughton, a justice of the peace of New York, issued a warrant for the arrest of the persons last named as rioters. At the same time he wrote privately to the governor of New York that by reason of their situation among the mountains no officer would be able to apprehend them, and he therefore recommended that a reward be offered for their capture. In pursuance of this suggestion, the governor, by the advice of the Council, issued a proclamation on the 27th of November, offering a reward of twenty pounds each for the apprehension of Allen, Cochran, Baker, and six others. In February of the year 1772 the sheriff of Albany went to Rupert with this proclamation, but failed to accomplish the object of his errand. In his report afterward submitted to the governor, he stated that he had been unable to find the rioters, but among those



whom he saw, "he found the greatest appearance of a determined resolution not to submit to the government, and this he found particularly verified by the conduct of eight or nine, who were armed with guns and clubs, in which manner they came to the house of one Harmon, near Indian River, where he then was, and from their conduct it plainly appeared what they intended."

On the 22d of the following month (Sunday) John Munro assembled ten or twelve of his coadjutors, before day-light, and proceeded to the house of Remember Baker, in Arlington, with the intention of arresting him. They aroused him by breaking open his door and entering his room armed with swords and pistols. They rushed on him with a fury born of fear, and wounded him on the head and arm with strokes from the sword. His wife and one of his sons were also inhumanly wounded with the same weapon. Baker was finally overpowered, bound, thrown into a sleigh, and hurriedly conveyed towards Albany. The news of his apprehension was carried with the greatest speed to Bennington, where ten men mounted their horses and started out to intercept Munro and his gang, and rescue Baker. They came upon their enemies just on the east bank of the Hudson. Munro and his followers at once abandoned Baker and fled. His friends, finding the prisoner nearly exhausted by his suffering and the loss of blood, refreshed him and carried him home.

Soon after this ineffectual attempt to arrest Baker, the experiment was repeated upon Seth Warner. Warner and a friend were riding on horseback not far from Munro's residence, and were met by the latter and several of his dependents. In the midst of the conversation which followed, Munro suddenly seized the bridle of Warner's horse, and called upon the bystanders to assist in his arrest. Warner admonished him that it would be wise to desist, but as this had no effect, he struck his assailant on the head with a cutlass, and felled him to the ground. Finding that the spectators evinced no disposition to interfere Munro, when he recovered from the stunning effect of the blow, permitted Warner to proceed without further molestation. These repeated attempts on the part of Munro to aid in enforcing the unjust and unauthorized decrees of New York at last met with a severe but merited punishment. The affairs of the inhabitants of the grants seem to have been managed at this period by committees from the several towns, who assembled in convention as necessity required, and adopted measures for the common defense and welfare. Their resolutions were held to be the law of the land, and any violation thereof was always punished with exemplary severity. The most usual method of punishment was the administration of the "beech seal." This mode of punishment derived its name from allusion to the provincial seal of New Hampshire, which was affixed to the charters of the townships granted by the governor of that province. Of this the beech rod vigorously applied to the naked backs of the "Yorkers" and their adherents, was considered a confirmation. Ira Allen in giving a description of the punishment meted out to the



enemies of the laws of this convention, mentions one "Hugh Munroe" who, he says, was "an old offender." He was taken, tried, and ordered to be whipped on his naked back; he was tied to a tree and flogged till he fainted; on recovering he was whipped again until he fainted; he recovered and underwent a third lashing until he fainted; his wounds were then dressed, and he was banished the district of New Hampshire grants, not to return on pain of suffering the further resentment of the Green Mountain Boys.

The punishment inflicted on the person of Benjamin Hough has become historical. He was a resident in the vicinity of Clarendon, and was a bitter partisan of the "Yorkers." In the winter of 1774 he visited New York with the avowed intention of obtaining the aid of the government against the Green Mountain Boys. On the 9th of March he accepted the appointment of justice of the peace in and for the county of Charlotte. Although repeatedly warned from exercising in any manner the alleged authority derived from his appointment, he proceeded, with incorrigible persistence, to execute his office within the grants; he was therefore arrested and taken before the Committee of Safety at Sunderland, which consisted of Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, Robert Cochran, Peleg Sunderland, James Mead, Gideon Warren and Jesse Sawyer. The decree of the convention and the charges under which he rested were read in his presence, and as he acknowledged the offense and pleaded nothing in extenuation but the authority of New York, the following sentence was pronounced upon him: "That the prisoner be taken from the bar of this Committee of Safety and be tied to a tree, and there, on his naked back, receive two hundred stripes; his back being dressed, he should depart out of the district, and on return, without special leave of the convention, to suffer death." This sentence was carried out in the presence of a large assemblage. Hough then asked and received a certificate of his punishment, signed by Allen and Warner. It read as follows:

"SUNDERLAND, 30th of Jan., 1775.

"This may certify the inhabitants of the New Hampshire grants, that Benjamin Hough hath this day received a full punishment for his crimes committed heretofore against this country, and our inhabitants are ordered to give him, the said Hough, a free and unmolested passport toward the city of New York, or to the westward of our grants, he behaving himself as becometh. Given under our hands the day and the date aforesaid.

ETHAN ALLEN,
SETH WARNER."

Allen sarcastically remarked, on delivering this certificate, that with the receipt on his back, it would undoubtedly be admitted as legal evidence before the Supreme Court and Governor and Council of New York, though the king's warrant to Governor Wentworth, and his excellency's sign manual, with the great seal of the province of New Hampshire, would not.

As a consequence of this affair, the Colonial Assembly of New York, on the 30th and 31st of March, resolved to appropriate £1,000 for the maintenance of justice and the suppression of riots in the county of Cumberland, and to offer a reward of fifty pounds each for the apprehension of James Mead,

Gideon Warren, and Jesse Sawyer, and also a reward of fifty pounds each, in addition to the rewards previously offered, for the arrest of Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, Robert Cochran, and Peleg Sunderland. This assembly was soon after prorogued and never met again, being superseded by the Provincial Congress of Revolutionary birth.

These events were preceded by others which may not be omitted. The continued aggressions of the supporters of the authority of New York had determined the settlers to adopt this form of organized resistance, which has already received a partial description. Early in 1772 intelligence was reported at Bennington that Governor Tryon was ascending the North River with a body of troops, for the purpose of subduing and chastising the Green Mountain Boys. The report was at first given credence. The committees of safety and military officers met in convention and resolved that "it was their duty to oppose Governor Tryon and his troops to the utmost of their power." Extensive preparations for defense ensued, and a trusty person was dispatched to Albany to ascertain the number and designs of the enemy. The messenger soon returned with the welcome intelligence that the troops were wind-bound in the river below Albany, and that they had no designs upon the grants, but were destined for the military posts on the lakes.

Meanwhile several of the residents of the grants, who were in sympathy with New York, fled to that province, and by their representations and those of Monró, which were received about this time, Governor Tryon was induced to believe that he could accomplish more by negotiation than by menaces. He therefore wrote to the Rev. Mr. Dewey, and the inhabitants of Bennington and the adjacent country, and after expressions of censure on their illegal conduct, invited them to lay their grievances before him, and pledged security and protection to any persons they should send to New York on such errand, excepting Allen, Warner and three others. This letter was dated at New York on the 19th of May, 1772. Two letters were sent in answer to this, one signed by a committee appointed for that purpose by the settlers in and around Bennington, and consisting of Mr. Dewey and others; and the other signed by the persons excepted in the governor's letter. The contents of these letters consisted of evidence sustaining the titles of the settlers to their lands under the grants from New Hampshire, and that therefore the proceedings which had been denounced against them as riotous, were justifiable in defending themselves against aggressions which could be legalized by no court or legislature. They closed with expressions of a desire that his excellency would help to quiet them in their possessions "till his majesty, in his royal wisdom, shall be graciously pleased to settle the controversy." Captain Stephen Fay and his son Jonas Fay were appointed to deliver the letters to the governor of New York. He received them kindly, and laid the communications before the Council, which reported favorably and recommended that his excellency afford all the relief in

his power, by having all criminal prosecutions and civil suits suspended until his majesty's pleasure should be known. This report was immediately approved by the governor. The feelings which the communication of this result awakened in Bennington may be inferred from the report made soon after by the agents to Governor Tryon. On the 15th of July the committee which had replied to the governor's letter, met at the meeting-house in Bennington, together with a large concourse of people. The report upon their action read as follows:—

“We, as messengers, laid before the above committee an extract of the minutes of his majesty's Council of the province of New York of the 2d instant, together with His Excellency Governor Tryon's letter of the same date, directed to the inhabitants of Bennington, &c., and after the same, the above committee and a numerous concourse of the inhabitants of the adjacent country and other spectators, gave a full and unanimous vote in favor of the papers aforesaid; and the thanks of the people were presented to us for our diligence in procuring these papers. Peace was also recommended on the whole New Hampshire grants, by all who were present; when the whole artillery of Bennington, with the small arms, were several times discharged in honor of the Governor and Council of New York.—Health to the king—Health to Governor Tryon—Health to the Council of New York—Universal peace and plenty, liberty and prosperity, by sundry respectable gentlemen, some of whom were from neighboring provinces.

STEPHEN FAY,
JONAS FAY.”

Ethan Allen and a small party of his friends had just before this made prisoner of a surveyor by the name of Kockburn, whom they had caught laying out land in some of the northern townships. They had broken his instrument, and pronounced on him (at Castleton) the usual sentence of banishment on pain of death, when they learned of the proceedings with the governor of New York. They at once retracted their sentence, and set the prisoner free. On the same expedition Allen's party had committed a justifiable act at the lower falls on Otter Creek, where the city of Vergennes now stands, which, nevertheless, was seized upon by Governor Tryon as a pretext for the renewal of hostilities. The lands here had been granted by New Hampshire, in 1761, to Mr. Pangborn, and a settlement had been commenced under this grant, and a saw-mill erected as early as 1769. Soon after this Colonel Reed, a British officer, who had obtained a subsequent grant from New York of nearly all the lands now occupied by the towns of New Haven, Ferrisburgh, and Panton, and the city of Vergennes, forcibly dispossessed the New Hampshire settlers and placed his own tenants in possession. They had extended the settlement and erected several log houses and a grist-mill. Allen's party drove off these intruders, burned their houses, threw their mill-stones over the falls, and put Pangborn in possession again.

When Governor Tryon received intelligence of these proceedings he immediately, on the 11th of August, 1772, wrote a letter of bitter reproach to the inhabitants of the grants, and commanded them forthwith to put Colonel Reed's tenants “into re-possession of their lands and tenements.” Whereupon the committees of the several towns met in Manchester, and on the 27th of the same month addressed a determined, but conciliatory answer to the gov-

error, in which they contended that as the occurrences which grieved him had taken place before the alleged delinquents had learned of the pending negotiations for peace, they had not broken their faith. Moreover, the tenants of Colonel Reed were the aggressors, and they therefore refused to re-possess them. In the same letter they expressed their unalterable determination neither to break articles of public faith, insult governmental authority, nor abandon their property to the mercy of New York land-jobbers. Although a reply was respectfully requested to this communication, Governor Tryon did not comply, and the attempted reconciliation served only to embitter the more the enmity that existed between the inhabitants of the grants and the government of New York. The next expedient to which New York resorted was to appoint several of the prominent New Hampshire settlers to office, for the purpose of buying them over to the interests of New York. Whether this attempt would have met with any encouragement from individuals will never be known, whatever may be the presumption, for on the 21st of October, 1772, a convention which assembled at Manchester decreed that no person on the grants should accept or hold any office under the authority of New York. It also decreed that "no person should take grants or confirmation of grants under the government of New York."

Colonel Reed did not submit without a struggle to the forcible eviction of his tenants from the territory around the lower falls on Otter Creek. In July, 1773, he induced a number of Scotch immigrants, who were recent arrivals in New York, to accompany him to Otter Creek for the purpose of re-taking the property of which he had been dispossessed. The New Hampshire settlers were a second time compelled to leave the place, and Colonel Reed repaired the mill and left the Scotchmen on the land with instructions to keep possession and extend the improvements. Upon receiving intelligence of these things, Allen, Warner, Baker, and a number of others at once repaired to the place and compelled the miller to break the mill-stones into small fragments with a hammer and throw them down the falls. They then bade him not to repair the mill again, "on pain of suffering the displeasure of the Green Mountain Boys." The Scotch settlers, who had not yet removed their families, declared, when they learned the nature of the controversy, that they had been deceived, relinquished all claim to the territory, and settled on the Mohawk River.

To insure this settlement against further intrusions from New York, Allen and his colleagues built a small block-house at the falls, which they garrisoned with a few men and which thereafter afforded ample protection against the Yorkers. At this time, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter, a number of settlements had been established along the Winooski or Onion River, and a small number in other parts of the territory now embraced within the limits of Chittenden county. Indeed, a few settlers were living in Shelburne who de-



rived the title to their lands from New York grantees; but so long as they did not manifest an unfriendly disposition they were suffered to remain. As early as the fall of 1770 Allen and Baker had found and taken prisoners a surveying party (accompanied by thirteen Indians), under a Captain Stevens from New York, who were surveying under the authority of that province on the sites of Burlington and Colchester. They were released on promising not to return. To guard this portion of the New Hampshire grants from the future inroads of the Yorkers, Allen and Baker and their men erected a block-house at the falls in Colchester, with thirty-two port-holes in the upper story, and provided it well with arms and ammunition, which fortified the settlers sufficiently until they abandoned the settlement, in 1776.

The second expulsion of Colonel Reed's tenants from the lower falls on Otter Creek stimulated Governor Tryon to apply to General Haldimand, commander-in-chief of the provincial troops, for a force to defend the possessions of the claimants under New York; but the general questioned the propriety of employing regular troops for that purpose, and refused compliance.

The vicinity included, for the most part, in the present town of Clarendon was settled by people who generally favored the jurisdiction of New York, those living to the south holding their lands under deeds from Colonel Henry H. Lydius, who claimed his title under Governor Pownal, of Massachusetts. Their township was called Durham. The northern portion, which included a part of the present town of Rutland, was known as Socialborough. Some of the leading men of these districts had accepted offices from the government of New York, and in other ways, particularly by being implicated in a number of disturbances which had arisen in that quarter, had rendered themselves obnoxious to the "resentment" of the Green Mountain Boys. In the fall of 1773, therefore, Allen and Baker raised a force of one hundred men and repaired with them to the land of the "Durhamites," with the purpose of compelling them to recognize the claims of the New Hampshire grantees. On the advance of this force the New York office-holders fled in terror, and while Allen and his men remained several days and breathed out threatenings against the insubordinate Durhamites, these laid before the New York Governor and Council the story of their sufferings from the outrages of what they denominated "the Bennington mob." That government, regarding the Green Mountain Boys as a band of lawless rebels, proceeded in their determination to crush the power, which they so greatly underestimated, by the adoption of measures "the most minatory and despotic of anything which had ever appeared in the British colonies."

On the 5th day of February, 1774, several resolutions were passed by a committee of the General Assembly, denouncing what they termed the lawless and riotous proceedings of "the Bennington mob," and, among other things, desired the governor to offer, by proclamation, a reward for the arrest of the



ringleaders in these transactions, and their confinement in the jail at Albany. They further recommended the passage of a law which should more effectually suppress riotous and disorderly proceedings and bring the offenders to condign punishment.

Upon learning of the measures proposed by this committee, the general committees of the various townships assembled at the house of Eliakim Wellers, at Manchester, on the 1st of March, 1774, and adjourned to the third Wednesday of the same month at the house of Jehial Hawley, in Arlington. Here they drew up a sketch of the controversy previous to this time, and requested the government of New York not to proceed to further extremities until the determination of his majesty's will. They then resolved to stand by their friends and neighbors who had been indicted, at the expense of their lives and fortunes; and that every preparation be made, and that the inhabitants hold themselves in readiness, at a minute's warning, to aid and defend their friends who, for their activity in the great and general cause, were falsely denominated rioters. It was also agreed that they should act only on the defensive, and should encourage the execution of the laws in civil cases, and in criminal prosecutions that "were so indeed." Meantime the General Assembly of New York was proceeding to consummate the resolutions of February 5th. On the 9th of March they passed a law which, by its sanguinary and despotic sanctions, extinguished in the breasts of the inhabitants of the grants all hope of a peaceful settlement of the controversy. Among other things it enacted that if any person or persons should oppose any civil officer of New York in the discharge of his official duty, or burn or destroy the grain, corn, or hay of any other person, which should be in an inclosure; or if any persons "unlawfully, riotously, or tumultuously" should meet together to the disturbance of the public peace, and with force demolish or pull down, "or begin to demolish or pull down," any dwelling house, barn, stable, grist-mill, saw-mill, or out-house within either of the counties of Albany or Charlotte, he or they should be adjudged guilty of felony, and should suffer death "without benefit of clergy." Perhaps the most extraordinary features of the act were clauses which permitted prosecutions of crimes committed on the grants to be conducted in the county of Albany, and empowered the courts to award execution against such as should be indicted for capital offenses, who should not surrender themselves in conformity to the order of the Governor and Council, in the same manner as if they had been convicted on a fair and impartial trial. At the same time the governor of New York issued a proclamation offering a reward of fifty pounds each for the apprehension of Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, Remember Baker, Robert Cochran, Peleg Sunderland, Sylvanus Brown, James Breckenridge, and James Smith, whom they deemed to be the instigators of the opposition.

These despotic measures were regarded by the settlers with scorn and con-



tempt. "Instead of palsyng, they tended to nerve the arm of resistance." In answer to them the settlers drew up a remonstrance, dated on the 26th of April, 1774, and signed by Ethan Allen and six others, in which they portray the character of the government, in part, in the following language: "By leg-erdemain, bribery, and deception they have extended their dominions far and wide. They have wrangled with and encroached upon the neighboring governments, and have used all manner of deceit and fraud to accomplish their designs. Their tenants groan under their usury and oppression, and they have gained, as well as merited, the disapprobation and abhorrence of their neighbors. The innocent blood they have already shed calls for Heaven's vengeance on their guilty heads; and if they should come forth in arms against us, thousands of their injured neighbors will join with us, to cut off and exterminate such an execrable race of men from the face of the earth."

"We therefore advertise such officers, and all persons whatsoever, that we are resolved to inflict *immediate death* on whomsoever may attempt the same [the arrest of the alleged rioters]; and provided any of us or our party shall be taken, and we have not notice sufficient to relieve them; or whether we relieve them or not, we are resolved to surround such person or persons as shall take them, whether at his or their own house or houses, or anywhere that we can find him, or them, and *shoot such person or persons dead*. And, furthermore, we will *kill* and *destroy* any person or persons whomsoever that shall presume to be accessory, aiding or assisting in taking any one of us, as aforesaid; for by these presents we give any such disposed person or persons to understand that although they have a license by the law aforesaid to kill us, and an 'indemnification' for such murder from the same authority, yet they have no indemnification for so doing from the *Green Mountain Boys*; for our lives, liberties, and properties are as verily precious to us as to any of the king's subjects; but if the governmental authority of *New York* insist upon *killing us*, to take possession of our '*vineyards*,' let them come on; we are ready for a game of scalping with them, for our martial spirits glow with bitter indignation and consummate fury, to blast their infernal projects."

It will be borne in mind that the bitterness of feeling between the government of New York and the settlers on the New Hampshire grants was confined chiefly to the settlements on the west side of the mountains; partly because a greater proportion of those on the east side cheerfully acquiesced in the jurisdiction of New York and re-purchased their lands under charters from that province, and because they were separated by the great natural barrier formed by the mountains themselves, and were therefore not persecuted to the point of desperation by the avaricious land-speculators who kept alive the animosity which they had enkindled. But when the affairs of the British colonies began to assume an alarming aspect under the inimical policy of Great Britain, they who lived in the vicinity of the Connecticut were found to be in sympathy



with the more belligerent colonies from which they had emigrated, rather than with the royalist province by which they had been forcibly adopted. It was on the 5th of September, 1774, that a convention of delegates from most of the provinces was held in Philadelphia for the purpose of consulting upon the most feasible measures for the common safety. New York withheld its assent to the measures recommended by this body, which in the other provinces, for the most part, were so thoroughly adopted as to result in a practical suspension of royal authority.

On the 13th of March, 1775, the stated session of the court for the county of Cumberland was to have been convoked at Westminster. The inhabitants of the county being dissatisfied with New York because she had steadily refused to adopt the resolutions of the Continental Congress, and finding their efforts to dissuade the judges from holding this court of no avail, took possession of the court-house at an early hour for the purpose of preventing the officers of the court from entering. These soon made their appearance armed with guns, swords and pistols, but finding their commands and threats regarded with equal disdain, retired to their quarters. In an interview then held between the people and Judge Chandler, they were assured that they would not be molested before morning, when the court party should come in unarmed, and hear what they had to lay before them. Contrary to this assurance, the sheriff and officers of the court, attended by an armed force, repaired to the court-house at about eleven o'clock at night, and demanded admittance. Meeting with refusal the party fired into the house, killing one William French, and wounding several others. The wounded men and a few others who did not escape were thereupon seized and thrown into prison. The news of this massacre was immediately circulated throughout the grants, and within eighteen hours after its occurrence a large force of armed men had collected at Westminster. An inquest on the body of the man who had been killed resulted in a verdict of murder, committed by the court party. Several of the officers were made prisoners and confined in the jail at Northampton, Mass., but were afterward released on the application of the chief justice of New York. These transactions aroused the spirit of opposition to New York on the east side of the mountains. A convention of committees from the several townships was held at Westminster, on the 11th of April, 1775, and a number of bold resolutions were adopted which plainly indicated their sentiments with reference to the oppressions of New York. A committee was also appointed, of which Ethan Allen was a member, to remonstrate to the court of Great Britain against that province, and to petition his majesty "to be taken out of so oppressive a jurisdiction, and either annexed to some other jurisdiction or incorporated into a new one."

On the 19th of this month was spilled, at Lexington, the first blood of the Revolutionary War; but the partial relief thus afforded the settlers on the New Hampshire grants only served to convince them of the necessity of a more complete and definite political organization, in order to maintain more



effectually the stand they had taken against the province of New York, and to render more efficient assistance to their countrymen in the contest with Great Britain. In the fall of 1775, therefore, several of the most influential men on the grants visited the American Congress, then sitting at Philadelphia, to procure their advice with reference to the best course of action by the inhabitants of the grants. They did not succeed in getting the voice of the Congress as a body, but on their return to the grants they issued a number of circulars, which put forth as the opinion of several of the leading members of Congress that the inhabitants should at once form a temporary association, and put on foot such incipient measures as the exigencies of their situation demanded. Accordingly, a convention of delegates from the several towns was held at Dorset, on the 16th of January, 1776, which drew up a petition and address to Congress, reciting briefly the history of the controversy with New York, and avowing their attachment to the cause of the colonies, but at the same time declaring their unwillingness to be in any way held subject to the authority of New York, or to be called upon in any emergency as inhabitants of that province.

The congressional committee to whom this petition was referred reported that the petitioners be advised to submit for the present to the government of New York, at least in all matters pertaining to the contest with the mother country; without permitting such submission to be construed, however, to affirm the authority of New York, when the present trouble should be ended, or in anywise relinquishing their claims to the titles of their lands. Heman Allen, the agent by whom this petition was forwarded to Congress, deeming the report of the committee unfavorable to the grants, obtained leave to withdraw the petition, thus preventing Congress from coming to any decision upon the subject. This took place on the 4th of June, 1776, just one month before the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence.

To ascertain the opinion of the inhabitants of the grants, as to the best manner of extricating themselves from the increased embarrassment produced by the Declaration of Independence, it was determined that a general convention should be called; and circulars were accordingly addressed to the different towns inviting them to appoint delegates. Thirty-five towns complied with this request, and the delegates appointed by them assembled in convention at Dorset, on the 24th of July, 1776. It was resolved that an association should be formed for the defense of the liberties of the country; and further, that all such inhabitants of the grants as should in any manner associate with the provincial government of New York, or submit to its authority, should be considered enemies of the common cause. On the 25th of the following September this convention met again by adjournment, and unanimously resolved "to take suitable measures, as soon as may be, to declare the New Hampshire grants a free and separate district." On the 16th of January, 1777, the same body, having met by adjournment on the previous day, published the following declaration:—



"This convention, whose members are duly chosen by the free voice of their constituents, in the several towns on the New Hampshire grants, in public meeting assembled, in our own names, and in behalf of our constituents, *do hereby proclaim and publicly declare, that the district of territory comprehending, and usually known, by the name and description of the New Hampshire grants, of right ought to be, and is, hereby declared forever hereafter to be, a free and independent jurisdiction or State; to be forever hereafter called, known, and distinguished, by the New Connecticut, alias Vermont.*"

This Declaration of Independence was unanimously adopted by the convention. They next drew up a petition to Congress, in which they announced that they had declared the territory theretofore known as the New Hampshire grants, free and independent, possessing the right to regulate their own internal policy in any manner not repugnant to the decrees of Congress. Affirming their devoted attachment to the common cause and their willingness to contribute their full contingent of the means and forces levied on the colonies, they prayed, in closing, that their independence might be acknowledged by Congress, and that the delegates from Vermont might be admitted to a part in the deliberations of that body. This declaration and petition was duly signed and was presented to Congress by Jonas Fay, Thomas Chittenden, Herman Allen and Reuben Jones.

These spirited proceedings of the people of Vermont, though secretly applauded by New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut, were regarded by New York as the outbreak of treason and rebellion against the lawful authority of that State; wherefore, on the 20th of January, 1777, the convention of New York addressed one communication to Congress, and on the 1st of March following, a second, in which they denounced the several petitions and declarations of Vermont as resulting from the intrigues and arts of unprincipled men, and as not having emanated from the desires of the mass of the inhabitants of that controverted district. They affected to be deeply wronged and injured by the appointment by Congress of officers in the disaffected portion of their State without their approval, and demanded the recall of commissions given to Colonel Warner and the officers under him, representing his influence and services to the country as in every way without weight or value.

Meanwhile the organization of the internal government of Vermont was rapidly assuming a definite and practical form, calculated to clothe the State with force and dignity among the other colonies. In April, 1777, a communication was received from Thomas Young, a distinguished citizen of Philadelphia, in which he stated that it was the opinion of a number of the leading members of Congress that if Vermont should at once proceed to adopt a constitution, and appoint delegates to Congress, they would be admitted to a seat in that body without hesitation. Affixed to this communication was a resolution which Congress had passed on the 15th of the previous May, recom-



mending to the several members of the united colonies which had no government sufficient to meet the exigencies of the times, the adoption of such government as would be likely to conduce most to the well-being of the inhabitants. This communication alarmed the Council of Safety of New York, which addressed a letter to the president of Congress deprecating the giving countenance to "the revolvers," and urging Congress to adopt an appropriate resolution on the subject. On the 23d of June one of the delegates from New York laid before Congress the communication of Thomas Young, and succeeded in having it and the several petitions and addresses from New York and Vermont referred to a committee of the whole. On the 30th of June this committee passed several resolutions, among which it was affirmed that the inhabitants of New Hampshire grants would not be justified in their declaration of independence, and that the petition of Vermont to be recognized as an independent State and admitted to a part in the deliberations of Congress should be dismissed. They further resolved that the communication of Thomas Young was derogatory to the honor of Congress, that it was a gross misrepresentation of the congressional resolution to which it referred, and that it was calculated to mislead the people to whom it was addressed. While the transactions which led to the adoption of these resolutions were in progress, the inhabitants of Vermont were engaged in forming a constitution for the regulation of the civil government. On the first Wednesday of June, at Windsor, the same convention which had proclaimed the independence of Vermont appointed a committee to draft a constitution for the State, and requested the several towns to appoint delegates for a convention to be held at Windsor on the 2d of July following, to discuss and adopt said constitution. While the convention of the 2d of July were deliberating upon the constitution which the committee had submitted to their consideration, they received the news of the evacuation on the 6th of July, of Ticonderoga, by the American troops. The alarming intelligence carried consternation to the hearts of all the patriots, and particularly those who lived on frontiers so exposed as Vermont. At first the convention determined upon leaving Windsor, but were delayed by a thunder storm, and occupied the interim in finishing the constitution, which was then reading, paragraph by paragraph, for the last time. This done they appointed a Council of Safety to act during the recess, and adjourned. Previous to adjournment, however, the convention had provided that the election under the constitution should take place in December, 1777, and that the representatives then chosen should meet at Bennington in January, 1778. Owing to the distraction caused by the advance of Burgoyne, however, the constitution was not printed in time for use in December, in consequence of which the Council of Safety again assembled the convention, on the 24th of December, at Windsor, when they revised the constitution, and postponed the day of election to the first Tuesday of March, 1778, and the meeting of the Assembly to the



second Thursday of the same month. These proceedings were looked upon with complacency, if not with approval, by all the sister States except New York. On the 23d of February, 1778, Governor Clinton, of New York, addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of the "grants," in which he made several apparently liberal concessions to them, but expressly declared that his government would "vigorously maintain its rightful supremacy over the persons and property of those disaffected subjects." To this attempt at cajoling the people of Vermont into an acknowledgment which had never been wrung from them by force, Ethan Allen made answer by an address, in which he points out the sophistry of Governor Clinton's overtures, and exhorts his fellow-citizens to perpetuate the independence which they had created. He closed with the following bold, inspiring address to the people of Vermont:

"You have experienced every species of oppression, which the old government of New York, with a Tryon at its head, could invent and inflict; and it is manifest that the new government are minded to follow nearly in their steps. Happy is it for you that you are fitted for the severest trials! You have been wonderfully supported and carried through thus far in your opposition to that government. Formerly you had everything to fear from it, but now little; for your public character is established, and your cause known to be just. In your early struggles with that government you acquired a reputation for bravery; this gave you a relish for martial glory, and the British invasion opened an ample field for its display, and you have gone on conquering and to conquer until tall grenadiers are dismayed and tremble at your approach. Your frontier situation often obliged you to be in arms and battles; and by repeated marchings, scoutings and manly exercises your nerves have become strong to strike the mortal blow. What enemy to the State of Vermont — or New York land-monopolizer, shall be able to stand before you in the day of your fierce anger?"

Heretofore we have had occasion to relate the incidents of the controversy with New York alone. But it is necessary, at this point, to make a short digression for the purpose of introducing an episode concerning a difficulty with the State of New Hampshire. The original territory of that province was bounded on the west by a line sixty miles from the sea; and was granted to John Mason. The district between that line and Connecticut River was parceled out in royal grants and belonged to New Hampshire by virtue of the gubernatorial commissions thereof. When the State of Vermont declared her independence the inhabitants of these grants manifested a disposition to dissolve their connection and unite with the new State. They pleaded in justification that the authority of New Hampshire, which had been created and sustained by virtue of royal commissions, ended with the cessation of royal authority, and they were therefore at liberty to form a separate government, or unite with any neighboring government which would consent to a union.



Consequently, on the 12th day of March, 1778, the very day on which the first Legislature of Vermont began its first session, at Windsor, a petition was presented from sixteen towns on the east side of Connecticut River, praying for admission to a union with Vermont. This petition was the cause of great embarrassment to the Legislature, inasmuch as the majority of the members from the west side of the mountains looked upon the proposed union as a dangerous measure, while those from the vicinity of the Connecticut were so warmly in favor of granting the petition as to propose as an alternative, withdrawing from their connection with Vermont and setting up a separate government with the petitioners. To extricate itself from this dilemma, the Legislature voted, on the 18th of March, to submit the question to the people. Owing, undoubtedly, to the representations of the petitioners that the inhabitants of the sixteen towns were nearly unanimous in their votes to join with Vermont, and that New Hampshire, as a State, would not object to their withdrawal, the petition was sustained by a majority of the towns of Vermont. And on the 11th of June the Legislature, being reconvened by adjournment at Bennington, voted thirty-seven against twelve that the union take place. It was also voted that any other towns on the east side of the Connecticut might be admitted to the union on producing a favorable vote of a majority of the inhabitants, or sending a representative to the Assembly of Vermont.

The government of New Hampshire was greatly incensed at the proceedings. Mr. Weare, president of the Council of New Hampshire, on the 19th of August wrote to Congress for the advice, and if necessary, the interference of that body. On the 22d of the same month, in the name of the General Assembly of New Hampshire, he wrote to Thomas Chittenden, governor of Vermont, asserting the jurisdiction of New Hampshire over the sixteen towns on the east side of Connecticut River, and urging Governor Chittenden to exert his influence to sever a connection which would endanger their peace and perhaps their political existence. Governor Chittenden thereupon immediately convoked the Council, which, after due deliberation, instructed Colonel Ethan Allen to repair to Philadelphia and ascertain the sentiment of Congress with reference to the proceedings. The result showed that that body was nearly unanimous in its opposition to the proceedings of Vermont in the matter, but if the various measures thus far adopted should be rescinded, only the delegates from New York would oppose the recognition of their independence. On the 8th of October the Legislature met again at Windsor by adjournment, and took up the consideration of Colonel Allen's report. The result of the several votes bearing on the question persuaded the members who had taken their seats from the east side of the Connecticut that the Legislature did not incline to a continuation of the hazardous experiment, and they therefore withdrew from the Assembly and were followed by fifteen representatives from towns on the west side of the river, together with the lieutenant-governor and



two members of the Council. Members enough were left to constitute a quorum, and these resolved to refer the vexatious question as to what the procedure should next be, to their constituents, and on the 24th of October adjourned to the second Thursday of the following February, at Bennington. On the 13th of February, the second day of the adjourned session, the Legislature having become convinced that the people on the Connecticut desired nothing so much as to be the center of the State, whether its boundaries included both Vermont and New Hampshire, or neither, and having been authorized to act by their constituents, voted to dissolve the union which had subsisted between Vermont and the towns in New Hampshire. This determination was communicated to the Legislature of New Hampshire while that body was considering proposals from a convention of delegates from the towns on Connecticut River, held at Cornish, New Hampshire, to the effect that their independence be admitted by New Hampshire, or submitted to Congress, or to arbitrators mutually chosen, or that they with the entire States of New Hampshire and Vermont be consolidated into one jurisdiction. The last part of their proposal, together with the vote of the Legislature of Vermont, encouraged the government of New Hampshire to lay claim to all the territory embraced within the original jurisdiction of New Hampshire, including the State of Vermont. Accordingly, application was made to Congress for a confirmation of this claim, at the same time that New York made a like application for the confirmation of her title to the same territory. It now became evident to the people of Vermont that these applications were the result of a conspiracy among some of the leading citizens of those two States to effect between them a division of Vermont by a line along the summit of the Green Mountains. At this juncture, for some unknown purpose, Massachusetts interposed a claim to a portion of the disputed territory as being within her jurisdiction. Thus were the enemies of the independence of Vermont multiplying on every hand, while her proceedings had not received the sanction or encouragement of the Continental Congress.

While the difficulty with New Hampshire was in progress, the intensity of the struggle with New York did not abate. On the 7th of July, 1778, Governor Clinton had advised some of his friends in Vermont, by letter, to make a desperate resistance to the drafting of men, the raising of taxes, and all acts of the State of Vermont in every vicinity where the partisans of New York were sufficiently numerous; and urging them to form associations for "mutual defense against this usurpation." At the same time he wrote to Congress, pressing them for a decision of the controversy, and denouncing the violent proceedings of the people of Vermont. Conformably to this recommendation, the adherents to the claims of New York called a convention at Brattleboro, on the 4th of May, 1779, and drew up a petition to Governor Clinton, in which they complained of the summary confiscation of their property by the "pretended State



of Vermont," and solicited the immediate adoption of measures for their protection, and for hastening Congress to a decision. A military association was formed about the same time, in Cumberland county, to oppose more effectually the authority of Vermont. Then, by representing that they had a regiment of 500 men, they obtained several commissions from Governor Clinton. These proceedings necessitated prompt action by the governor of Vermont, in self defense. He therefore ordered Ethan Allen to call out the militia and put a stop to the military movements of the insurgents. Matters were fast approaching a crisis. The friends of New York implored the protection of Governor Clinton, and received assurances from him; with the recommendation that the authority of Vermont should be strenuously resisted, except in the alternative of submission or ruin. On the 29th of May, 1779, an urgent letter from Governor Clinton, together with other relevant papers, was laid before Congress, and by that body the question was referred to a committee of the whole. In pursuance of the report of this committee Congress resolved, on the first day of June, that a committee be appointed to visit the inhabitants of the territory in dispute, and ascertain why they refused to continue citizens of the respective States which claimed jurisdiction over their district, and endeavor to bring about an amicable settlement, and prevent animosities so prejudicial to the United States.

Meanwhile Allen, attended by an armed force, made prisoners of the colonel and other officers who were acting under the authority of New York. On the 16th of June, in response to an appeal from Governor Clinton, Congress resolved that the officers whom Allen had captured should be liberated, and that the committee just mentioned should make an investigation into the circumstances of that transaction. Only two of the five commissioners came to Vermont—Dr. Witherspoon and Mr. Atlee. These members repaired to Bennington, in June, and seemed to make an earnest effort to effect a reconciliation between the parties. In this, of course, they did not succeed. Under pressure from the four parties which were claiming the same tract of territory and appealing to Congress for a confirmation of their claims, that honorable body passed several resolutions, on the 24th of September, 1779, recommending that New Hampshire, Massachusetts and New York should authorize Congress to determine their disputes, such determination to be made on the 1st of the following February, according to equity. Congress thus apparently desired to placate the parties, and at the same time delay the determination as long as possible, preferring rather to sacrifice Vermont as a separate jurisdiction than to be embroiled in a dispute with either of the other States. This does not seem strange when it is remembered that Congress was in a like predicament with Vermont, for the success of the United States in the contest with Great Britain depended on the harmony of the States in the common cause. The resolutions of the Continental Congress had the desired effect on all the interested



parties but Vermont. Massachusetts did not express her consent, but it was evident that her neglect was intended to relieve Congress from the necessity of deciding the controversy at the appointed time, and to prevent the sacrifice of Vermont. To Vermont herself no alternative remained. Had she complied with the resolutions of Congress, she would have been admitting the authority of three governments over the territory which she had organized a government to defend. The Legislature of Vermont was then in session at Manchester, and there received the resolutions of Congress. On the 16th of October Ethan Allen, Reuben Jones, N. Clark and Jonathan Fassett were appointed a committee to report a plan of defense against the neighboring States, "in consequence of the late acts of Congress." Three days later the General Assembly went into a committee of the whole on the state of the country, and on the 21st made a report which was unanimously adopted, asserting their unalterable determination to maintain the independence of Vermont, and recommending the granting of the unappropriated lands of the State for the benefit thereof. On the following day Ethan Allen, Jonas Fay, Paul Spooner, Stephen R. Bradley and Moses Robinson were appointed to attend the deliberations of Congress in February to vindicate the independence of their State, and negotiate for her admission into the Union.

On the 10th day of December, 1779, the Governor and Council of Vermont published an appeal "to the candid and impartial world," in which they declared that "they could not view themselves as holden, either in the sight of God or man, to submit to the execution of a plan, which they had reason to believe was commenced by neighboring States; that the liberties and privileges of the State or Vermont, by said resolutions, are to be suspended upon the arbitrament and final determination of Congress, when in their opinion they were things too sacred ever to be arbitrated upon at all; and what they were bound to defend at every risk; that Congress had no right to intermeddle in the internal policy and government of Vermont; that the State existed independent of any of the thirteen United States, and was not accountable to them, or to their representatives, for liberty, the gift of the benevolent Creator;—

"That the State of Vermont was not represented in Congress and could not submit to resolutions passed without their consent, or even knowledge, and which put everything that was valuable to them at stake; that there appeared a manifest inequality, not to say predetermination, that Congress should request of their constituents power to judge and determine in the cause, and never ask the consent of the thousands whose all was at stake. They also declared that they were, and ever had been, ready to bear their proportion of the burden and expense of the war with Great Britain from its commencement, whenever they were admitted into the Union with the other States. But they were not so lost to all sense and honor, that after four years of war with Great Britain, in which they had expended so much blood and treasure, they should now give



up everything worth fighting for, — the right of making their own laws, and choosing their own form of government, — to the arbitrament and determination of any man, or body of men, under heaven.”

Congress evaded the expression of any opinion on the subject until the 2d of June, when they resumed the consideration of the matter, and among other things resolved “That the proceedings of the people on the New Hampshire grants, were highly unwarrantable and subversive of the peace and welfare of the United States, and that they be strictly required to abstain from all acts of authority, civil or military, over those inhabitants who profess allegiance to other States.” These resolutions elicited from Governor Chittenden and his Council, on the 25th of July, an address to the president of Congress, strongly deprecating the proceedings of the National Legislature, and among other declarations affirming that if Congress and the neighboring States persisted in the unjust course they were pursuing, the government of Vermont would have no motives to continue hostilities with Great Britain and defend an important frontier for the benefit of a country which treated them as slaves. Notwithstanding the injustice done them, however, they were persuaded, by their attachment to the cause of liberty, once more to offer union with the United States.

Although Vermont denied the authority of Congress to determine the matter, she deemed it prudent to dispatch Ira Allen and Stephen R. Bradley to attend the deliberations upon the subject in September. They were allowed to be present, but not as the representatives of any State. It soon became evident that Congress did not regard Vermont as a party in the controversy, and that it was about to adjudicate between New Hampshire and New York upon the existence of Vermont without her consent. The agents thereupon indignantly withdrew their attendance, and on the 22d of September transmitted a remonstrance to Congress in which they declared that if that body continued its present policy, they “are ready to appeal to God and the world to say who must be accountable for the awful consequences that may ensue.”

On the 27th of September, after hearing the evidence in behalf of New Hampshire, Congress resolved that further consideration of the subject be indefinitely postponed; a course of policy which was at once the wisest to pursue, and the most repugnant to the wishes of Vermont, for by it she was denied the hope of an immediate recognition of her independence. She therefore resolved upon a series of bold and decisive measures, which evinced the abilities and peculiar genius of her statesmen. A large number of inhabitants in the western part of New Hampshire were still desirous of a union with Vermont. There were many others who advocated the maintenance of the jurisdiction of New Hampshire over the whole of her original territory. The latter class succeeded in assembling a convention of delegates from the several towns in Cheshire county, N. H., at Walpole, on the 15th of November, 1780,

by which the towns on both sides of Connecticut River were invited to appoint delegates to meet in convention at Charlestown on the third Tuesday of January following. To the great disappointment of those who had proposed the measure, a considerable majority of the representatives from the forty-three towns which responded to this invitation, were found to be in favor of a union with Vermont. Negotiations were accordingly begun through the agency of committees, which, after the sentiment of the inhabitants of both Vermont and the western part of New Hampshire had been obtained by popular vote, resulted in the admission, on the 6th of April, 1781, to seats in the General Assembly of Vermont, then sitting at Windsor.

Repeated solicitations had also been received from several towns in New York which bordered on Vermont to be taken into the union. In retaliation for the unjustifiable attempts of the government of New York to overturn that of Vermont, the Legislature of the latter State had, on the 14th of February, 1781, laid claim to all the lands west of her present territory and east of Hudson River to the head thereof, and thence east of a line extending north to the 45th degree of north latitude; with the proviso that this jurisdiction should not be exercised for the time being. On the 15th of May, however, a convention composed of a committee appointed by the General Assembly of Vermont and delegates from twelve districts of the towns in New York which were in favor of the union, was held at Cambridge, and articles of union were agreed upon. On the 16th of June following these articles were confirmed by the Legislature of Vermont, and representatives from those districts were admitted to seats in the General Assembly.

Convinced at last that every step which they took to defend the liberties of the United States served only, by increasing her power, to render their own condition more hopeless, the people of Vermont wisely consulted their own safety, and by negotiation with the British enemy in Canada, effected their object. The British generals had for some time cherished the hope that the ungenerous conduct of the American Congress would drive Vermont into an espousal of the British cause. The first intimation of their wishes, however, was communicated to Ethan Allen in a letter from Col. Beverly Robinson, dated New York, March 30th, 1780. The letter was delivered to Allen in the street in Arlington, in July, by a British soldier in the guise of a farmer.

After the usual complimentary introduction, Colonel Robinson said: "I have often been informed that you, and most of the inhabitants of Vermont, are opposed to the wild and chimerical scheme of the Americans in attempting to separate from Great Britain and establish an independent government of their own; and that you would willingly assist in uniting America to Great Britain, and in restoring that happy constitution so wantonly and unadvisedly destroyed. If I have been rightly informed, and these should be your sentiments and inclination, I beg that you will communicate to me without reserve

whatever proposals you would wish to make to the commander-in-chief; and I hereby promise that I will faithfully lay them before him according to your directions, and flatter myself I can do it with as good effect as any person whatever. I can make no proposals to you until I know your sentiments; but think, upon your taking an active part and embodying the inhabitants of Vermont under the crown of England, you may obtain a separate government under the king. If you should think proper to send a friend here with proposals to the general, he shall be protected and allowed to return whenever he pleases."

Allen immediately disclosed the contents of this letter to Governor Chittenden and several other confidential friends, but returned no answer. Not long after he received another and a more urgent communication from Colonel Robinson, in which were authoritative assurances of the most favorable terms. Allen also refrained from replying to this letter, but on the 9th of March, 1781, he enclosed them in a letter to Congress, attended with an explanation of the affair, a justification of the declaration by Vermont of her independence, and an expression of his determination to establish that independence. "When Congress consider the circumstances of this State," said he, "they will, I am persuaded, be more surprised that I have transmitted them the enclosed letters, than that I have kept them in custody so long; for I am as resolutely determined to defend the independence of Vermont, as Congress is that of the United States; and rather than fail, *I will retire with the hardy Green Mountain Boys into the desolate caverns of the mountains, and wage war with human nature at large.*"

In the spring of 1780 several members of the scouting parties belonging to Vermont had been captured by the British and taken to Canada. In the month of July Governor Chittenden requested the commanding officer in Canada to release or exchange them. In the fall General Haldimand came up Lake Champlain with a great force of the British and returned a favorable answer to Governor Chittenden's letter. He also sent a flag to Ethan Allen, then a brigadier-general and commanding officer in Vermont, and proposed a cessation of hostilities pending negotiations for an exchange of prisoners. To this Allen agreed, on condition that the adjacent frontier of New York should be included with Vermont. After demurring to this condition for a time, the British officer conceded the point. Colonel Ira Allen and Major Joseph Fay were appointed by the governor commissioners on the part of Vermont; those on the part of the British being Captain J. Sherwood and George Smith. During the interview the British agents plied the two Americans with proposals for the establishment of Vermont under royal authority, which were received in such a manner that, while no definite expressions were obtained, the British delighted in the belief that they would have little difficulty in accomplishing their object at the proper time.



Vermont was justified in her course by the conduct of Congress in withdrawing the forces of the United States from her frontiers, with the evident purpose of driving her to seek the protection of New York and relinquishing her claims to independence. The British had not fewer than 10,000 troops in Canada, and they entered upon the negotiation the following year with high hopes of success. The principal agent for Vermont in the several interviews which took place, Colonel Ira Allen, accomplished his ends with the most wonderful skill and courage. The conferences occupied seventeen days in the spring of 1781, and while Allen did not once commit himself, he induced the British agents to an agreement that hostilities should not be resumed against Vermont until after the next session of the Assembly. The exact object and extent of these negotiations were at this time known only to eight men, viz.: Thomas Chittenden, Moses Robinson, Samuel Safford, Ethan Allen, Ira Allen, Timothy Brownson, John Fassett and Joseph Fay. When it became known, therefore, that Allen was to make known to the Legislature at Bennington in June the result of the negotiations, a large number of spectators, including Whigs from Vermont and the neighboring States, and secret emissaries from the British in Canada, drew together to learn the true state of affairs. The papers which Colonel Allen read, however, had no mention of an armistice or the establishment of a royal government in Vermont, as the correspondence respecting the matter had been purposely carried on verbally. After reading the papers, Colonel Allen rose and stated that if any member of the committee or any one of the spectators desired further information he was ready to be questioned; but his open conduct satisfied all that nothing contrary to their wishes had taken place between Vermont and the British.

Major Joseph Fay was at this session appointed "commissioner of prisoners," and in July he went on board the *Royal George* on the lake and obtained an exchange and a further extension of the armistice. About this time Ethan Allen and Ira Allen and the British carried on a secret correspondence by means of a British guard of a sergeant and eight men, which conveyed the messages of the British to one of the Allens personally, in the dusk of evening, and returned on the following evening for the answer, which they carried at once to the superior officer on Lake Champlain.

The committee appointed to attend the deliberations of Congress at their session in June consisted of Jonas Fay, Bezaleel Woodward and Ira Allen. Meantime a letter from Lord Germain to Sir Henry Clinton, commander of the British forces in America, was intercepted by the French and found to contain statements which seemed to verify the suspicions of many that Vermont and Great Britain had really come to a definite and mutually agreeable understanding. It was dated Whitehall, February 7, 1781, and contained, among other things, the following significant sentence: "The return of the people of Vermont to their allegiance, is an event of the utmost importance to



the king's affairs ; and at this time, if the French and Washington really meditate an irruption into Canada, may be considered as opposing an insurmountable bar to the attempt." This letter, says an able writer, did more towards disposing Congress to recognize the independence of Vermont and to gain her admission into the Union, than all her sacrifices and services in maintaining the war. It also convinced the diplomats in Vermont that their correspondence with the British had had the force to induce a belief even in the minds of the members of the British cabinet that the inhabitants of the Green Mountain State were generally in favor of the resumption of royal authority.

At another interview between Colonel Allen and Major Fay, on the one hand, and the British agents on the other, held in September, 1781, a plan of government was agreed upon. This was to consist of a governor whom the king should appoint, and who should be a citizen of the State ; a lieutenant-governor and twelve councilors, chosen by the people ; and a house of representatives composed of delegates from the respective towns. During this interview the British agents insisted that Vermont should at once declare herself a British province ; to which the Vermont commissioners opposed the argument that as the inhabitants of some parts of the territory had not yet been won over to sympathy with the British, such a proclamation would be extremely hazardous, for the frontiers of Vermont could not without a unanimity of sentiment among the people be defended against the forces of the United States. The British then proposed the following alternative, as the ultimatum : During the session of the Legislature in October a proclamation should be issued by the British general, declaring Vermont a colony under the crown, and confirming the plan of government they had agreed upon ; whereupon the Legislature of Vermont should accept the same, and take measures to carry it into effect ; or, the armistice must then and there be declared at an end. After considerable discussion the commissioners were forced to accede to the first proposition. Early in the following month, while the Legislature was in session at Charlestown, General St. Leger landed at Ticonderoga with a powerful army. The Vermont troops were at Castleton under the command of General Enos, who, with Colonels Fletcher and Walbridge, was alone acquainted with the true state of affairs. The body of the troops being ignorant of the negotiations, were kept free from suspicions by the frequent sending out of scouting parties. One of these, commanded by Sergeant Tupper, exchanged shots with a party of the British which they met, and Tupper was killed. General St. Leger gave orders that his body be decently buried, and sent his clothing and an open letter of regret to General Enos. This proceeding aroused the suspicions of the troops, and much murmuring was the result. General Enos and Colonels Fletcher and Walbridge immediately sent Mr. Hathaway with letters to Governor Chittenden. Hathaway was not in the secret, and gave information in the streets of Charlestown of the remarkable conduct of the British general, in con-



sequence of which he was followed by a large concourse of people to the governor's apartment, eager after information of which they might make an ill use. The letters contained intelligence concerning the negotiation which it was not deemed prudent to make public. At this time Major Runnels entered the room, and demanded of Colonel Ira Allen why St. Leger should regret the killing of Tupper. Allen's reply not being satisfactory, evoked an unmannerly rebuke from Runnels, who was thereupon requested to return to his regiment and not ask impertinent questions when the frontier was threatened by the enemy.

The government of Vermont seemed to be approaching an imminent crisis. It is impossible to tell what the result of a proclamation by the British general at this time might have led to; for, at the most favorable moment, a report became current that Cornwallis had surrendered. Thereupon Colonel Allen and Major Fay wrote to the British agents that it would be inexpedient to publish the proposed proclamation until this report was confuted, that all doubts might be removed concerning the ability of Vermont to maintain her frontier against the forces of the United States. Not more than an hour after this letter was delivered to the British at Fort Ticonderoga, an express from the south confirmed the report of the capture of Cornwallis and his whole army. Before night the British left Ticonderoga with all their stores, and sailed to Canada. In the winter of 1782 and the spring of 1783 further correspondence took place between Governor Chittenden, or Colonel Ira Allen, and the British authorities in Canada, which resulted in securing an extension of the armistice until the close of the war. And even after that auspicious termination of the contest, letters frequently passed between this State and Great Britain, which had the desired effect of hastening the end of the controversy between Vermont and New York, and the admission of the former State into the Union.

During all these proceedings with the British the commissioners appointed to attend the deliberations of Congress, in Philadelphia, in the spring of 1781, had been laboring to effect the admission of their State into the Union. On the 7th of August Congress began the consideration of the subject, and appointed a committee of five persons to confer with the committee from Vermont, and agree with them upon the terms of admission, provided Congress should recognize the independence of that State. After a conference held on the 18th of August, the Congressional Committee made a report to Congress, upon which that body adopted the following resolution: "Resolved, That it be an indispensable preliminary to the recognition of the independence of the people inhabiting the territory called Vermont, and their admission into the Federal Union, that they explicitly relinquish all demands of lands or jurisdiction on the east side of the west bank of Connecticut River, and on the west side of a line beginning at the northwest corner of Massachusetts, thence running twenty miles east of Hudson River, so far as said river continues north-



easterly in its general course, then by the west bounds of the townships granted by the late government of New Hampshire, to the river running into East Bay, thence along said river and bay to Lake Champlain, thence along the waters of said lake to latitude 45 degrees north."

For an obvious reason this resolution dissatisfied both Vermont and New York; the former, because it called upon her to dissolve a union which had proved to be one of the principal elements of her strength, and which she was in sacred honor bound to preserve; and the latter, because it compelled on her part a renunciation of all the claims upon which the controversy had been continued. On the 19th of October the Legislature of Vermont, in assembly at Charlestown, voted that they could not comply with the resolution of Congress. The Legislature of New York also entered a protest against the measures pursued by the United States. Meanwhile a correspondence between Governor Chittenden and General Washington had served to influence the minds of the leading men of Vermont to such a degree, that the Vermont Legislature, on the 22d of February, 1782, resolved to comply with the resolution of Congress, "and relinquish all claims to jurisdiction, beyond the bounds therein mentioned." This compliance greatly displeased and disappointed those inhabitants of the territory east of the Connecticut, who had favored the union with Vermont. The refusal of Vermont to comply had caused such feeling in Congress, that on the 1st of March, before they had learned of her subsequent compliance, they attempted to adopt a series of spirited resolutions, to the effect that if Vermont did not, within one month from the time the resolutions were communicated to Governor Chittenden, comply with the preliminary resolution, such refusal would be interpreted as a signal of hostility to the United States. Vermont would thus be regarded by Congress as divided between New Hampshire and New York, by a line along the summit of the Green Mountains.

After a protracted debate it was found that the foregoing resolutions could not at that time pass Congress, and soon after the attempt was suspended, a new committee from Vermont, consisting of Jonas Fay, Moses Robinson, Paul Spooner and Isaac Tichenor, arrived in Philadelphia to complete the admission of Vermont into the Union. At their report Congress again took up the matter and referred it to a committee of five persons, which, after mature deliberation, recommended the immediate admission of Vermont into the Union. But the votes of Congress, looking to a postponement of the consideration of the report, so disappointed the agents from Vermont that they addressed a remonstrance to the president of Congress, and left Philadelphia. In the following October, that the world might not question their good faith, the Legislature of Vermont, notwithstanding their disgust at the evasive policy pursued by Congress, again appointed agents with plenary powers to obtain the admission of the State into the Union.

Pending these transactions the Legislature of New York determined to try



the effect of a lenient course towards the inhabitants of the territory to which that State laid claim, and therefore, on the 14th of April, 1782, passed several acts, granting pardon and immunity to the inhabitants of the district for all crimes charged against them, excepting murder, and treason in adhering to the king of Great Britain, and confirming all the grants of lands made by New Hampshire, prior to those made by New York, all grants of New York not preceded by grants to New Hampshire, all Vermont grants not previously granted, and further confirming the possessions of individuals of tracts not exceeding 500 acres. These acts, however, had no influence with the people of Vermont, who understood their situation and rights too well to be wheedled into a submission which they had escaped by means of force and management. It was true that there were people in the State, however, who were in open sympathy with the government of New York, and, particularly in the southern part of the county of Windham, those were found who recommended the organization of a military force for the purpose of effectually resisting the authority of Vermont. These rebellious acts determined the government of Vermont to suppress the insurrection before it could acquire power. The militia were ordered out and the leaders in the rebellion taken. Five of them were banished from the State and others punished according to the degree of their offense. Against this proceeding, of course, New York remonstrated to Congress, which, after much angry discussion, on the 5th of December, severely censured Vermont for having exercised authority over persons who professed allegiance to New York. They resolved, among other things, that Vermont make full restitution to the persons condemned to banishment or confiscation of property, and that they be permitted to return unmolested to said district. The closing words of the resolution were, "that the United States will take effectual measures to enforce a compliance with the aforesaid resolutions, in case the same shall be disobeyed by the people of the said district." On the 9th of January, 1783, the Governor and Council of Vermont returned a vigorous remonstrance to the foregoing resolutions, complaining of the breach of faith on the part of Congress in refusing to fulfill the solemn engagement made on the 20th of August, regarding the admission of Vermont into the Union. It also asserted that Vermont had as much right to prescribe measures to Congress as that body had to intermeddle in the internal affairs of Vermont. The praiseworthy temperance of the Governor and Council was evinced by the closing words of the remonstrance, to the effect that Vermont still desired admittance into the Union, and would not recede from the compliance, which she had voted, with the congressional resolution of August 20, 1780. Another remonstrance, equally spirited, was sent to Congress on the 26th of February, 1783, and the issue showed that Congress did not feel disposed to carry her intemperate threats into force. For several years after the termination of the war with Great Britain the courts and various departments of the State government were so embarrassed by the



riots and disturbances produced by malcontents, who were undoubtedly suffering from the effects of a struggle which had loaded the government and the people heavily with debts, that the controversy with Congress and the State of New York was almost forgotten. At the close of this war Vermont found herself happy in not having been admitted into the confederation of States. The United States was, owing to its depreciating currency, and its debility, rapidly sinking into contempt. There seemed little prospect that the country would be able to pay the enormous debt which had been contracted during the war; while the government of Vermont, notwithstanding her many embarrassments of earlier days, "was moving prosperously onward and was daily increasing in firmness and efficiency." The discouraging tendency of public affairs in the nation fortunately evoked the energies of her wisest statesmen, who constructed and procured the adoption of the new constitution, equipped with powers adequate to the exigencies of that and of every time. This constitution was ratified by the States, and on the 3d of March, 1789, the first Congress under it convened. By the wise and prudent measures which it adopted it restored to the people of Vermont much of that confidence that the old Congress destroyed. The more recent government of New York, too, manifested a disposition to lay aside the asperities of the full-grown controversy, because it was too plainly a useless task to overturn the now powerful government of Vermont. The former governors of New York, however, had entailed upon their successors the necessity of effecting a settlement, not alone with Vermont, but with the numerous persons who had purchased lands in Vermont from the old State of New York, and after the various expenditures preliminary to occupation, were forced at last to abandon the hope of establishing a settlement under their grant. The government of New York did not feel inclined to refund what the cupidity of the royal governors had extorted, yet she was anxious to compromise the matter and have the difficulties amicably adjusted. Accordingly, on the 15th of July, 1789, the Legislature of New York passed an act appointing commissioners with full powers to acknowledge the independence of Vermont and bring the controversy to an end. On the 23d of the following October the Legislature of Vermont appointed commissioners on their part to treat with those appointed by New York, and to prepare the way for the admission of Vermont into the Union. On the 7th of October, 1790, the commissioners for New York declared the consent of the New York Legislature to the admission of Vermont into the Union; "and that immediately upon such admission all claims of jurisdiction of the State of New York, within the State of Vermont, shall cease, and thenceforth the perpetual boundary line of the State of Vermont shall be as was then holden and possessed by Vermont," viz.: The west lines of the most western towns which had been granted by New Hampshire, and the middle channel of Lake Champlain.

Concerning the lands which had been granted by New York, it was agreed



that if the Legislature of Vermont "should, on or before the 1st day of January, 1792, declare that, on or before the 1st day of June, 1794, the State of Vermont would pay to the State of New York the sum of thirty thousand dollars, that immediately from such declaration by the Legislature of the State of Vermont, all rights and titles to lands within the State of Vermont, under grants from the government of the colony of New York, or from the State of New York, should cease;" except alone those which had been made in confirmation of New Hampshire grants. To this the Legislature of Vermont at once agreed, and on the 28th of October, 1790, directed the State treasurer to pay the sum of thirty thousand dollars to the State of New York at the time agreed upon.

A controversy of twenty-six years' duration being thus amicably settled, proceedings were set on foot to ascertain the views of the inhabitants of Vermont with reference to the union with the United States. At a convention called for that purpose, held at Bennington on the 6th day of January, 1791, a final vote was obtained! after four days of deliberation, yeas 105, nays 2, that application be made for admission into the Federal Union. On the 18th of the same month the Legislature appointed the Hon. Nathaniel Chipman and Lewis R. Morris commissioners to attend Congress and secure the admission of the State. They immediately repaired to Philadelphia, and on the 18th of February, 1791, procured the passage of an act declaring that "on the 4th of March, 1791, the said State, by the name and style of 'the State of Vermont,' shall be received and admitted into their union, as a new and entire member of the United States of America." The act was passed without debate and without a dissenting vote.

CHAPTER V.

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

Chittenden County in 1776 — Disadvantages of the Colonies — Ethan Allen at Ticonderoga — Surrender of St. Johns — Capture of Allen — Siege of Quebec — Repulses in the North — Arnold's Defeat — Campaign of 1777 — Advance of Burgoyne — His Compact with the Indians — Americans Retreat from Ticonderoga — Battle of Hubbardton — Schuyler's Timidity — Battle of Bennington — Engagements at Behm's Heights — Capture of Burgoyne — Return of Ethan Allen.

AT the outbreak of the Revolution the territory embraced within the present limits of Chittenden county was almost completely in a state of nature. As we have said in a former page, there is reason to believe that Colchester Point, perhaps as early as the seventeenth century, contained a promising little settlement of French, who must have deemed their village one of the



suburbs of Fort La Motte. When the French receded before the power of the English under General Amherst, they were forced to leave the evidence of their occupation behind. Many of the soldiers who fought under the English flag were adventurous men from the British provinces in America, and were alive to the possible improvement of their worldly condition. They were attracted by the beauty of the country along Lake Champlain, and their cupidity, perhaps, was excited by the apparent fertility of the soil, the rare advantages offered to the manufacturer by the number and power of mill privileges, and to the trader by the facilities along the lake for transportation. Moreover the forests, mountains and streams abounded with game for the hunter and trapper. Settlement was encouraged by Governor Wentworth, and by the royal governor of New York. The king of Great Britain himself rewarded the fidelity of his soldiers with grants of land in the most smiling portion of his colonial possessions. With all these agencies at work, the wonder is that settlement did not progress more rapidly between the close of the French and English War and the commencement of the Revolution; but at that period only the most daring and adventurous spirits had invaded the wildernesses of Northern Vermont, and many of these returned to their families in Massachusetts, Connecticut, or New Hampshire for the winter.

Previous to the Revolution all the territory within the present boundaries of the county had been divided into townships, and granted for the most part to speculators who had no intention of settling here. The town of Bolton was granted on the 1st of June, 1763; six towns, viz., Burlington, Colchester, Essex, Huntington, Jericho, and Williston, were granted on the 7th of the same month. Milton and Westford were granted on the 8th of June, and Shelburne and St. George on the 18th of August following. The first towns granted in the county, however, were Charlotte and Hinesburg, both charters bearing date of June 24, 1762. Underhill was not granted until the 8th day of June, 1765. Under a number of these grants, settlement had begun before 1776. Felix Powell, Lemuel Bradley, and several others settled in Burlington a short time before the war; Ira Allen and Remember Baker came from Arlington to Winooski Falls in 1772. Two years later Thomas Chittenden and Jonathan Spafford came down the lake in a bateau, and began a settlement in Williston. Derick Webb, a German, attempted a settlement in Charlotte early in 1766, and again in 1777. Allen and Baker erected Fort Frederick on the north side of Winooski River in 1773. Colchester, indeed, was more extensively settled than any other town in the vicinity. There were two settlers in Hinesburg, three in Jericho, two in Richmond, a number in Shelburne, and about forty families along the Winooski River and the lake shore adjoining. On the advance of the enemy from Canada in 1776, all the settlements in this part of the State were abandoned, and not occupied again till after the surrender of Burgoyne and the close of the war. Most of those who left the territory zeal-



ously espoused the cause of liberty, and bore an active, in many cases an eminent, part in the war.

The events of the Revolution, in which the inhabitants of the several towns now comprising the county of Chittenden figured prominently, are so few that this chapter cannot be confined to a narration of them alone. We have concluded, therefore, to give a brief account of the part which Vermont took in that great struggle. Several skirmishes took place along the lake and on the Winooski River, notably the attack on Moses Pierson in Shelburne, Joseph Brown in Jericho, and Captain John Barnet in Richmond, which will receive more particular mention in the histories of the respective towns in which they occurred.

In 1769 Sir Guy Carleton had urged the British ministry to hold the line of communication between the St. Lawrence and New York as a means of preventing the combination of the colonies in the controversies then agitating between Great Britain and her refractory provinces in America. When the war came on he looked upon the office of recovering that line as reserved of right for himself. He proposed in the campaign of 1777 to advance to Albany; designing for the present only to acquire the mastery of Lake Champlain. In building vessels of war on these waters the Americans had the advantage in nothing but time. The skill of their ship-builders was demanded elsewhere in fitting out public vessels and privateers; the naval stores, meager as they were, had to be transported from tide-water to the lake, over almost impassable roads; and every stick of timber was to be cut in the adjacent forests. When the resolute zeal of the patriots had constructed a fleet of eight gondolas, three row-galleys, and four sloops, or schooners, there were no naval officers, nor mariners, nor gunners to take charge of them. The chief command fell on Arnold, a landsman; his second was Waterbury, a brigadier in the Connecticut militia; while the crews were mostly soldiers. On the other hand Carleton had the assistance of constructors from England, from the fleet in the St. Lawrence, and from the province of Quebec. Naval equipments and materials for ship-building were contributed in abundance by the admiralty. It sent from the British yards three vessels of war fully prepared for service, in the belief that they could be dragged up the rapids of the Richelieu. More than two hundred flat-boats were constructed at Montreal and hauled to St. Johns, from where a deep channel leads to the lake. The army was composed in part of the men of Brunswick and of Waldeck, who were provided with a seemingly invincible artillery, and were flushed with confidence of victory. Moreover, while the fleet was being built and transferred to Lake Champlain, the troops for nearly three months were trained as sharpshooters; were exercised in charging upon imagined enemies in a forest; were taught to row, and became familiar with the manners of the Indian warriors, who were to form their van in four hundred canoes. From a comparison of the advantages enjoyed by the

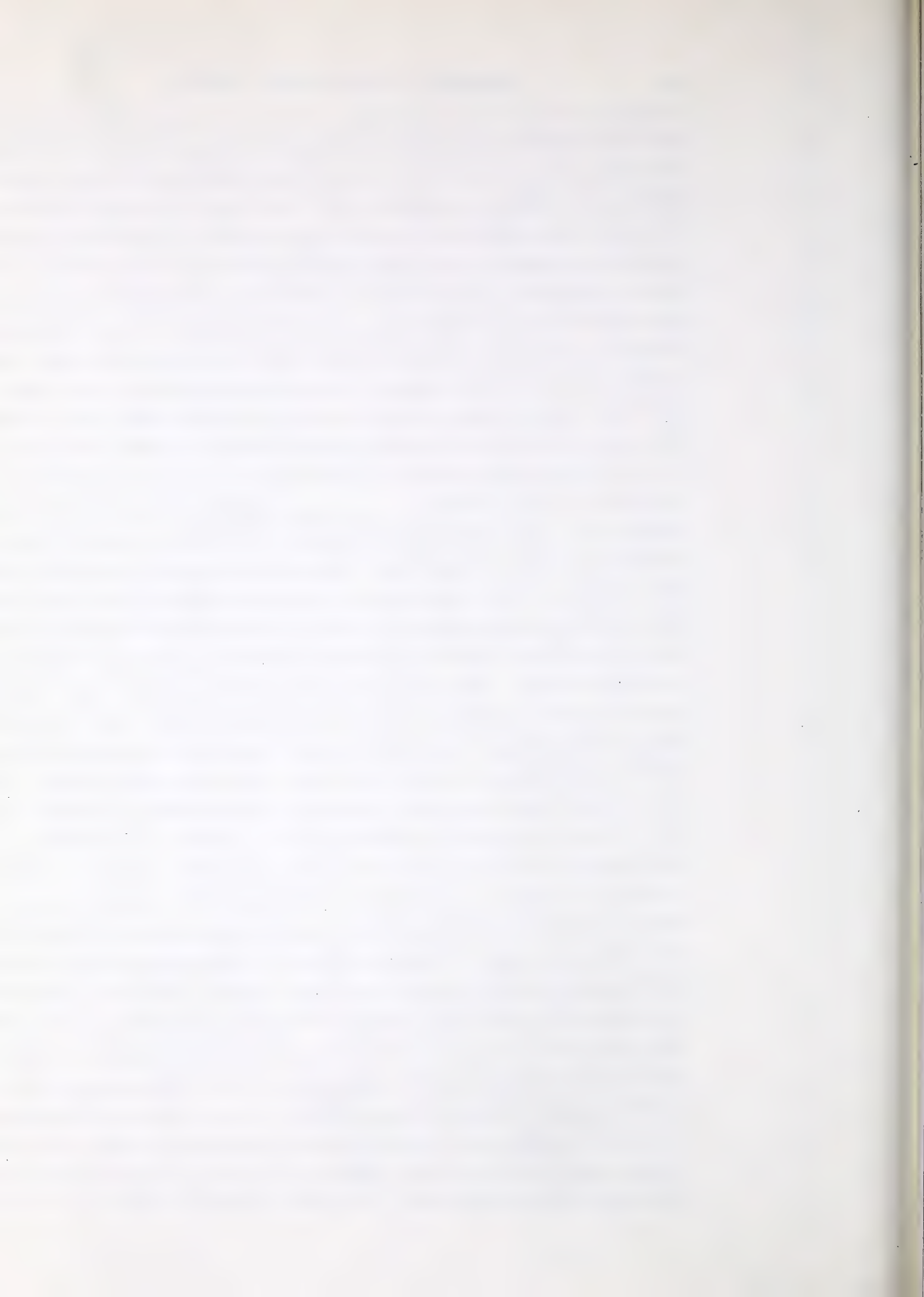


Americans with those which favored the British, the result of the conflict on Lake Champlain would seem easy to predict.

In the mean time how had the several posts on the lake passed from the possession of the British into the hands of the Americans? As soon as it became certain that the war could not be averted, the importance of securing the command of the lake to the Americans was perceived, and the design of effecting the reduction of the forts engaged the attention of several persons both in Massachusetts and Connecticut, though the practical development of this design was reserved for Connecticut. A loan of \$1,800 was obtained from the Legislature of that State, with which a quantity of ammunition was purchased, and the projectors hastened to Bennington to procure the services of Ethan Allen. He readily consented to conduct the expedition, and started north for the purpose of collecting the required number of men, while his friends from Connecticut repaired to Castleton, and were soon after joined by himself and his recruits. During these proceedings Colonel Benedict Arnold had received his commission from the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, and by reason of his representations that the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point were in a ruinous condition and feebly garrisoned, obtained orders to raise a force of four hundred men and effect the reduction of these important posts. Arnold had reached Stockbridge, on the western border of Massachusetts, on Saturday, May 6, but had scarcely begun the labor of collecting his force when he learned that a party of men from Connecticut were in advance of him with the same object, and he followed with all haste in their train and reached Castleton on Monday evening. His commission as colonel was not in the usual form of such documents, but was restricted to the particular purpose of raising men for the capture of Ticonderoga. According to its terms he was merely authorized to enlist the men by whom the reduction was to be made, and to command only those whom he should enlist. It was plain that he had no right to assume the command of the men from Connecticut or those whom Allen had collected, without their consent. He insisted upon being placed at the head of this expedition, however, with so great pertinacity, that the men, to whom he was a stranger, became alarmed lest he should prevail, and declared their intention of serving under the officers whom they had already engaged, or returning home at once. Arnold therefore yielded with no good grace, but was permitted to serve as a volunteer, with the rank of colonel, but without any command. Notwithstanding these difficulties the matter had been conducted with such dispatch that on the evening of the 9th of May, Allen reached Orwell, opposite Ticonderoga, while the British garrison were totally ignorant of the proceedings, and unapprehensive of a hostile visit at this time. Allen's whole force numbered 270 men, of whom 230 were Green Mountain Boys. A Mr. Douglas was sent to Bridport to procure aid in men, and a scow for the transportation of troops. He stopped by the way to enlist a Mr. Chap-



man in the enterprise, when James Wilcox and Joseph Tyler, two young men who were in bed in the chamber, and who heard the story, conceived the design of decoying to the shore a large oar-boat belonging to Major Skeene, which then lay off against Willow Point. They dressed, and with a jug of rum which they knew would be a powerful argument with the black commander, gathered four assistants as they went, and after hailing the boat offered to help row it to Shoreham if they could be carried there immediately, where they were waited for by a hunting party. The ruse succeeded, and the three men on the boat, when they reached Allen's party, were made prisoners. At about the same time Douglas arrived with the scow, and several other boats were discovered, so that Allen embarked with eighty-three men and landed near the fort. The boats were sent back for the rear guard under Colonel Seth Warner, but as the day was already dawning, and the fort must be surprised at once or not at all, the men were drawn up in three ranks, while Allen addressed them: "Friends and fellow-soldiers: . . . We must this morning quit our pretensions to valor or possess ourselves of this fortress; and inasmuch as it is a desperate attempt, which none but the bravest men dare undertake, I do not urge it on any contrary to his will. You that will undertake voluntarily, poise your fire-locks." Every fire-lock was poised, whereupon Allen placed himself at the head of the men and led them up the height to the fortress. Before the sun rose he had entered the gate and formed his men on the parade, between the barracks. Here they gave three cheers. When Allen had passed the gate a sentinel snapped his fusee at him and retreated under a covered way; another guard made a thrust at one of the officers with a bayonet, slightly wounding him; but Allen struck the assailant on the side of his head with a sword, at which he threw down his musket and asked quarter. This being granted, Allen demanded to be led to the apartment of Captain Delaplace. This was reached by a staircase on the outside of the barracks. The brief dialogue that followed between Allen and Captain Delaplace is familiar to every school-boy: "Deliver to me the fort instantly," demanded Allen to the terrified and half dressed commander of the fort. "By what authority?" asked the latter. "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," answered Allen. Delaplace began to remonstrate, but was peremptorily interrupted, and at sight of the drawn sword of Allen near his head he surrendered the garrison and ordered the men to be paraded without arms. This "reduction" of Fort Ticonderoga was accomplished before sunrise on May 10, 1775, only a few hours before the first meeting of the "Continental Congress" in the State House at Philadelphia; and to Allen belongs the honor of accomplishing, without the loss of blood or money, that which by ordinary methods or ordinary men would have been the work of weeks, and which, indeed, might never have been achieved by others. With the fortress were surrendered fifty prisoners and 120 pieces of cannon, besides swivels, small



arms and stores. Crown Point surrendered at the first summons, to a detachment under Colonel Seth Warner, its garrison of twelve men, with sixty-one cannon fit for service and fifty-three that were useless. Another party took Skeenesborough the same day, making the younger Major Skeene a prisoner and capturing a schooner and several bateaux, with all of which the victors hastened to Ticonderoga. Elated with their success the Americans now determined to obtain the command of the lake by getting possession of an armed sloop which then lay at St. Johns. They armed and manned a schooner and procured a number of bateaux. Arnold again arrogantly interposed his claim of the command, but was forced to submit to the unanimous opposition of the officers and men, who delivered to Colonel Allen a certificate or commission signed by Edward Mott, chairman, stating that "by virtue of the power given them by the colony of Connecticut" they had appointed him to command the expedition against the fort, and requiring him to "keep the command and possession of the same for the use of the American colonies until he should have further orders from the colony of Connecticut or the Continental Congress." A copy of this commission, with an account of the capture, and the claims of Arnold, was transmitted to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts by Colonel Easton, and Arnold sent his version of the affair to the same body. His pretensions were not sanctioned by them, however. He had assisted with bravery in the attack on the fort, marching on the left of Allen, seeming to have consented to a divided control with him, taking the position of a subordinate who was entitled to some official consideration. In the expedition against St. Johns he took command of the schooner and Allen commanded the bateaux. A fresh wind sprang up from the south, enabling the schooner to out-sail the bateaux and reach St. Johns some hours ahead. Arnold surprised and captured the sloop, and in obedience to the wind, which shifted to the north, he started south with his prize and met Allen with his bateaux some distance from St. Johns. Lake Champlain and its fortresses were now completely in the hands of the Americans.

In the hope that Canada could be induced to join the other colonies in the struggle against Great Britain, and for the purpose of frustrating the designs of the governor of that province, who had been making exertions to engage the Canadians and Indians to fall upon the colonial frontiers, Congress determined to send a body of American troops to the north. Accordingly about a thousand men were collected and placed under command of Generals Schuyler and Montgomery. A large number of bateaux and flat-boats were constructed at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, in the manner and at the disadvantages before described. But soon after Montgomery had set out from Crown Point he received information that General Carleton was prepared to defeat his intentions; that he had provided a powerful naval force and was soon to enter the lake from the north with a body of British troops. Montgomery proceeded



down the lake to prevent this, and landed with that portion of the men who had joined him at Isle La Motte, where he was soon overtaken by Schuyler. They then moved forward to Isle aux Noix, where they took measures to oppose the entrance of the British into the lake. They sent proclamations into the adjacent country, assuring the Canadians of their friendly disposition toward them, and inviting them to join hands with the Americans in asserting their rights and securing their liberties. On the 6th of September they continued their progress down the lake without opposition and effected a landing about a mile and a half above the fort at St. Johns. While advancing to reconnoiter the works their left was attacked by a party of Indians, who were not repulsed until three of the Americans had been killed and eight wounded. The Indians lost five killed and four severely wounded. The fort was found to be well garrisoned and prepared for an attack, wherefore the Americans deemed it prudent to return to Isle aux Noix and await the expected artillery and reinforcements. Schuyler returned to Albany from there on a necessary errand, leaving the command to Montgomery. That general on the 17th of September proceeded to St. Johns with the reinforcements, and laid siege to the fort. It was garrisoned by nearly two British regiments and contained most of the regular troops of Canada, besides being well supplied with artillery, ammunition and military stores. Montgomery first attempted to detach the Indians, who had united with Carleton, from the British cause. In this he was successful. He then dispatched parties of the provincials over the adjacent country, who were favorably received by the Canadians and informed that Fort Chambly, a small fortress farther down the Sorel, contained a large quantity of ammunition and military stores, which were much needed by the Americans. Majors Brown and Livingston were therefore ordered to proceed against it, and after a short struggle took the garrison of about 100 men, together with 120 barrels of powder, a large quantity of military stores and provisions, and the standard of the Seventh Regiment. This standard was immediately transmitted to Congress. And thus Lake Champlain witnessed the capture of the first fort and the first trophy in the War of the Revolution.

The besiegers now renewed their advances upon the fort at St. Johns with redoubled energy. The garrison, which consisted of between six hundred and seven hundred men, was in daily expectation of relief from General Carleton, and therefore made a determined resistance. Owing to the disaffection of the Canadians Carleton could not muster more than a thousand men, including enlistments from every source. Purposing to cross the St. Lawrence and join the forces of Colonel MacLean, who had taken post at the mouth of the Richelieu with a few hundred Scotch immigrants, and with his aid raise the siege of Fort St. Johns, he embarked his troops at Montreal for Longueil. It happened that Colonel Seth Warner, at the head of about three hundred Green Mountain Boys, observed this embarkation from the opposite shore and prepared for the



approach of the British. When they had come within easy range the Americans opened upon them a vigorous and well-directed fire of musketry and of grape from a four-pounder which was in their possession, which threw the British into irrecoverable confusion. They almost immediately beat a precipitate retreat. The intelligence of this defeat so discouraged the commander of the garrison at St. Johns, Major Preston, that on the 3d of November he surrendered. The garrison of 500 regular troops and more than 100 Canadian volunteers became prisoners of war, and were conducted into the interior of New England.

In the mean time Col. Ethan Allen had been urged by Major Brown to cooperate with him in the reduction of Montreal. He was to cross the river and land a little north of the city, with his band of eighty men, while Brown with a force numbering about two hundred, was to land a little to the south. Both were to commence the attack at the same time. Allen crossed the river according to agreement, and waited for the appearance of Brown upon the other side. But he waited in vain. Daylight came on and Allen could have saved himself by a retreat, but he hardly knew the meaning of the word, and somewhat rashly determined to hold his ground. Early in the morning of September 25, General Carleton marched out against him with a force of about forty regulars and several hundred English settlers, Indians and Canadians. Allen had in addition to his Green Mountain followers, a few Canadians. These soon deserted him, and he was left to oppose the British with his resolute band from the "New Hampshire Grants." They fought with desperate courage until fifteen of their men were killed and several wounded, when Allen and thirty-eight of his men were taken prisoners, and immediately loaded with irons. They were then put on board a man-of-war and carried to England, suffering the most inhuman treatment on the voyage.

After defeating Carleton and compelling MacLean to retire to Quebec, Col. Warner proceeded to insure the command of the entrance into Lake Champlain by the erection of a battery at the mouth of the Richelieu. From St. Johns, Montgomery went to Montreal and took possession on the 13th of November, without opposition, General Carleton having abandoned it to its fate, and made good his escape down the river in the night, in a canoe with muffled oars. General Prescott with 120 British officers and privates, who had not yet been sent to New England, also attempted to escape with a number of armed vessels laden with provisions and other necessaries, but were intercepted at the mouth of the Sorel River, and captured without the loss of a man.

Carleton went to Quebec, where he began preparations for defense. On the 9th of November Col. Arnold, notwithstanding the incredible hardships which attended the undertaking, reached Quebec by the way of Maine and Canada, with a force of 700 men. Montgomery joined him on the 1st of December. The garrison at Quebec numbered fifteen hundred men, while that



of Arnold and Montgomery combined did not exceed one thousand. The siege was begun by the artillery and shells, but as these produced little effect on the works, it was agreed to make a general assault. On the morning of the 31st of December the troops were led on to the attack. The carnage was fearful. Nearly one-half of the American troops were either killed or taken prisoners, and the brave Montgomery was slain. Arnold was severely wounded, but he took command of the forces that were left, and continued the blockade, in the belief that reinforcements would soon arrive. This was the end of the campaign of 1775.

The expected reinforcements came so slowly that when General Thomas reached the camp before Quebec, on the 1st of May, 1776, the total number of men in the American army there did not exceed 1,900. The number gradually increased, however, and before preparations for an attempt against the city could be completed, amounted to 3,000 in all. But the troops had suffered fearfully from the ravages of small-pox, a disease until then unknown to the Americans. So terrified were the soldiers that it was almost impossible to keep them from dispersing and fleeing in disorder from the fatal pestilence. Of the 3,000 troops which had arrived, not more than 900 were fit for duty. In this state of things it was decided, in a council of war, that nothing could be effected against the city, and that the best move, therefore, would be to abandon the siege and make an immediate but orderly retreat. The next day a British man-of-war and two frigates, which had cut their way through the ice while the navigation was extremely dangerous, arrived at Quebec. One thousand marines disembarked, and with 800 of the troops of Quebec, under General Carleton, marched out about noon to give battle to the Americans. But they had already retreated, and so precipitately that all their artillery, stores and baggage, and many of their sick, were left behind and fell into the hands of the British. The prisoners received the most humane treatment from their captors. The Americans retreated forty-five miles without halting, and at the Richelieu found several regiments under the command of General Thompson, waiting for them. In a few days General Thompson succeeded General Thomas in the command, the latter having died of the small-pox. The new commander was almost immediately superseded by General Sullivan, who arrived with several battalions and planned an imprudent expedition against the British. The army of the enemy had increased by continual accessions from Europe to about 13,000 in number, and were stationed principally at Three Rivers, which was situated on the north side of the St. Lawrence, half way between Quebec and Montreal. To surprise this post, General Sullivan, on the 7th of June, detached General Thompson with 1,800 men, who went down the river in the night. They were unable to reach Three Rivers before daylight, were discovered by the British before they reached the village, and dispersed with the loss of their general and about 200 men, who were taken prisoners.



Early in the spring Montreal had been placed under command of Arnold, who was raised to the rank of brigadier-general. He posted one Col. Beadle with 380 men at a small fort called the Cedars, about forty-three miles above Montreal. On the advance of a force down the river which were apparently directing their movements against the Cedars, Beadle abandoned the command to Major Butterfield, and hurried for reinforcements to Montreal. On the 15th of May Butterfield, with reprehensible pusillanimity, surrendered the fort and garrison to the British. Meantime Major Sherburne had been detached from Montreal to the relief of the Cedars, with a force of 140 men, but on their way were attacked by a body of about 500 Indians, and after a spirited defense of nearly two hours, were made prisoners. During the engagement many of the Americans were killed and many wounded. Twenty others were afterwards brutally massacred, and the remainder stripped and delivered to Captain Foster, the British successor to Major Butterfield at the Cedars. Arnold determined to avenge these barbarities, and repaired to the fort at the head of 800 or 900 men, but was there met with a communication from Captain Foster stating that Major Sherburne and other officers had signed a cartel, and that unless he should consent to do the same, the prisoners should all be immediately put to death. The proposition was therefore necessarily acceded to. Nothing now remained for the American army in Canada to do except to make a rapid retreat with as little loss as possible. The post at Sorel was abandoned on the 14th of June, and in a few hours was in possession of the British. On the 15th of June Arnold led his troops from Montreal to Chambly, where the American forces were engaged in dragging their artillery and stores up the rapids. Notwithstanding the difficulty of the task, they succeeded in drawing up more than one hundred bateaux laden with stores, and in setting fire to the mills and the shipping which they could not take with them. They went out of the village on one side at the same time that the British were entering it on the other. In the mean time General Burgoyne had been detached in pursuit of the Americans, and on the 18th of June, in the evening, reached St. Johns, only to find that the Americans had destroyed everything of value that they could not take with them, Major Bigelow and about forty men having remained to complete the demolition, until the evening of Burgoyne's arrival, when he joined the rest of the American army at Isle aux Noix. General Sullivan continued the retreat to Crown Point with such skill as to retrieve his reputation from the imputations against it because of his rashness in the early part of the campaign, while the British were vainly endeavoring to get their vessels over the rapids at Chambly.

On the 12th of July General Gates succeeded Sullivan in the command of the American forces in the north, and immediately adopted measures to restore health and discipline to the army. Crown Point was abandoned, and the forces were concentrated at Ticonderoga and on Mount Independence, on the oppo-

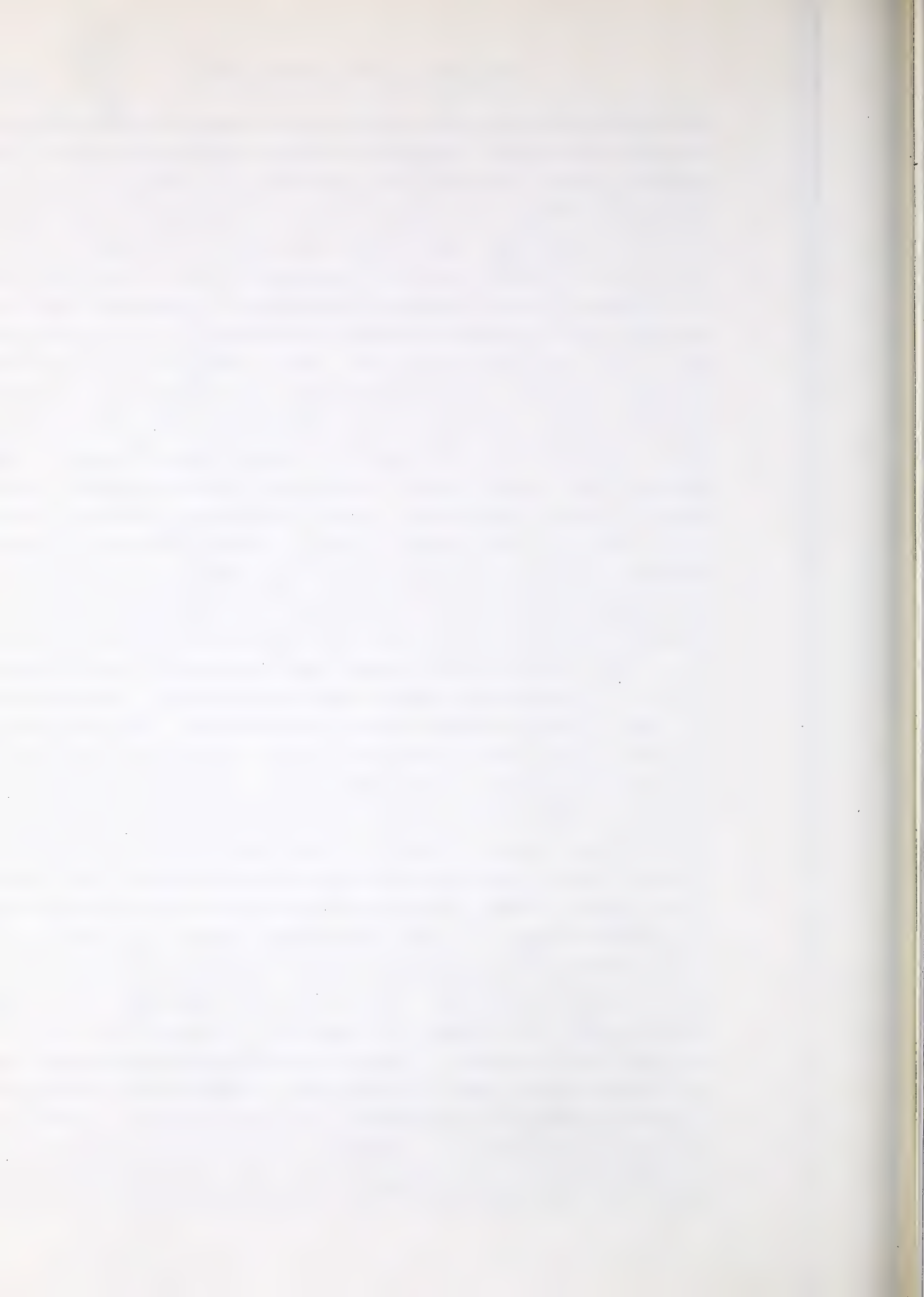


site side of the lake. A hospital for the sick and wounded was established at Fort George, and received those who were afflicted with the small-pox. The army soon began to mend in every way, and greatly to increase in numbers.

In the earlier pages of this chapter we have described the great disparity which existed between the advantages of the Americans and of the British. The work of preparing for the campaign of 1776 went on among the British with unexpected rapidity. An attempt was made to haul the large vessels by land round the portage of the Richelieu; but after they had moved a hundred paces the project was abandoned, as too slow and costly, and they were taken to pieces, to be re-constructed at St. Johns. The *Inflexible*, which was three-masted and carried eighteen twelve-pounders and ten smaller guns, was rebuilt in twenty-eight days after its keel was laid. A large number of boats were dragged up entire, and by the 1st of October the enemy was ready to enter the lake with their fleet. This consisted of the *Inflexible*, the *Maria*, which carried fourteen six-pounders, the *Carleton*, with twelve six-pounders, the *Thunderer*, a flat-bottomed radeau with six twenty-pounders, six twelve-pounders and two howitzers, a number of gondolas carrying seven nine-pounders, twenty gun-boats, with each one brass field-piece, from nine to twenty-four pounders, and some with howitzers, and four long-boats, with a carriage gun each, serving as tenders. These were to be followed by a sufficient number of vessels and boats for the transportation of the royal army with its stores, artillery, baggage and provisions. About seven hundred sailors and the best young naval officers were picked from the ships of war and transports to man and command the fleet. Until October Arnold had roamed about the lake without check; on the 4th of that month Carleton began a cautious advance, and on the 10th all his fleet was in motion. Arnold, whose courage exceeded his judgment, moored his squadron in the bay between Valcour Island and the mainland — a choice of a station which met the warm approval of General Gates, but which proved to be absurd and dangerous by leaving the great channel of the lake undisputed to the enemy. On the morning of the 11th the British fleet, favored by a northwest wind, passed between Grand and Valcour Islands, and came into Arnold's rear. They were sensible of their superior strength, having more than twice his weight of metal, twice as many fighting vessels, and skilled seamen and officers against landmen. Arnold soon awoke to the hopelessness of his position, but not until the opportunity of seeking a more advantageous stand had passed. His audacity did not fail him, however, and he formed a line at anchor from the island to the mainland, from which he advanced in the schooner *Royal Savage*, with the support of his row-galleys. The wind was now in his favor, and kept off the *Inflexible*; but the *Carleton*, sustained by the artillery boats, was able to get into action. One of the British artillery boats was sunk, but the men were saved. The galleys were driven back, and the *Royal Savage*, with its masts and rigging made useless, drifted to



the leeward and was stranded on Valcour Island, whence Arnold and his crew escaped to the *Congress*. Meantime the *Carleton* and the artillery boats beat up against the wind and came within musket-shot of the American line. The *Carleton* then opened a terrible fire from both sides; injured the yards and mainmast of the *Congress*, hulled her twelve times, and hit her seven times between wind and water. The gondola *New York* lost all her officers except her captain. General Waterbury, in command of the galley *Washington*, had all his officers except one lieutenant and a captain of marines either killed or wounded, and the main-mast of the galley shot through so as to be made useless. One of their gondolas was sunk. One or two of the British artillery boats also went down. The *Carleton*, owing to the wind, could not be succored, and suffered severely; its captain, Dacres, was felled to the deck by a blow from an unknown quarter; a lieutenant of marines, named Brown, lost an arm; and a lad of nineteen years, by the name of Pellew, succeeded to the command, and resolutely carried on the fight to prevent Arnold's escape. Shortly before dark, when sixty or more of the Americans and forty or more of the British had been disabled by death or wounds, the artillery boats, in obedience to the recall, towed the *Carleton* out of gun-shot. The British fleet anchored about eight o'clock in the evening, with their left wing near the mainland and the right near Valcour Island, while several armed boats were stationed still farther to the right, to guard the channel between Valcour and Grand Islands. They now rested in the confidence that by the dawn of the next morning all the American vessels must be captured or destroyed. Arnold saw but one chance of escape, and that one was most desperate. They must run the blockade. Nature favored them in this attempt. It was the night of the new moon, and the darkness was almost impenetrable. An hour or two before midnight they silently hoisted anchor, and having a fair wind, stole unobserved through the British fleet, close to its left wing; Wigglesworth, commander of the forces in the *Trumbull*, leading the retreat, followed first by the gondolas and small vessels, then by Waterbury in the *Washington*, and last of all, Arnold in the *Congress*. When day disclosed this marvelous escape, Carleton could not conceal his anger. He immediately set out in pursuit of the fugitives, advancing slowly against a southerly breeze, and in the morning of the 13th discovered them near the Island of Four Winds; before one o'clock he was near enough to begin a cannonade. An hour later the wind shifted to the north; the *Washington* was overtaken near Split Rock, on the west side of the lake, and was compelled to strike. Arnold, in the *Congress*, with four gondolas, kept up a running fight of nearly five hours, giving a number of the vessels an opportunity to escape to Ticonderoga, and was finally driven into a small creek in Pantou, where he set fire to that part of the fleet which was left him, with all colors flying. He was himself the last to go on shore, where he coolly formed his crews and, in sight of the English ships, marched off in perfect



order. The charred remains of Arnold's vessels were until recently to be seen on the beach in Panton.

On the 14th Carleton landed at Crown Point, which the Americans had a few days before abandoned after dismantling the fort and destroying what they could not carry away. He was now master of the lake, and was within two hours' sail of Ticonderoga, which was feebly garrisoned by not more than 3,000 effective men, with about 2,500 more at Mount Independence. Had he immediately invested the place, it must have soon surrendered for lack of provisions. Riedesel, who joined him on the 22d, went near enough to the fort to view it from a hill, and informed Carleton that it could easily be taken. But that general at once announced his intention of taking the army back into winter quarters in Canada. Not knowing that he was already superseded by Burgoyne, he reserved that conquest for the opening of his next campaign. He waited for intelligence from Howe; and on the 27th learned of the battle on Long Island. His army was in motion on the next day, and on the 3d of November his rear-guard abandoned Crown Point. His retreat was regarded by both the British and Americans as a shameful dereliction of duty. Three days later there was not even a barrel of flour in Ticonderoga. The garrison was commanded by Colonel Wayne, and were suffering terribly. The sick were numerous, and daily perishing. They were all suffering for want of clothing.

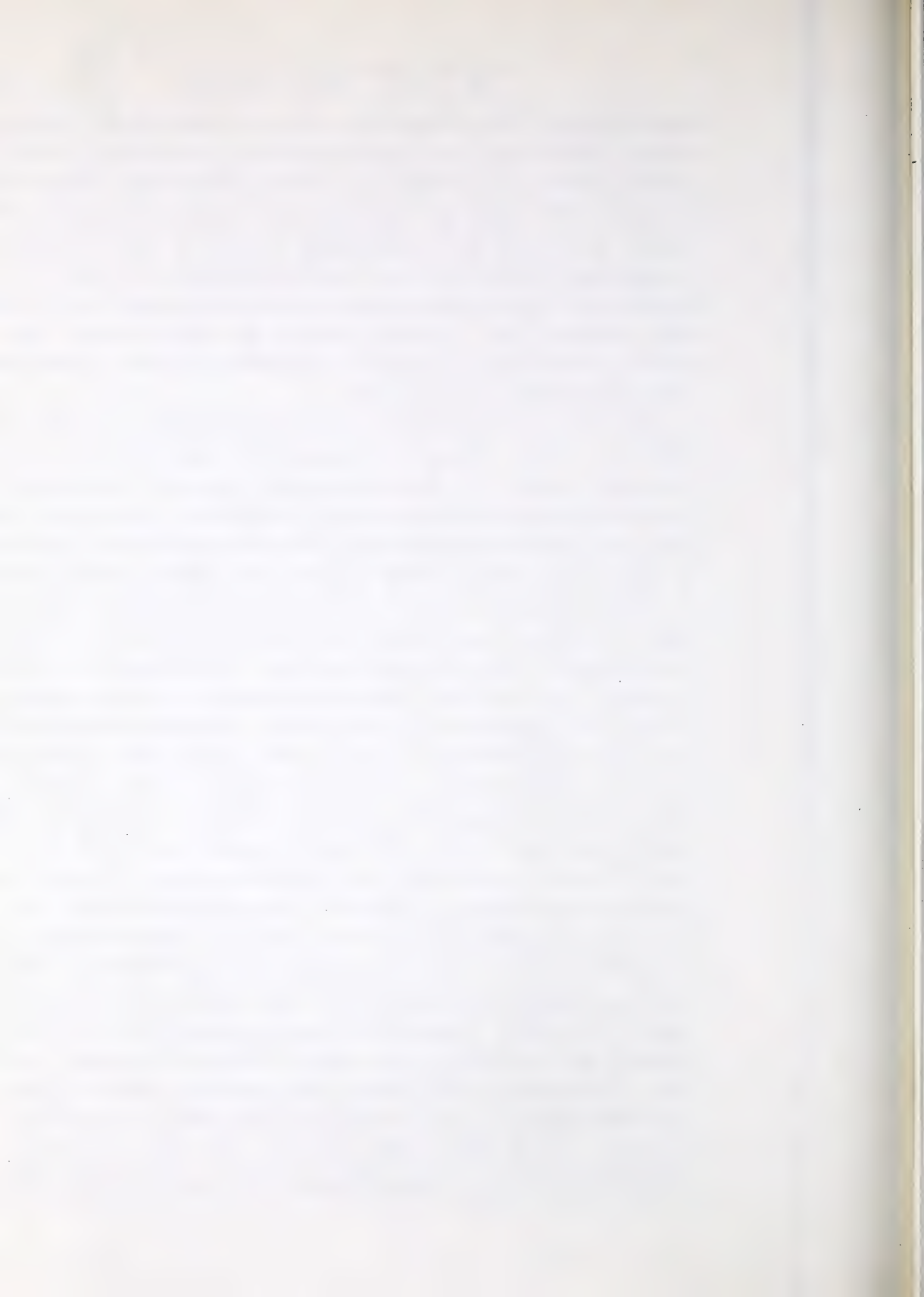
It was the general opinion among the British that the campaign of 1777 would end the war in their favor. After the successes of their forces on Lake Champlain during the previous summer, they thought themselves easy masters of the communication between Canada and New York. Flushed with confidence of military glory, Carleton employed the winter, which was unusually mild, in preparations. In the spring he attempted to engage the services of the Six Nations and other large bodies of Indians. "Wretched colonies," said he, "if these wild souls are indulged in war." In attempting to secure the Mohawks to the side of the British, their chief, Joseph Brant, urged them to retreat to lands more remote from American settlements; while General Gates endeavored to counteract his influence in a speech to the council of the Six Nations. He told them that they would be no longer a people if they should quit their ancient habitations; that before many moons should pass away the pride of England would be laid low, and concluded with the following words: "Brothers of the Six Nations: The Americans well know your great fame and power as warriors; the only reason why they did not ask your help against the cruelty of the king was, that they thought it ungenerous to desire you to suffer in a quarrel in which you had no concern. Brothers: treasure all I have now said in your hearts; for the day will come when you will hold my memory in veneration for the good advice contained in this speech."

General Schuyler placed St. Clair in command of the forces at Ticonderoga



while he repaired to Fort Edward for reinforcements and supplies. St. Clair arrived at Ticonderoga on the 12th day of May, and five days later received a visit from Schuyler. By a strange and well-nigh fatal oversight, Mount Defiance, which was the outlet of Lake George and the "key of the position," was left unoccupied. "From the old French intrenchments to the southeastern works on the Vermont side, the wretchedly planned and unfinished defenses extended more than two miles and a half; and from end to end of the straggling lines and misplaced block-houses there was no spot which could be held against a superior force." Schuyler seemed to fear popular clamor; and to avoid the responsibility of giving definite instructions returned to Albany and began sending supplies to Ticonderoga.

Lieutenant-General Burgoyne arrived at Quebec on the 6th of May with dispatches rebuking Carleton for his pusillanimous abandonment of Crown Point in the previous campaign, and ordering him to make over the command to his inferior officer. He obeyed with haughty reluctance. Fifteen hundred horses and five hundred carts were at once contracted for; and six weeks' supplies for the army were sent ahead upon the line of communication on the Sorel. Sir William Howe received prompt notification that Burgoyne, who had nearly all the force that he had required, would open the communication between Canada and New York. On the 15th of June Burgoyne advanced from St. Johns, so confident of victory that by his advice many officers' wives attended their husbands for a pleasant trip to New York. The first blood was shed by the Indians, who, on the 20th, brought in ten scalps and as many prisoners. The next day Burgoyne met about four hundred Iroquois, Algonkin, and Ottawa Indians on Willsborough Point, on a tract of land which the king had granted to a British sergeant of the previous war for military services, and which is watered by the Bouquet River, to complete the compact for savage assistance. In a proclamation issued at Crown Point a few days later the British general said: "Let not the people consider their distance from my camp; I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction, and they amount to thousands, to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain. If the frenzy of hostility should remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of God and man in executing the vengeance of the State against the willful outcasts." On the 1st of July the invading army moved up the lake and encamped at evening before Ticonderoga. They then numbered, exclusive of Indians, 3,724 British, 3,016 Germans, and 250 provincials, besides 473 skilled artilleryists with the most complete outfit in artillery ever provided such an army. On the 3d, even while Riedesel was planning the investment of Mount Independence, one of St. Clair's aids assured Washington of the total defeat of the enemy. On the following day Phillips took the mills near the outlet of Lake George, and cut off Ticonderoga from the south. The next night a party of infantry took possession of Mount Defiance; and in another day would have



their batteries ready to play on both forts, while Riedesel would complete the investment of Mount Independence. St. Clair now awoke to his desperate situation and called a council of war, which determined upon an immediate retreat. The garrison consisted of less than 2,500 effective men, with scarcely more bayonets than would be needed by one-tenth of that number. That night one regiment, with all the sick and a quantity of stores, was sent to Whitehall in boats, while the rest of the garrison, under St. Clair, marched with some confusion along the military road to Hubbardton. The next morning dawned upon the British forces in possession of the forts. They found plentiful stores of ammunition, salt meat, flour and herds of oxen, more than seventy cannon, and a large number of tents. Fraser, with twenty companies of English grenadiers, followed by Riedesel's infantry and reserve corps, was dispatched in pursuit of St. Clair; while, as soon as a passage could be cut through the bridge that barred the channel between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, Burgoyne with the rest of his forces took the fleet after the detachment that had fled by water. The Americans were hard pressed, and were obliged to burn three of their vessels and abandon two others and the fort at Whitehall, thus destroying or giving up to the enemy everything that they had taken from Ticonderoga.

On the night of the 6th, the party under Fraser made their bivouac about seventeen miles from the lake, with Riedesel three miles to the rear. Both detachments began to move at three o'clock the next morning, and at five, led by the Indians, who had discovered the rear guard of St. Clair's army at Hubbardton, the British troops advanced. Warner, aided by Colonel Eben Francis and his New Hampshire regiment, turned on the enemy to their great surprise and began a vigorous attack. The issue had assumed a dubious aspect for the British, whose strength was nearly spent, when the vanguard under Riedesel, and a company of Yagers came up, "their music playing, the men singing a battle-hymn." Francis charged three times at the head of his regiment, and held the enemy in check until he fell. On Riedesel's approach, his men retreated toward the south. The loss of the Americans was slight, though during the day the British took more than 200 stragglers, wounded men and sick. Of the pursuing party, the Brunswickers lost twenty-two killed and wounded, and the British, 155. Owing to this heavy loss, the defeat of the American forces had the effect of a victory; the pursuit was relinquished, and St. Clair, at the head of 2,000 continental troops, marched unmolested to Fort Edward.

Burgoyne was conscious of the savage ferocity of Indian warfare, but did not falter, nevertheless, in his determination to use his barbarous allies as "instruments of terror." Every day they brought in scalps as well as prisoners. On the 27th of July a young woman by the name of Jane McCrea, betrothed to a loyalist in the service of the British, and confident in the protection of British arms, was riding from Fort Edward to the British camp at Sandy Hill, escorted by two Indians, who had been promised a reward on the safe arrival



of the party at their destination. The Indians quarreled on the way about the reward, and when about half a mile from Fort Edward one of them buried his tomahawk in her skull. This barbarous murder so aroused the indignation of the British and Americans alike, that Burgoyne sought out the assassin and threatened to visit him with death. But he was made to know that the execution of this threat would be followed by the total defection of the Indians; and he therefore relented.

Meantime General Schuyler was evincing by his timorous idleness his total unfitness for a place to which his social position, instead of his military abilities, had raised him. He could not restore confidence to his disaffected troops, nor rouse the people to co-operation with him against the invading army. On the 22d, long before Burgoyne had manifested a disposition to advance, he retreated to a point four miles below Fort Edward. At the same time that he was thus proving his cowardice, he was boasting of his prowess. On the 24th he wrote to the New York Council of Safety: "I mean to dispute every inch of ground with Burgoyne, and retard his descent as long as possible;" and before the expiration of the week, without having made a single stand against the enemy, he retreated to Saratoga. Notwithstanding the evident necessity of the assistance of New England, he repeatedly insulted the government of Vermont, and gave leave for one-half of the militia of New England to go home at once, and the rest to follow in three weeks. He then distressed Washington by his nonsensical importunity in soliciting aid. Alarmed at this want of fortitude, Washington admonished Schuyler to keep up his courage; at the same time sending on Arnold and Lincoln, and another brigade of continental troops under Glover. Yet he continued to despond, and on the 14th of August moved his army to the first island in the mouth of the Mohawk River, and continued his lamentations in this secure retreat.

On the 15th of July the Committee of Safety of Vermont assembled at Manchester, and agreed to raise all the men in their power to check the advance of the enemy on Fort Edward. At the same time they urgently solicited the co-operation of New Hampshire and Massachusetts. In response, the Legislature of New Hampshire, after forming their militia in two brigades, placed one under the command of General William Whipple, and the other under General John Stark. One-fourth of Stark's brigade and a part of Whipple's were then dispatched under General Stark to aid in checking the progress of the enemy. This brave officer had done good service in the French war and at the Battle of Bunker Hill, but had left the Continental army because he considered that Congress had failed to give him a deserved promotion, and accepted the present command only on condition that he should serve under a Continental officer, or not, as he should choose. As the saving of time was of the utmost importance, the Assembly of New Hampshire complied with his conditional offer. He therefore pushed speedily forward with about 800 men and



joined the Vermont troops, numbering about 600 more, under Col. Seth Warner, at Manchester, where he was placed in command of both detachments. The timidity of General Schuyler impelled him to order Stark to join him with his forces, but Stark believed that the most effectual way of checking the advance of the enemy was to hang upon his rear and embarrass him by cutting off his supplies from that quarter. On the complaint of Schuyler Congress passed a vote of censure on the insubordination of General Stark, and required the Assembly of New Hampshire to enforce his compliance with the same rules which governed the conduct of other officers of his rank from the militia. Nearly at the same time that Congress was thus employed, the object of their censure, who had written a conciliatory though independent letter to Schuyler, was rendering the cause of liberty a service which should evoke from the same Congress a vote of thanks, and secure his promotion to the rank of brigadier-general in the army of the United States. The difficulty which Burgoyne had in transporting the necessary military stores and bateaux from Lake George to the first navigable part of the Hudson River induced him to attempt the replenishment of his own stores at the expense of the Americans. Receiving intelligence that many of the inhabitants of Bennington and vicinity were loyal to the king, and that the place, which was guarded only by the militia, was rich in provisions, he determined to effect its capture and secure the stores to his own army. He therefore sent a detachment of about 500 regular German troops, a number of Canadians and more than 100 Indians, with two light pieces of artillery, under command of Colonel Baum. Another detachment was posted upon the east bank of the Hudson, opposite to Saratoga, and still another under Col. Breymann at Battenkill, to facilitate the operations of Baum. On the 12th of August Baum moved toward Bennington and reached Cambridge, twelve miles northwest from Bennington, that night. Three days before, Stark had arrived at Bennington with his whole force excepting Warner's regiment, which remained at Manchester under command of Major Samuel Safford. On the 13th, learning that a party of Indians had been seen at Cambridge, Stark dispatched Lieut. Col. Gregg with 200 men to check their advance, but he was soon authoritatively informed that the Indians were followed by a large body of troops and a train of artillery. He rallied his forces, called for aid upon the neighboring militia, and sent for Major Safford with Warner's regiment. The next morning he started for Cambridge with his whole force, and had gone but five or six miles when he met Gregg retreating before the British, who were only a mile in his rear. Stark halted and drew up his men in order of battle. Baum also halted, and seeing that the Americans were too strong to be safely attacked with his present force, began to intrench himself upon a commanding piece of ground, and dispatched an express to Col. Breymann to hasten to his support. Inclement weather prevented a general engagement on the 15th, though a number of skirmishes occurred, all resulting favorably for the Ameri-



cans. At sunrise on the 16th Stark concerted with all his officers the plan for the day. Small bands of men in shirt-sleeves, and carrying fowling pieces without bayonets, stole behind the camp of Baum, who mistook them for inhabitants of the neighborhood seeking protection, and did not inquire into their proceedings. In this way 500 men under Nichols and Herrick united in their rear. Stark, with 200 or 300 men, took the front, and while the British officer's attention was arrested by a feint, two hundred more posted themselves on his right. At three o'clock he was vigorously attacked on every side. The Indians immediately fled, leaving their grand chief and others on the field. According to the report of the Germans themselves, the New England sharpshooters ran up to within eight yards of the loaded cannon and fired upon the cannoneers. After about two hours of desperate fighting the firing from the German dragoons slackened from scarcity of ammunition, and the Americans scaled the breastwork and fought them hand to hand. Baum placed himself at the head of the dragoons and ordered them to force a way in conjunction with the infantry, whose bayonets were already fixed, but he was mortally wounded and his troops surrendered. The prisoners were sent off under a guard to Bennington, and Stark, unaware of danger, permitted his men to scatter in search of food and plunder. Just then the battalion of Breymann, which had been thirty hours in marching twenty-four miles, came up, and before Stark could get his forces in order began the attack. Warner now first brought his regiment of 150 men into the action, at a juncture when the forces under Stark were slowly, and in order, giving ground. The Americans renewed the attack with resistless energy, and pressed the fight until sunset, when Breymann, abandoning his artillery and most of his wounded men, ordered a retreat. His fleeing forces were pursued until dark, those who escaped being indebted to the darkness for their safety. During the day the Americans lost less than thirty killed, and about forty wounded, while the loss of the enemy was estimated at fully twice as many, besides at least 692 prisoners, of whom more than 400 were Germans. This brilliant and eventful victory of undisciplined militia over veteran troops, the spontaneous achievement of the farmers of Vermont, New Hampshire and Western Massachusetts, carried hope and enthusiasm to the dispirited friends of American liberty, and spread alarm and consternation to the arrogant regiments that made up the army of Burgoyne..

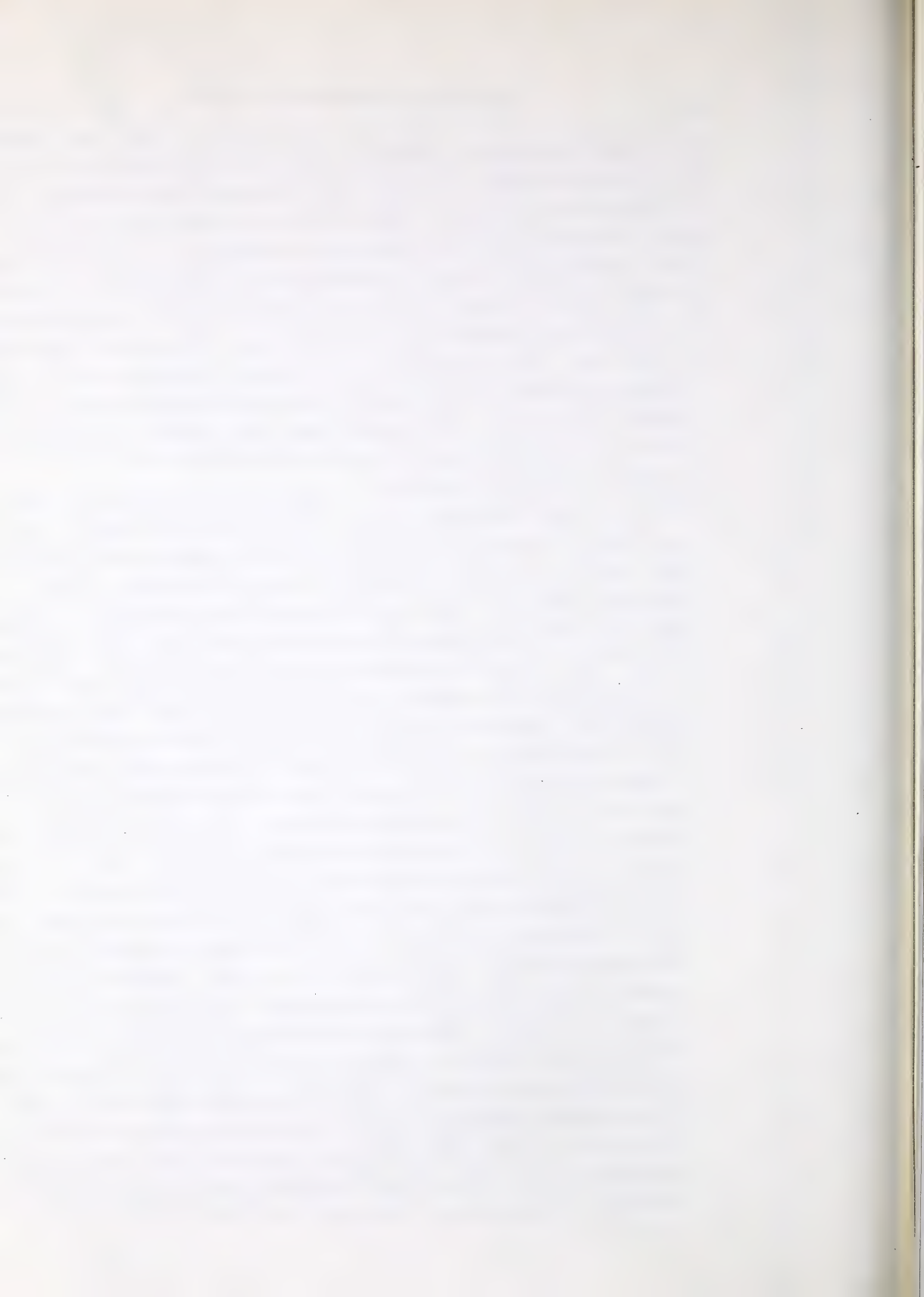
After the disastrous issue of the battle at Bennington the British army remained for some time inactive in their camp opposite to Saratoga, in expectation of the approach of Colonel St. Leger, who had been sent round by Lake Ontario for the reduction of Fort Stanwix, toward the head of the Mohawk River. But that officer had been obliged to abandon the project because of the disheartening defection of Indians forming his force. This event gave General Gates who had succeeded Schuyler, time to fortify and strengthen his camp.

In the mean time General Lincoln, commander of a body of New Hamp-



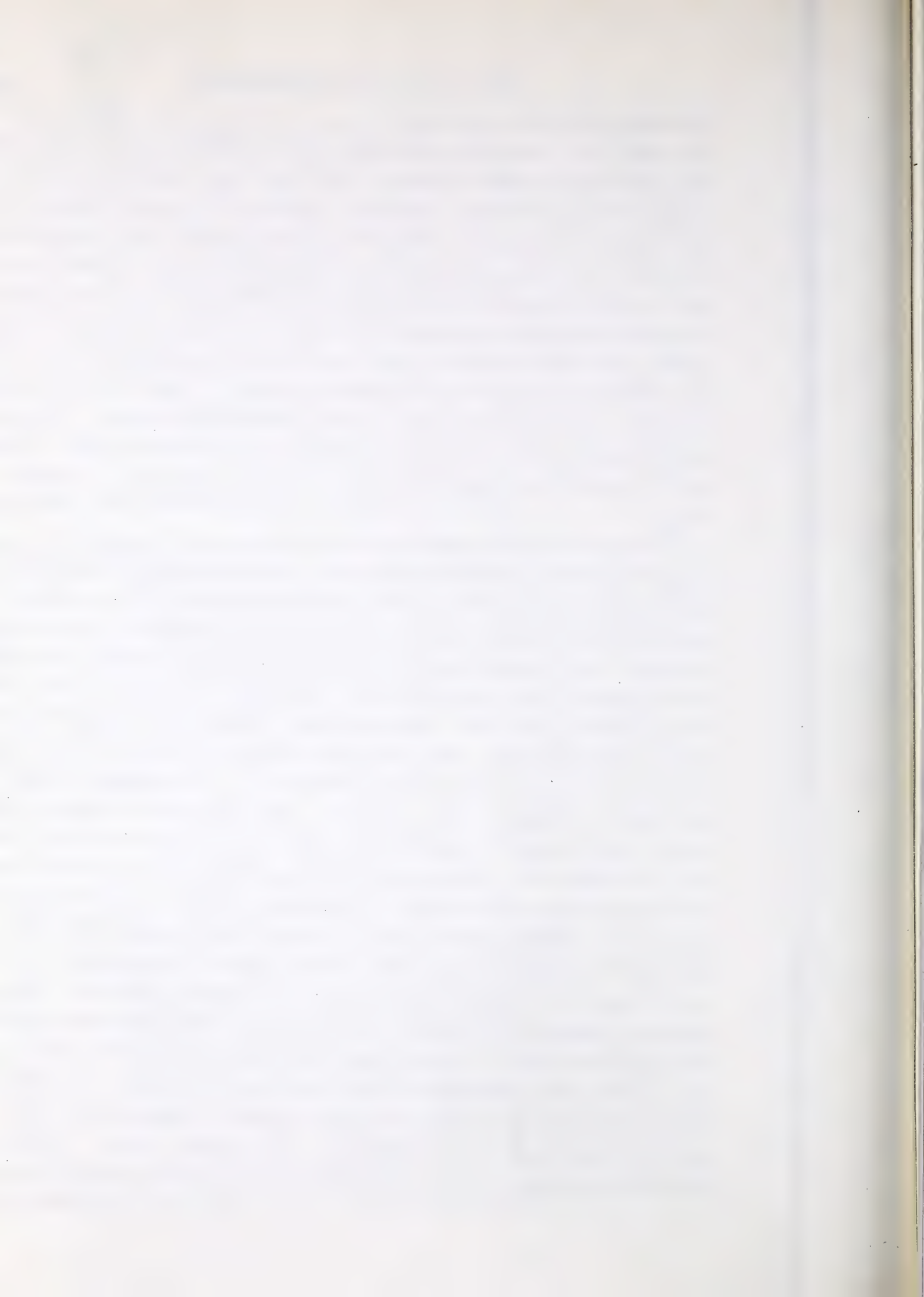
shire militia, determined, by a diversion of the enemy, to divide their forces, and cut off their supplies. He therefore proceeded from Manchester to Pawlet, and thence, on the 13th of September, dispatched Colonel Brown at the head of 500 men to release the American prisoners which were collected at Lake George, and destroy the British stores at that place. The attention of the enemy was to be arrested by the movements of Colonel Johnson, who led the same number of men at the same time toward Ticonderoga. Colonel Woodbridge also proceeded to Fort Edward by the way of Skeenesborough and Fort Ann. The plan succeeded. By the 18th of September Brown had surprised every out-post between the north end of Lake George and the main fortress at Ticonderoga. Mount Hope and Mount Defiance had come into the hands of the Americans, who had also taken 200 bateaux, one armed sloop and several gun-boats, and 293 prisoners, besides liberating more than 100 of their more unfortunate countrymen.

On the 12th of September the army of Gates had encamped on a spur of hills jutting out nearly to the Hudson, known as Belmus's Heights. On the 13th and 14th the army of Burgoyne, with its splendid train of artillery, crossed the Hudson at Schuylerville by a bridge of boats, and advanced toward the Americans. The camp of the latter had been made very strong. The Hudson cut off all approach from the right, and a high ridge of hills from the left; while the lines were admirably protected by a breastwork. Realizing the disadvantage of his position, and that he could not advance further without dislodging the Americans, Burgoyne moved his army on the 19th, as on former days, in three columns; the artillery, protected by Riedesel and the Brunswick troops, took the road along the river on the left; Fraser made a circuit to the ridge on the left of the Americans; while Burgoyne himself led the center across a ravine to a field on Freeman's farm. The front and flanks of the several columns were accompanied by swarms of Tories, Canadians and Indians. Gates ordered out Morgan's riflemen and the light infantry, who put a picket to flight a little after one o'clock, and then retired before the division of Burgoyne. Morgan now led his force through a wood and fell unexpectedly upon the left of the central division. As soon as the firing was heard the advance parties of both armies pushed forward to the battle. Reinforcements continually added to the strength and determination of both sides, and the engagement became general. The battle waged without intermission for three hours, promising victory first to one side and the next few minutes reversing the scene to the advantage of the other. There was no manœuvring — regiment fought against regiment, and man against man. Both armies displayed the most obstinate courage. The British would be driven from the cannon or position which they had just taken, and would rally and re-take it by their superiority with the bayonet; only to be repulsed by a deadly fire from the wood. Before sundown it seemed as if the troops of Burgoyne would be routed; they wavered; when



Riedesel appeared with more than a regiment, and charged the Americans on their right flank. As evening drew near these took their wounded and a hundred captives, and quietly withdrew within their lines. This indecisive and accidental battle irretrievably crippled the British force. Their loss exceeded six hundred; while that of the Americans, including wounded and missing, was not more than 319. The condition of Burgoyne now grew rapidly more perplexing. The Americans broke down the bridges which he had built in his rear; cut off to a great extent his supplies, and so swarmed in the woods as to baffle his most studious attempts to gain a just idea of their situation. His hospital was cumbered with no fewer than 800 sick and wounded men. He was obliged to retrench the soldiers' rations one-third. While his army was declining in number that of Gates was being constantly re-enforced. General Lincoln arrived on the 22d, and was followed by two thousand militia. The Indians left Burgoyne in great numbers, and many of them were, by the influence of Schuyler, and against the judgment of Gates, joined to the American camp.

From the 20th of September to the 7th of October the armies lay near each other, and engaged in continual skirmishes. On the 7th Burgoyne determined to make a grand reconnoissance, and if the Americans were not to be safely attacked, to concert a plan of retreat. The hour for the beginning of operations was set at eleven o'clock in the morning, in order that night might intervene to cut short any possible disaster. Burgoyne placed himself at the head of a force consisting of 700 men of Fraser's command, 300 of Breyman's, and 500 of Riedesel's, and took with him Phillips, Riedesel, and Fraser. They entered a field about half a mile from the Americans, where they formed in line, "and sat down in double ranks, offering battle." Their artillery consisted of eight brass pieces and two howitzers. Their left was protected by the grenadiers under Ackland, stationed in the wood; the Brunswickers held the center; while the right, which was skirted by a wooded knoll, was formed by the light infantry and an English regiment, under Fraser. A foraging party were to be sent from the right into a wheat-field, and the Canadians, provincials, and what Indians remained, were to get upon the American rear. The camp of Gates contained ten or eleven thousand soldiers, well armed and eager for battle. In concurrence with the advice of Morgan, both flanks of the enemy were to be simultaneously attacked. Accordingly the action began about four o'clock in the afternoon, and was continued with obstinate and unabating fury until night. The result was a triumphant victory for the Americans. Some of the entrenchments of the British were carried by the patriots sword in hand, and their troops were at last compelled to retreat to their camp. Compared with that of the Americans, their loss was very severe. Colonel Breyman, General Fraser, and several other officers were killed, and Sir James Clark, Major Williams, and Major Ackland were wounded and made prison-

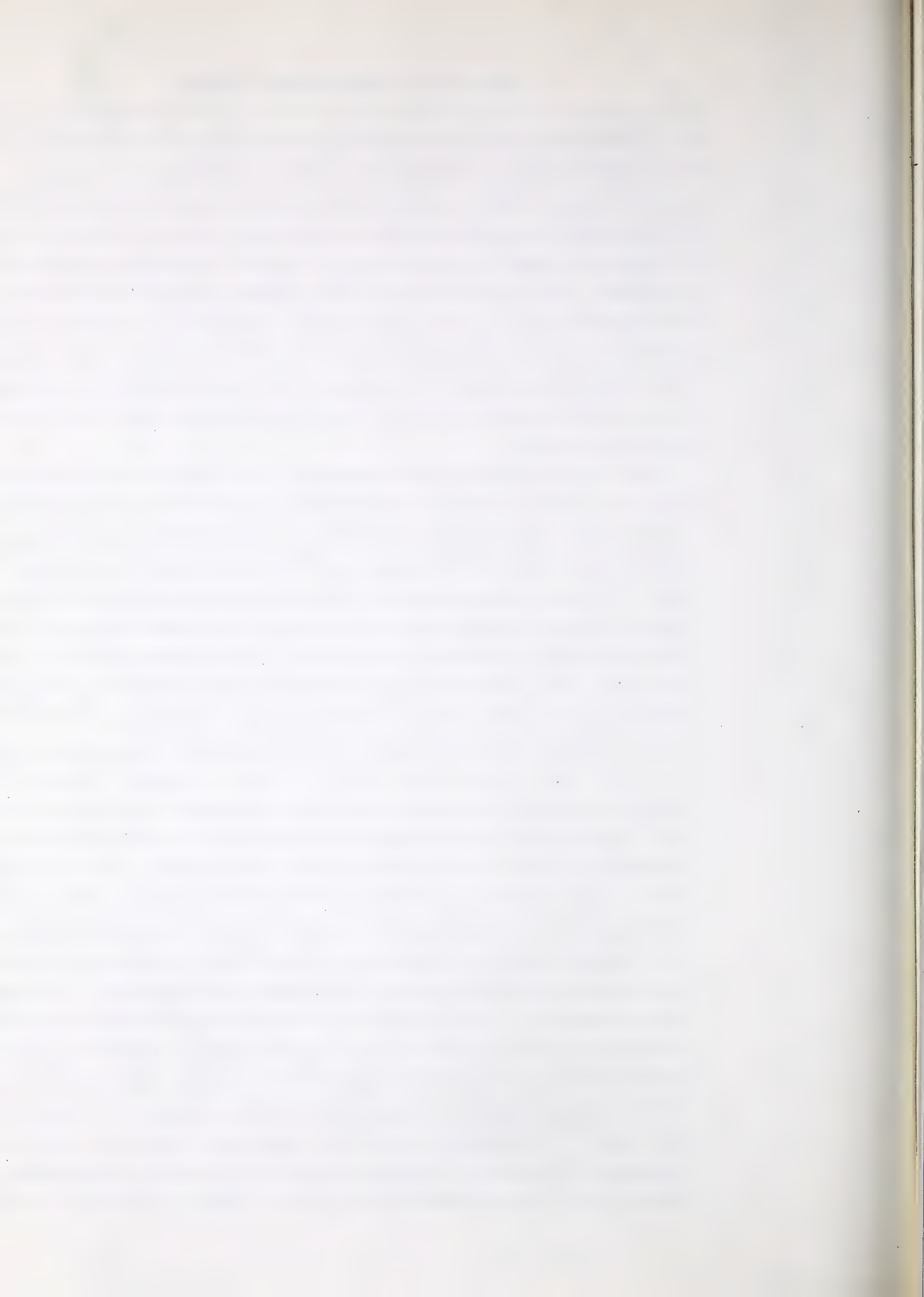


ers. Besides these, the Americans took 200 prisoners, nine pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of ammunition and camp equipage.

Nothing could now save Burgoyne but a retreat to Canada, and that he resolved to attempt. To his dismay he soon discovered that the Americans had so completely surrounded him as to cut off all hope of retreat, and on the 13th of October he called a council of war, in which it was agreed to propose a capitulation. On the following day Major Kingston secured a suspension of hostilities, and on the 15th and 16th, articles of capitulation were agreed to and were left until the 17th for signature. On the night of the 16th Burgoyne received intelligence that a body of British troops were coming up the Hudson to his aid, and as the articles of capitulation were not yet signed, he proposed to suspend the execution of it, in the hope of a favorable issue. His council decided against him.

Gates was also advised of the approach of the British on the Hudson, and on the morning of the 17th had everything in readiness to begin an attack. At nine o'clock, which was the hour fixed for the signing of the articles, Colonel Greaton went to Burgoyne for his signature, under instructions to return in ten minutes with or without the same. The convention was signed. A body of Americans marched into the lines of the British to the tune of Yankee Doodle, while they marched out and laid down their arms, with none of the American soldiery to witness the spectacle. Their number, officers and all, was 5,791; there were besides 1,856 prisoners of war, including the sick and wounded, which Burgoyne had abandoned to the Americans. The total loss of the British in the northern campaign was near ten thousand.

In this manner were the vauntings and boastful threats of Burgoyne brought to naught. The war was now nearly at an end in Western Vermont, and though the deserted settlements of the towns in this part of the State were not again inhabited until about the close of the Revolution in 1783, they were insured against further inroads, and waited as quietly for the coming husbandman as if the tempest of war were already subsided and the reign of peace begun. Ethan Allen, who was captured, as we have seen, in a battle near the fort at Montreal, was, on the 6th of May, 1778, exchanged for Lieutenant John Campbell, and after waiting upon Washington at Valley Forge, returned to Vermont and received the well-earned ovations of the Green Mountain Boys. The sagacious negotiations of the diplomats of Vermont secured the western frontier of the State against invasion from the north, and the avocations of peace resumed activity. Aside from the skirmishes indicated in the early part of this chapter, the territory embraced within the present limits of Chittenden county was but a distant spectator of the bloodshed of the Revolution. Captain Fassett, holding a commission under Gates, while the American troops were stationed at Ticonderoga, occupied with his men, for a time, a block-house on Onion River, in the southwestern part of Jericho, but from cowardice



abandoned his post and exposed the few settlers which had not yet removed, to the depredations of the enemy. Had he remained it is not improbable that the banks of the Winooski would have witnessed feats of battle equal to the engagements at Hubbardton or Bennington; but the strides of peaceful progress have won the county a happier distinction. Truly, "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."

CHAPTER VI.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COUNTY.

The Old County of Albany—Charlotte—Bennington—Washington and Rutland—Addison—Chittenden—Civil List of Chittenden County—County Buildings—Court-Houses and Jails.

BUT a little more than one hundred years ago the tract of land embraced within the present boundary lines of Chittenden county was a wild and uninhabited portion of the county of Albany, in the province of New York, a county of greater territorial extent than the present State of Vermont. Under the liberal charter granted to the Duke of York by his brother, the king of Great Britain, that province claimed the Connecticut River as her eastern boundary. On the 3d of July, 1786, the county of Cumberland was incorporated upon the east side of the mountains, thus considerably diminishing the jurisdiction of Albany county. Previous to that time the limits of the latter county were indefinite in the extreme. By the Treaty of Paris, and the proclamation of George III, establishing the southern boundary of Quebec and the northern boundary of New York, her limits on one side were fixed. Before the incorporation of the county of Cumberland her jurisdiction extended as far east, it has been said, as there were any Christian inhabitants; while her western boundary extended to the Delaware River, and toward Western New York as far as any white people resided. Her southern limits were designated by a line from the west side of Connecticut to the Delaware River, at the northeast corner of Pennsylvania. In those days Albany was the shire town and the most northerly seat of justice in the county. The determined resistance of the inhabitants of the "New Hampshire Grants" at a later period, as has been recorded in a previous chapter, so effectually obstructed the course of what the authorities of New York were pleased to call "justice," that on the 12th of March, 1772, in order "that offenders may be brought to justice, and creditors may recover their just dues," a new county, by the name of Charlotte, was set off from Albany county. The boundaries allotted to the county of Charlotte commenced on the Green Mountain range, near the southeast corner of the present township of Winhall; thence northerly in a direct line to



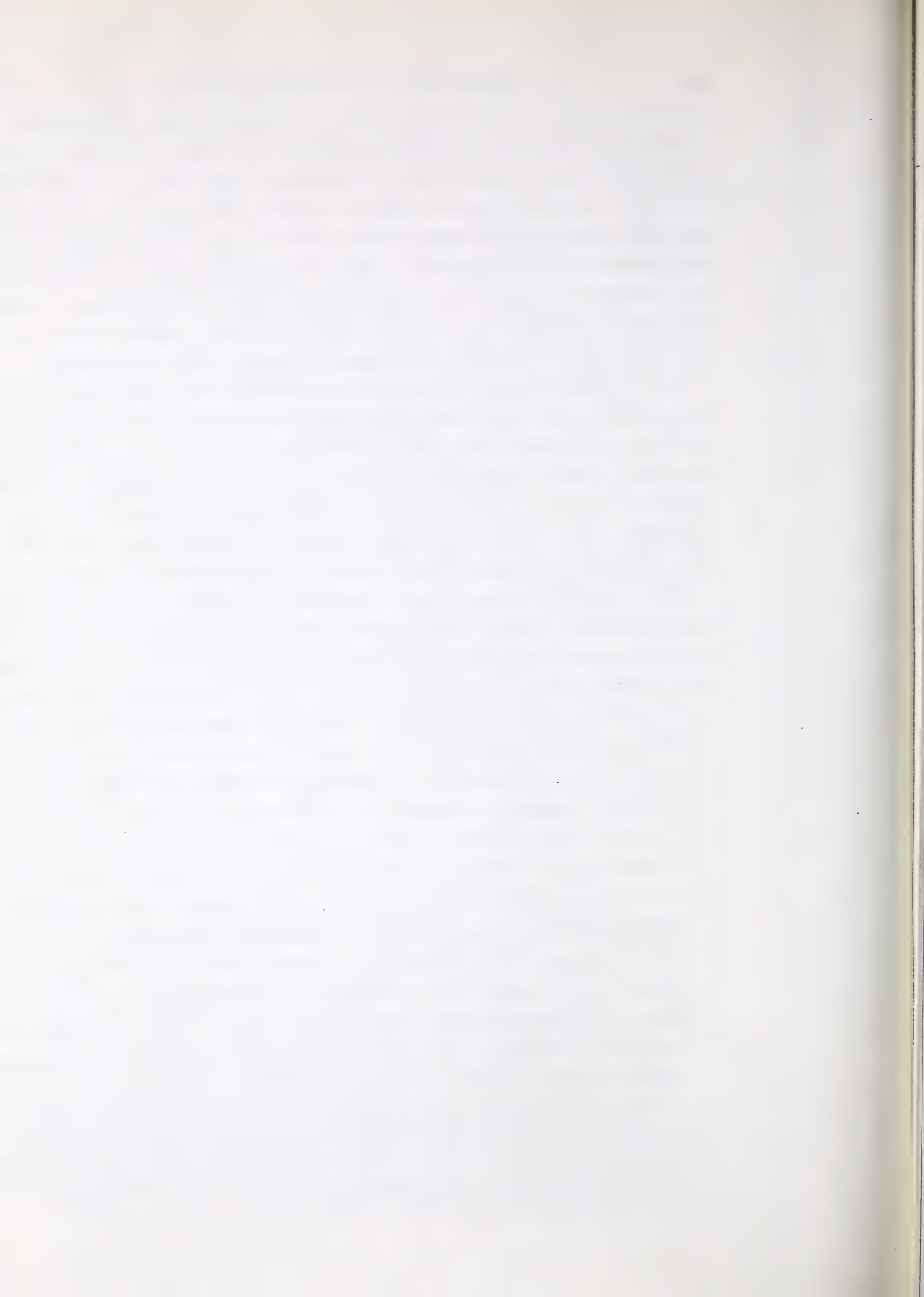
a point at the east base of Camel's Hump mountain; thence northeasterly direct to the south end of Lake Memphremagog, and on in its course to the province line, which it intersected a few miles east of the lake, in the township of Derby; thence due west to the St. Lawrence River, which it struck near the Indian village of St. Regis; thence southerly in a straight line to the Mohawk River, about ten miles above Schenectady; thence down the Mohawk to the Hudson, up the Hudson to the mouth of Battenkill, and up the Battenkill, following the south branch to a point near its source, to the southwest corner of the old town of Princeton, as chartered by New York; thence to the southeast corner thereof, and thence in a direct line to the place of beginning.

Skeenesborough (now Whitehall) was constituted the shire town of the county of Charlotte, and Philip Skeene, the Tory, was the first chief judge of the Court of Common Pleas. But fearing the persuasion of the "Bennington mob," and being refused the protection of his majesty's military force, he removed the sessions of the courts to the house of one Patrick Smith, near Fort Edward. The jurisdiction of the county was never recognized by the New Hampshire grantees, who practically nullified its decrees and judgments by forcibly expelling all officers who attempted the execution of the same.¹

On the 16th of January, 1777, Vermont was declared to be a free and independent State, and the new Legislature proceeded to divide the territory into counties, regardless of the pretensions of the State of New York. On the 11th of February, 1779, they erected the county of Cumberland on the east side of the mountain, and Bennington on the west; both extending from Massachusetts to the province of Quebec. Bennington was bounded on the west by the west line of the State up to the line of Canada; thence east on said line fifty miles; thence southerly in a direct line to the northeast corner of Worcester; thence southerly on the east line of Worcester, Middlesex and Berlin to the southeast corner thereof; thence on a straight line to the northwest corner of Tunbridge, and thence to the southwest corner thereof; thence in a straight line to the northwest corner of Bradford;² thence in the westerly line of Bradford and Bridgewater to the southwesterly corner thereof; thence southerly in a straight line to the northeast corner of Shrewsbury, and thence to the southeast corner thereof; thence west to the northeast corner of Wallingford; thence southerly on the east lines of Wallingford, Harwick, Brumley, Winhall and Stratton to the southeasterly corner of the latter; thence southerly on the west line of Somerset to the southwest corner thereof; thence southerly to the northwest corner of Draper; thence southerly in the west lines of Draper (now

¹ To keep up a show of jurisdiction over this section of the country, the State of New York, however, as late as March 7, 1788 — even after the county of Chittenden was incorporated — passed an act rebounding the counties of Cumberland and Gloucester, and dividing the county of Charlotte into two counties, by the name of Washington and Clinton. We then, under New York authority, formed a part of the county of Clinton—but that authority was a dead letter.—See *Statute Laws of New York*, 11th session, pp. 133-136; Hall's *Eastern Vermont*, p. 555.

² Barnard.

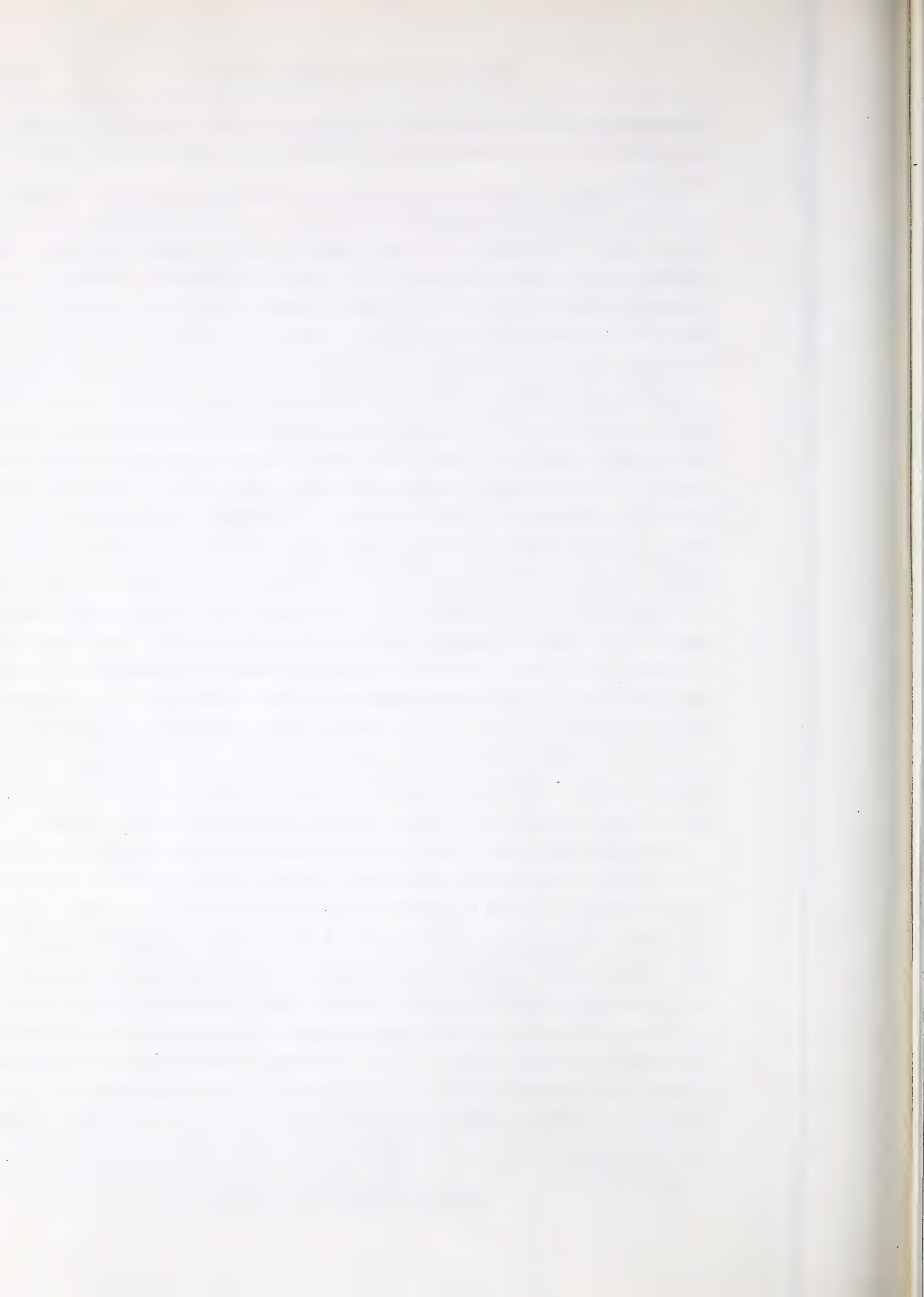


Wilmington) and Cumberland (now Whitingham) to the north line of the Massachusetts Bay; and Bennington and Rutland were constituted half shires of the county.

The inhabitants north of the present county of Bennington were not satisfied with this arrangement, because of its inconvenience, and upon their petition, on the 8th of November, 1780, the Assembly and Council passed an act establishing the county of Washington, with the following boundaries: Beginning at the southwest corner of Pollet; thence north on the west line of this State to latitude forty-five degrees; thence on Canada south line to the northwest corner of the county of Gloucester (formerly known by the county of Cumberland); thence south on Bennington county line (formerly so called) to the northeast corner of the town of Bromley (Peru); thence west to the first mentioned bounds. On the recommendation of the Council, this act was to be printed, but not put upon record until after the next session of the Assembly. This was held at Windsor, and there, on the 13th of February, 1781, a new bill was passed, by which the name of Washington was changed to Rutland. The boundaries just described were not disturbed for four years, eight months and five days, during which time the courts were held at Tinmouth. During this period, too, Abraham Ives, of Wallingford, sheriff of the county of Rutland, sold large quantities of land at public vendue; many titles in Chittenden county still depending for their origin on those sales. The sales were conducted very loosely, not at all in conformity with the requirements of the law, and often in circumstances calculated to excite suspicion, as in the sale of lands now included in the town of Mendon,¹ where by collusion with Jonathan Parker, of Rutland, the sale, which was advertised for a day specified, actually began just after midnight on the morning of that day, the consideration being merely nominal. The courts were forced by the necessity of the case to establish the sales as valid, though Ives was obliged to resign his office and flee.

The population of the county of Rutland had by this time begun to increase very rapidly, especially along the streams and the shore of the lake, and convenience and the interest of parties demanded a division of the county. Accordingly, on the 18th of October, 1785, a new county, by the name of Addison, was set off from Rutland county, and its boundaries established as follows: "Beginning at the northwest corner of the township of Orwell; thence running eastwardly on the north line of Orwell, Sudbury, Brandon and Philadelphia, and then so far east as to intersect the west line of the first town that is bounded in its charter on some town or towns which are dependent for their original bounds on Connecticut River; then northerly in the westwardly line of the several towns that are dependent on the Connecticut River, as aforesaid to the south line of the province of Quebec, which is the north line of this State; then westwardly on said line through Missisquoi Bay, etc., to the center of the

¹ This did not occur, however, until 1804.



deepest channel of Lake Champlain; then southwardly in the deepest channel of said lake till it intersects a west line from the northwest corner of said Orwell; then east to the bounds began at."

The towns of Addison and Colchester were made half shires, and the courts were to be held on the first Tuesday of March and the second Tuesday of November. Only one term of the court was held at Colchester before another subdivision was made, and by act of the Legislature, on the 22d of October, 1787, the county of Chittenden was established. It then embraced all the territory between the north lines of Ferrisburgh, Monkton, Bristol, Lincoln and Warren, and the province line; was bounded on the west by the west line of the State, which followed the deepest channel of the lake, passing east of the Four Brothers and west of Grand Isle and Isle La Motte, and on the east by the west lines of Northfield, Berlin, Montpelier, Calais, Woodbury, Hardwick, and Greensborough to the northwest corner thereof, and then in the most direct course on town lines to the north line of the State. A still further increase of population and litigation necessitated the reduction of the extent of the county; and on the 5th of November, 1792, Franklin county was incorporated on the north. On the 20th of October, 1794, Starksboro was taken from this county and annexed to Addison; on the 9th of November, 1802, South Hero and adjacent islands went toward the formation of the county of Grand Isle; on the 1st of November, 1810, the towns of Mansfield, Stowe, Waterbury, Duxbury, Fayston, Waitsfield, Moretown, Middlesex and Worcester, were taken from the county of Chittenden and employed in the formation of Jefferson, now Washington county. In 1839 the western part of the town of Mansfield was set off from Washington county and annexed to Underhill in this county.

The proceedings of the early courts are set forth in the chapter devoted to the history of the Bench and Bar. The following civil list of the county since its formation in 1787, was kindly furnished by T. C. Pease, the present city clerk of Burlington.

From 1778 to 1835 inclusive, the executive branch of the State government consisted of the Governor and Council. In the latter year the State Senate was instituted and the Council discontinued. The following citizens of Chittenden county have been governors of Vermont: Thomas Chittenden from 1778 to 1796 inclusive, excepting the year 1789, when, there being no choice, Moses Robinson was elected by the Legislature; Martin Chittenden, 1813 and 1814; Cornelius P. Van Ness, 1823 to 1825 inclusive; Asahel Peck, 1874 to 1876 inclusive; John L. Barstow, 1882 to 1884 inclusive.

Following are the names of counselors resident in the county: Ira Allen, Colchester, 1778 to 1785 inclusive; John Fassett, Burlington, 1787 to 1794; Noah Chittenden, Jericho, 1801 to 1811; William C. Harrington, Burlington, 1812 to 1813; John C. Thompson, Burlington, 1827 to 1830; William A. Griswold, Burlington, 1833 to 1834; George P. Marsh, Burlington, 1835.



Representatives in Congress from this county have been as follows: Martin Chittenden, Williston, 1803 to 1813; Heman Allen, Colchester, 1817 to 1819; Ezra Meech, Charlotte, 1819 to 1827; George P. Marsh, Burlington, 1843 to 1849.

The only member of the United States Senate from Chittenden county is the present senator, George F. Edmunds.

1787.¹—Chief judge, John Fassett; assistant judges, John White and Samuel Lane; county clerk, J. Knickerbocker; sheriff, Noah Chittenden; State's attorney, Samuel Hitchcock; judge of probate, John McNeil; treasurer, Stephen Lawrence.

1788.—Same as 1787.

1789.—Chief judge, John Fassett; assistant judges, John White and John McNeil; county clerk, Martin Chittenden; sheriff, Noah Chittenden; State's attorney, Samuel Hitchcock; judge of probate, John McNeil; register of probate, Isaac McNeil; treasurer, Stephen Lawrence.

1790.—Chief judge, John Fassett; assistant judges, John White and John McNeil; county clerk, Martin Chittenden; sheriff, Stephen Pearl; State's attorney, Samuel Hitchcock; judges of probate (three districts), Mathew Cole, Jonathan Hoit, Timothy Pearl; register of probate, Isaac McNeil; treasurer, Stephen Lawrence.

1791.—Chief judge, John Fassett; assistant judges, John White and John McNeil; county clerk, Martin Chittenden; sheriff, Stephen Pearl; State's attorney, William C. Harrington; judges of probate, Mathew Cole, Jonathan Hoit, Timothy Pearl; register of probate, Isaac Pearl; treasurer, Stephen Lawrence.

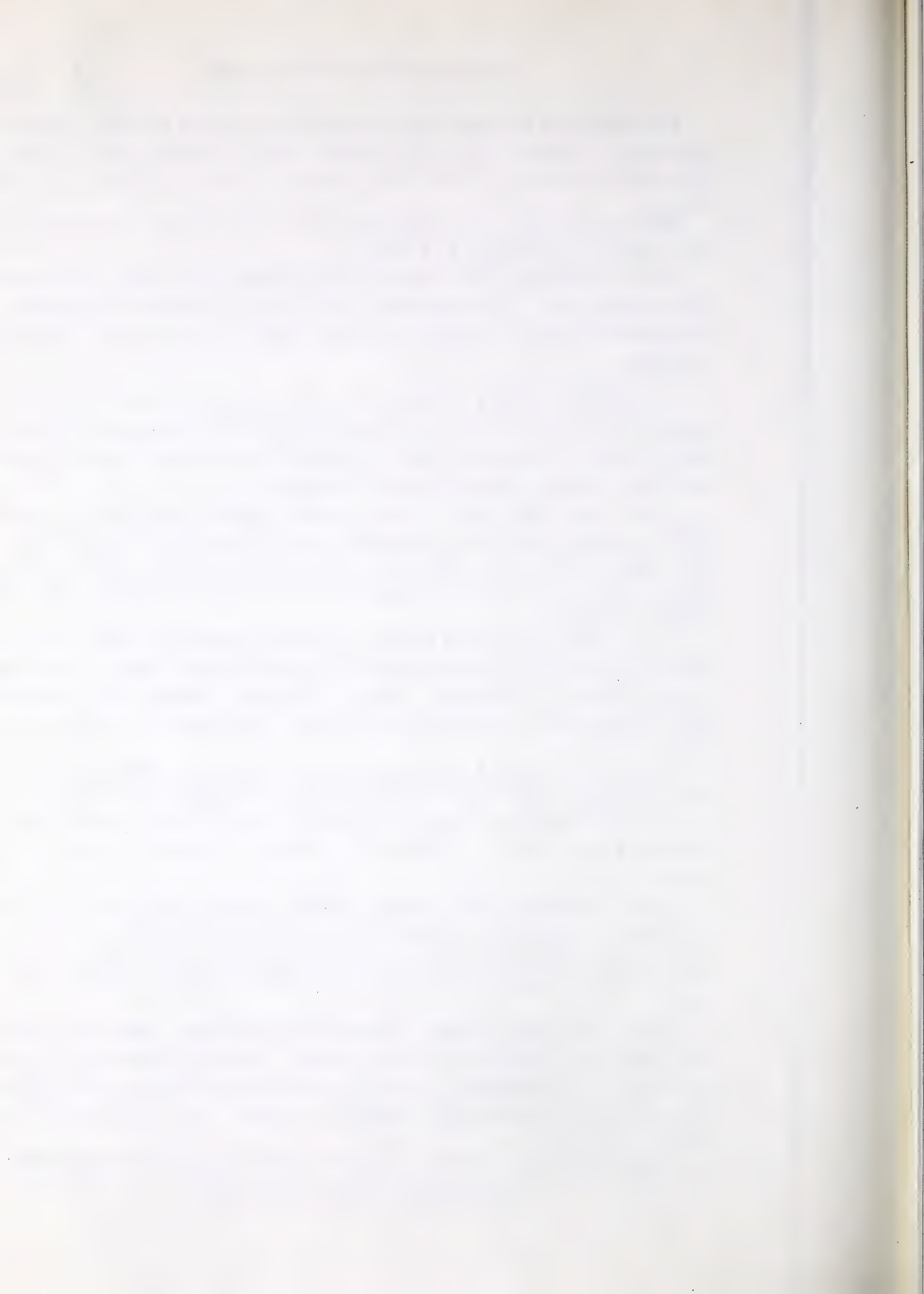
1792.—Chief judge, John Fassett; assistant judges, John White and John McNeil; county clerk, Martin Chittenden; sheriff, Stephen Pearl; State's attorney, W. C. Harrington; judges of probate, Mathew Cole, Jonathan Hoit, Timothy Pearl; register of probate, Isaac McNeil; treasurer, Stephen Lawrence.

1793.—Chief judge, John Fassett; assistant judges, John McNeil, Martin Chittenden; county clerk, Solomon Miller; sheriff, Stephen Pearl; State's attorney, W. C. Harrington; judges of probate, Mathew Cole, Jonathan Hoit, Timothy Pearl; register of probate, Isaac McNeil; treasurer, Stephen Lawrence.

1794.—Chief judge, Ebenezer Marvin; assistant judges, John White, Martin Chittenden; county clerk, Solomon Miller; sheriff, Stephen Pearl; State's attorney, W. C. Harrington; judges of probate, Mathew Cole, Jonathan Hoit, Timothy Pearl, Ebenezer Crafts; register of probate, Isaac McNeil; treasurer, Stephen Lawrence.

1795.—Chief judge, Ebenezer Marvin; assistant judges, John White, Mar-

¹ The dates here given are the dates of election.



tin Chittenden; county clerk, Solomon Miller; sheriff, Stephen Pearl; State's attorney, W. C. Harrington; judges of probate, Mathew Cole, Jonathan Hoit, Timothy Pearl, Ebenezer Crafts; register of probate, Isaac McNeil; treasurer, Zacheus Peaslee.

1796.—Chief judge, Martin Chittenden; assistant judges, Joshua Staunton, jr., John Law; county clerk, Solomon Miller; sheriff, Timothy Pearl; State's attorney, Elnathan Keyes; judge of probate, Solomon Miller; register of probate, Isaac McNeil; treasurer, Zacheus Peaslee.

1797.—Chief judge, Martin Chittenden; assistant judges, Joshua Staunton, jr., John Law; county clerk, Solomon Miller; sheriff, James Sawyer; State's attorney, Elnathan Keyes; judge of probate, Solomon Miller; register of probate, Isaac McNeil; treasurer, Zacheus Peaslee.

1798.—Chief judge, Martin Chittenden; assistant judges, Elias Buel, Lemuel Bottum; county clerks, S. and C. Miller; sheriff, James Sawyer; State's attorney, William C. Harrington; judge of probate, Solomon Miller; register of probate, Isaac McNeil; treasurer, Zacheus Peaslee.

1799.—Chief judge, Martin Chittenden; assistant judges, John Law, Lemuel Bottum; county clerks, S. and C. Miller; sheriff, James Sawyer; State's attorney, William C. Harrington; judge of probate, Solomon Miller; register of probate, Isaac McNeil; treasurer, Zacheus Peaslee.

1800.—Same as 1799.

1801.—Chief judge, Martin Chittenden; assistant judges, Elias Buel, Lemuel Bottum; county clerk, Solomon Miller; sheriff, James Sawyer; State's attorney, William C. Harrington; judge of probate, Solomon Miller; register or probate, Solomon Miller; treasurer, Zacheus Peaslee.

1802.—Chief judge, Martin Chittenden; assistant judges, John Law, Lemuel Bottum; county clerk, Solomon Miller; sheriff, James Sawyer; State's attorney, William C. Harrington; judge of probate, Solomon Miller; register of probate, Solomon Miller; treasurer, Zacheus Peaslee.

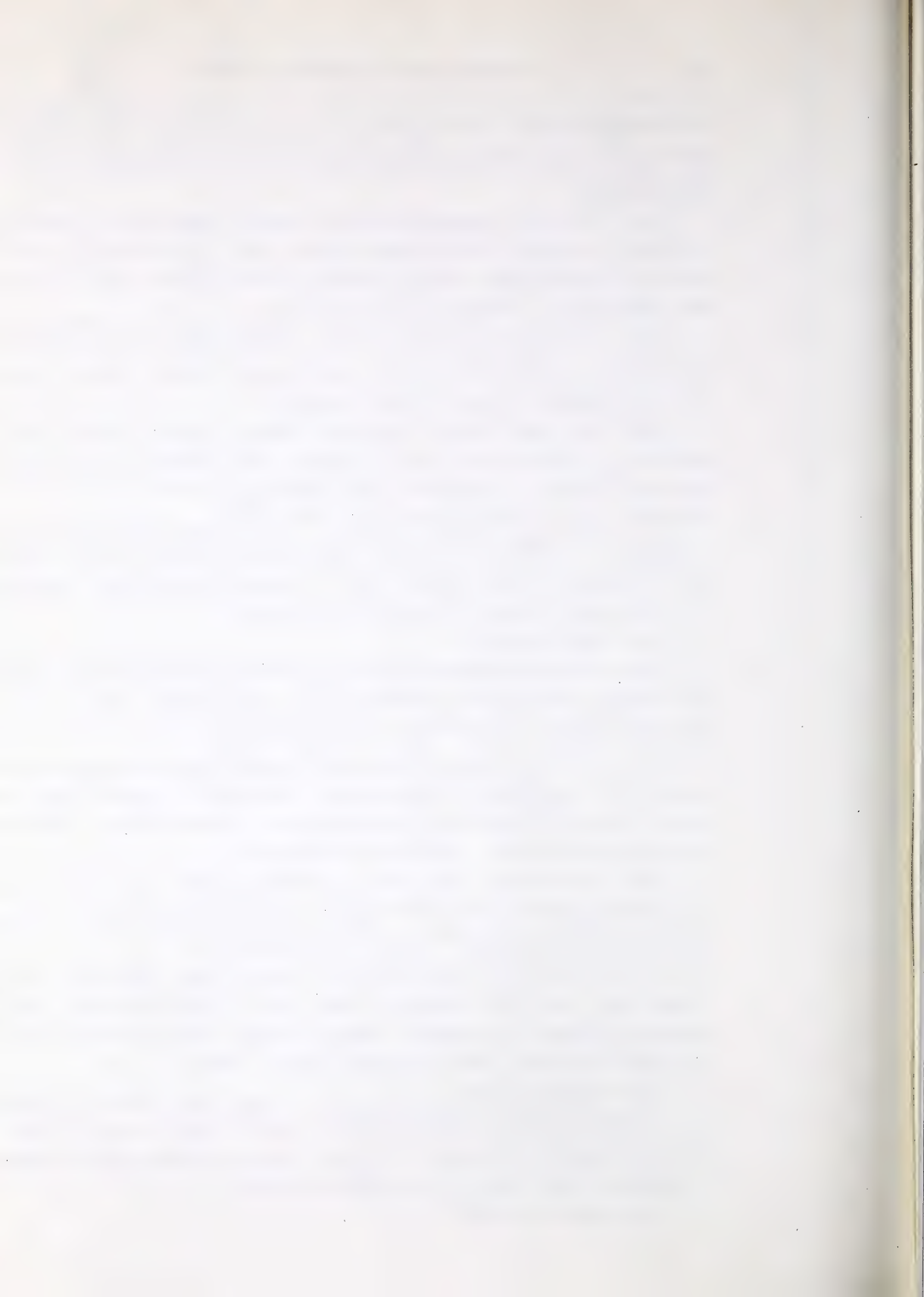
1803.—Chief judge, Joshua Staunton; assistant judges, Ezra Butler, Lemuel Bottum; county clerk, Solomon Miller; sheriff, Daniel Staniford; State's attorney, William C. Harrington; judge of probate, Solomon Miller; register of probate, Solomon Miller; treasurer, Zacheus Peaslee.

1804.—Chief judge, Joshua Staunton; assistant judges, Ezra Butler, Noah Chittenden; county clerk, Solomon Miller; sheriff, Daniel Staniford; State's attorney, William C. Harrington; judge of probate, Solomon Miller; register of probate, Solomon Miller; treasurer, Zacheus Peaslee.

1805.—Same as 1804.

1806.—Chief judge, Ezra Butler; assistant judges, Noah Chittenden, James A. Potter; county clerk, Solomon Miller; sheriff, Daniel Staniford; State's attorney, William C. Harrington; judge of probate, Solomon Miller; register of probate, Milo Cook; treasurer, Zacheus Peaslee.

1807.—Same as 1806.



1808.—Chief judge, Ezra Butler ; assistant judges, Noah Chittenden, James A. Potter ; county clerk, William Barney ; sheriff, Heman Allen ; State's attorney, William C. Harrington ; judge of probate, Solomon Miller ; register of probate, Milo Cook ; treasurer, Ozias Buell.

1809.—Chief judge, Ezra Butler ; assistant judges, Noah Chittenden, Hezekiah Barnes ; county clerk, William Barney ; sheriff, Heman Allen ; State's attorney, William C. Harrington ; judge of probate, Joel Brownson ; register of probate, John Brownson ; treasurer, Ozias Buell.

1810.—Chief judge, Ezra Butler ; assistant judges, Noah Chittenden, Hezekiah Barnes ; county clerk, William Barney ; sheriff, Heman Lowry ; State's attorney, William C. Harrington ; judge of probate, Joel Brownson ; register of probate, John Brownson ; treasurer, Ozias Buell.

1811.—Chief judge, Heman Allen ; assistant judges, Joel Brownson, John Jackson ; county clerks, Daniel Staniford, John Johnson ; sheriff, Heman Lowry ; State's attorney, William C. Harrington ; judge of probate, Noah Chittenden ; register of probate, Thomas Chittenden ; treasurer, Ozias Buell.

1812.—Chief judge, Heman Allen ; assistant judges, Joel Brownson, John Jackson ; county clerks, Daniel Staniford, John Johnson ; sheriff, Heman Lowry ; State's attorney, Lewis Johnson ; judge of probate, Truman Chittenden ; register of probate, Milo Cook ; treasurer, Ozias Buell.

1813.—Chief judge, Heman Allen ; assistant judges, Joel Brownson, John Jackson ; county clerks, David Russell, John Johnson ; sheriff, Heman Lowry ; State's attorney, George Robinson ; judge of probate, Truman Chittenden ; register of probate, Solomon S. Miller ; treasurer, Ozias Buell.

1814.—Chief judge, Heman Allen ; assistant judges, Zadock Wheeler, John Jackson ; county clerks, David Russell, John Johnson ; sheriff, Jacob Davis ; State's attorney, George Robinson ; judge of probate, Solomon Miller ; register of probate, Solomon Miller ; treasurer, Ozias Buell.

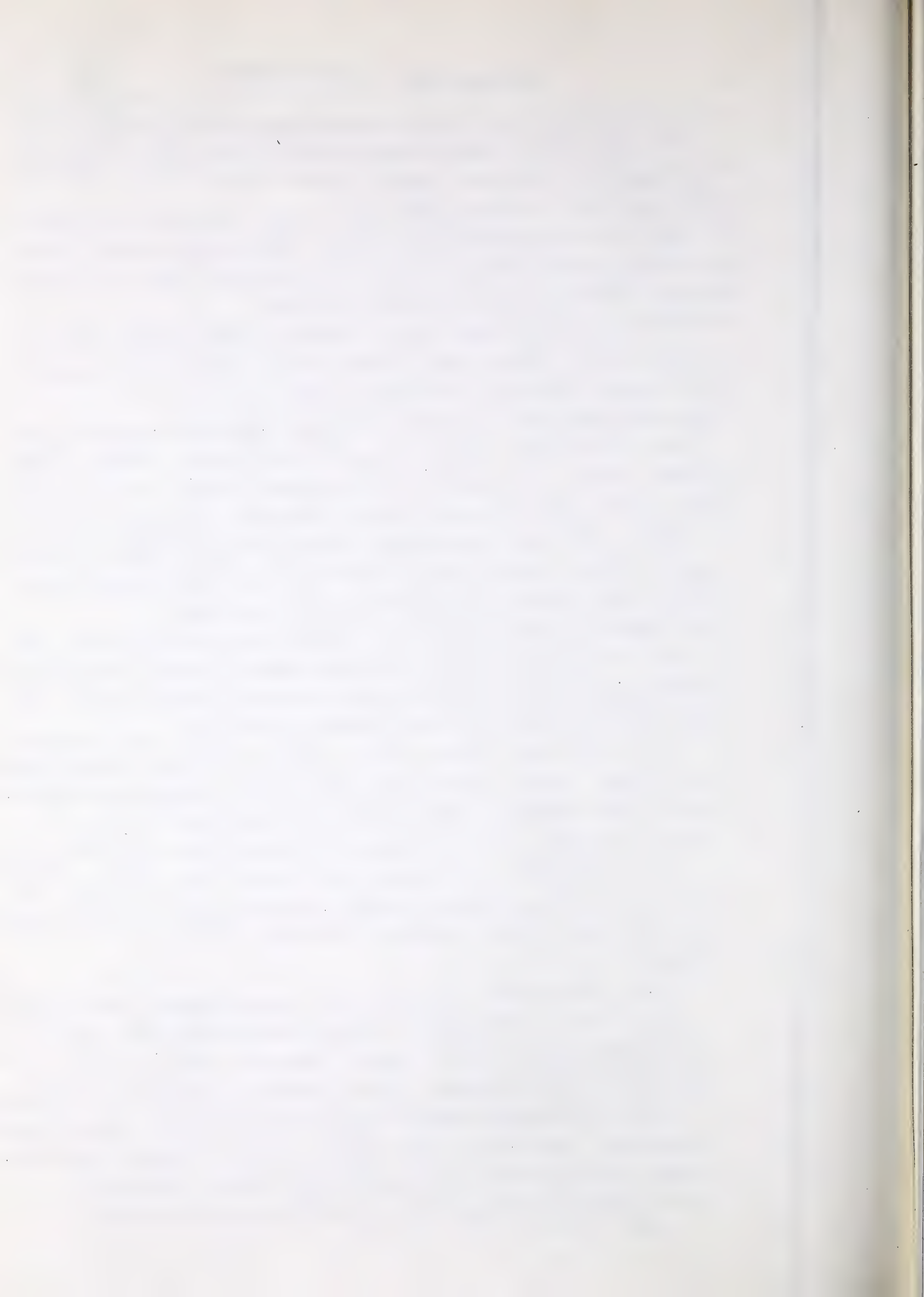
1815.—Chief judge, Zadock Wheeler ; assistant judges, Joel Brownson, Truman Chittenden ; county clerks, David Russell, John Johnson ; sheriff, Heman Lowry ; State's attorney, Sanford Gadcomb ; judge of probate, Truman Chittenden ; register of probate, Chauncey Brownell ; treasurer, Ozias Buell.

1816. — Same as 1815.

1817. — Chief judge, Zadock Wheeler ; assistant judges, Joel Brownson, T. Chittenden ; county clerks, David Russell, Nathan B. Haswell ; sheriff, Heman Lowry ; State's attorney, Sanford Gadcomb ; judge of probate, Jabez Penniman ; register of probate, Lyman Cummings ; treasurer, Ozias Buell.

1818. — Chief judge, Zadock Wheeler ; assistant judges, Joel Brownson, T. Chittenden ; county clerks, David Russell, Phineas Lyman ; sheriff, Heman Lowry ; State's attorney, Sanford Gadcomb ; judge of probate, Jabez Penniman ; register of probate, Lyman Cummings ; treasurer, Ozias Buell.

1819. — Same as 1818, except register of probate,—Alvan Foote.



1820. — Chief judge, Joel Brownson; assistant judges, Truman Chittenden, Burgess Hall; county clerks, David Russell, Nathan B. Haswell; sheriff, Heman Lowry; State's attorney, Timothy Follett; judge of probate, Jabez Penniman; register of probate, Alvan Foote; treasurer, John Peck.

1821. — Chief judge, Joel Brownson; assistant judges, T. Chittenden, Burgess Hall; county clerks, David Russell, Nathan B. Haswell; sheriff, Heman Lowry; State's attorney, Timothy Follett; judge of probate, M. Chittenden; register of probate, Isaac T. Hyde; treasurer, John Peck.

1822. — Chief judge, Ezra Meech; assistant judges, T. Chittenden, Burgess Hall; county clerks, David Russell, N. B. Haswell; sheriff, Heman Lowry; State's attorney, Timothy Follett; judge of probate, M. Chittenden; register of probate, David French; treasurer, John Peck.

1823. — Chief judge, Ezra Meech; assistant judges, Burgess Hall, Mitchell Hinsdell; county clerks, David Russell, N. B. Haswell; sheriff, Heman Lowry; State's attorney, B. F. Bailey; judge of probate, George Robinson; register of probate, Nathan B. Haswell; treasurer, John Peck.

1824. — Chief judge, Timothy Follett; assistant judges, Burgess Hall, Mitchell Hinsdell; county clerks, David Russell, N. B. Haswell; sheriff, Heman Lowry; State's attorney, Benjamin F. Bailey; judge of probate, George Robinson; register of probate, Nathan B. Haswell; treasurer, John Peck.

The office of chief judge was discontinued in 1824.

1825. — Assistant judges, Timothy Follett, Nathaniel Newell; county clerk, N. B. Haswell; sheriff, Heman Lowry; State's attorney, Benjamin F. Bailey; judge of probate, Truman Chittenden; register of probate, David French; treasurer, John Peck.

1826. — Assistant judges, Timothy Follett, Nathaniel Newell; county clerk, Nathan B. Haswell; sheriff, Heman Lowry; State's attorney, Benjamin F. Bailey; judge of probate, Truman Chittenden; register of probate, David French; treasurer, John Peck.

1827. — Assistant judges, Timothy Follett, Nathaniel Newell; county clerk, Nathan B. Haswell; sheriff, Heman Lowry; State's attorney, Charles Adams; judge of probate, Truman Chittenden; register of probate, Chauncey Brownell; treasurer, John Peck.

1828. — Assistant judges, Alvan Foote, Nathaniel Newell; county clerk, Nathan B. Haswell; sheriff, Moses Bliss; State's attorney, Charles Adams; judge of probate, Truman Chittenden; register of probate, Chauncey Brownell; treasurer, John Peck.

1829. — Assistant judges, Alvan Foote, Eli Brownson; county clerk, Nathan B. Haswell; sheriff, Moses Bliss; State's attorney, Charles Adams; judge of probate, William P. Briggs; register of probate, Luman Foote; treasurer, John Peck.

1830. — Assistant judges, Eli Brownson, J. Van Sicklen, jr.; county clerk,

N. B. Haswell ; sheriff, Moses Bliss ; State's attorney, Charles Adams ; judge of probate, T. Chittenden ; register of probate, George B. Manser ; treasurer, John Peck.

1831. — Assistant judges, Eli Brownson, J. Van Sicklen, jr. ; county clerk, N. B. Haswell ; sheriff, Roswell Butler ; State's attorney, A. G. Whittemore ; judge of probate, T. Chittenden ; register of probate, George B. Manser ; treasurer, John Peck.

1832. — Assistant judges, John Van Sicklen, jr., Thomas Chittenden ; county clerk, N. B. Haswell ; sheriff, George A. Allen, State's attorney, A. G. Whittemore ; judge of probate, William P. Briggs ; register of probate, David French ; treasurer, John Peck.

1833 and 1834. — Same as 1832.

1835. — Assistant judges, Joseph Marsh, Eli Brownson ; county clerk, N. B. Haswell ; sheriff, Heman Lowry ; State's attorney, A. G. Whittemore ; judge of probate, Truman Chittenden ; register of probate, George B. Manser ; treasurer, John Peck.

1836. — Assistant judges, Joseph Marsh, William Wood ; county clerk, Nathan B. Haswell ; sheriff, George A. Allen ; State's attorney, John N. Pomeroy ; judge of probate, Charles Russell ; register of probate, William Weston ; treasurer, John Peck ; county senators, John Van Sicklen, jr., and Harry Miller.

1837.— Assistant judges, William Wood, Stephen Byington ; county clerk, William Noble ; sheriff, George A. Allen ; State's attorney, John N. Pomeroy ; judge of probate, Charles Russell ; register of probate, William Weston ; treasurer, John Peck ; county senators, John Van Sicklen, jr., and Harry Miller.

1838.— Assistant judges, William Wood, Stephen Byington ; county clerk, William Noble ; sheriff, George A. Allen ; State's attorney, David French ; judge of probate, Charles Russell ; register of probate, William Weston ; treasurer, John Peck ; county senators, Truman Chittenden, Joseph Clark.

1839.— Same as 1838, except county senators as follows : Lyman Burgess, Joseph Marsh.

1840.— Assistant judges, Francis Wilson, Edmund Wellington ; county clerk, William Noble ; sheriff, George A. Allen ; State's attorney, George H. Platt ; judge of probate, Charles Russell ; register of probate, William Weston ; treasurer, John Peck ; county senators, Thaddeus R. Fletcher ; Joseph Marsh.

1841. — Assistant judges, Francis Wilson, Edmund Wellington ; county clerk, William Noble ; sheriff, George A. Allen ; State's attorney, George K. Platt ; judge of probate, Charles Russell ; register of probate, William Weston ; treasurer, John Peck ; county senators, T. R. Fletcher, David French.

1842.— Assistant judges, John Van Sicklen, John Allen ; county clerk, William Noble ; sheriff, Rolla Gleason ; State's attorney, Henry Leavenworth ; judge of probate, Charles Russell ; register of probate, William Weston ; treasurer, John Peck ; county senators, David A. Smalley, David French.

1843. — Assistant judges, John Van Sicklen, John Allen; county clerk, Henry B. Stacy; sheriff, Rolla Gleason; State's attorney, Henry Leavenworth; judge of probate, Charles Russell; register of probate, William Weston; treasurer, John Peck; county senators, David Read, Luther Stone.

1844. — Assistant judges, George A. Allen, John H. Tower; county clerk, Henry B. Stacy; sheriff, Rolla Gleason; State's attorney, I. P. Richardson; judge of probate, Charles Russell; register of probate, William Weston; treasurer, John Peck; county senators, David Read, Luther Stone.

1845. — Assistant judges, George A. Allen, John H. Tower; county clerk, E. A. Stansbury; sheriff, Horace Ferris; State's attorney, I. P. Richardson; judge of probate, Charles Russell; register of probate, William Weston; treasurer, John Peck; county senators, Harry Bradley, Daniel H. Onion.

1846. — Assistant judges, Robert White, U. H. Penniman; county clerk, E. A. Stansbury; sheriff, Horace Ferris; State's attorney, Frederick G. Hill; judge of probate, Charles Russell; register of probate, William Weston; treasurer, John Peck; county senators, Harry Bradley, Daniel H. Onion.

1847. — Assistant judges, Robert White, U. H. Penniman; county clerk, E. A. Stansbury; sheriff, Luther P. Blodgett; State's Attorney, Frederick G. Hill; judge of probate, Charles Russell; register of probate, William Weston; treasurer, John Peck; county senators, Jamin Hamilton, Alexander Ferguson.

1848. — Assistant judges, Ira Witters, I. P. Richardson; county clerk, E. A. Stansbury; sheriff, Luther P. Blodgett; State's attorney, Frederick G. Hill; judge of probate, Charles Adams; register of probate, Bradford Rixford; treasurer, John Peck; county senators, Jamin Hamilton, Alexander Ferguson,

1849. — Assistant judges, I. P. Richardson, Truman Galusha; county clerk, D. B. Bulkley; sheriff, Samuel W. Taylor; State's attorney, Hector Adams; judge of probate, Charles Adams; register of probate, Bradford Rixford; treasurer, John Peck; county senators, L. B. Platt, William Weston.

1850. — Assistant judges, Israel P. Richardson, Truman Galusha; county clerk, D. B. Bulkley; sheriff, S. W. Taylor; State's attorney, John G. Saxe; judge of probate, Charles Adams; register of probate, Bradford Rixford; treasurer, John Peck; county senators, L. B. Platt, William Weston.

1851. — Assistant judges, Ransom Jones, Aaron L. Beach; county clerk, D. B. Buckley; sheriff, Isaac Sherwood; State's attorney, Aaron B. Maynard; judge of probate, Charles Adams; register of probate, Bradford Rixford; treasurer, John Peck; county senators, Heman Barstow, A. G. Whittemore.

1852. — Assistant judges, John Lyman, Aaron L. Beach; county clerk, D. B. Buckley; sheriff, N. P. Bowman; State's attorney, Levi Underwood; judge of probate, William H. French; register of probate, J. S. Adams; treasurer, John Peck; county senators, Rolla Gleason, Ira Witters, John Parker.

1853. — Assistant judges, S. M. Parsons, Samuel B. Kennedy; county



clerk, J. S. Adams ; sheriff, N. P. Bowman ; State's attorney, Levi Underwood ; judge of probate, W. H. French ; register of probate, David French ; treasurer, John Peck ; county senators, Ira Witters, John Parker, Henry S. Morse.

1854.—Assistant judges, Ezra B. Green, S. M. Parsons ; county clerk, J. S. Adams ; sheriff, Humphrey Paul ; State's attorney, T. E. Wales ; judge of probate, William H. French ; register of probate, D. French ; treasurer, John Peck ; county senators, George W. Benedict, Rolla Gleason, E. H. Wheeler.

1855.—Assistant judges, Ezra B. Green, John Peck ; county clerk, J. S. Adams ; sheriff, Humphrey Paul ; State's attorney, Torrey E. Wales ; judge of probate, William H. French ; register of probate, D. French ; treasurer, John Peck ; county senators, George W. Benedict, Burlington ; E. H. Wheeler, Charlotte ; John Allen, Westford.

1856.—Assistant judges, Stephen Sayles, Daniel H. Onion ; county clerk, J. S. Adams ; sheriff, Humphrey Paul ; State's attorney, Torrey E. Wales ; judge of probate, William H. French ; register of probate, D. French ; treasurer, John Peck ; county senators, Martin Wires, Francis Wilson, Levi Underwood.

1857.—Assistant judges, Stephen Sayles, Daniel H. Onion ; county clerk, J. S. Adams ; sheriff, Noble Flanagan ; State's attorney, E. R. Hard ; judge of probate, William H. French ; register of probate, David French ; treasurer, John Peck ; county senators, L. E. Chittenden, Martin Wires, Francis Wilson.

1858.—Assistant judges, David Fish, John Work ; county clerk, J. S. Adams ; sheriff, Noble Flanagan ; State's attorney, E. R. Hard ; judge of probate, William H. French ; register of probate, David French ; treasurer, John Peck ; county senators, Lucius E. Chittenden, E. D. Mason, Josiah Tuttle.

1859.—Assistant judges, David Fish, John Work ; county clerk, J. S. Adams ; sheriff, Noble B. Flanagan ; State's attorney, E. R. Hard ; judge of probate, William H. French ; register of probate, David French ; treasurer, John Peck ; county senators, Lucius E. Chittenden, E. D. Mason, Josiah Tuttle.

1860.—Assistant judges, L. N. Williams, E. H. Wheeler ; county clerk, J. S. Adams ; sheriff, N. B. Flanagan ; State's attorney, Jeremiah French ; judge of probate, R. B. Fay ; register of probate, David French ; treasurer, E. W. Peck ; county senators, John Woodward, Asahel Peck, Elmer Beecher.

1861.—Assistant judges, L. N. Williams, E. H. Wheeler ; county clerk, J. S. Adams ; sheriff, N. B. Flanagan ; State's attorney, Jeremiah French ; judge of probate, R. B. Fay ; register of probate, David French ; treasurer, E. W. Peck ; county senators, John Woodward, Elmer Beecher, George F. Edmunds.

1862.—Assistant judges, Andrew Warner, Lyman Hall ; county clerk, J. S. Adams ; sheriff, N. B. Flanagan ; State's attorney, Russell S. Taft ; judge of probate, Torrey E. Wales ; register of probate, A. C. Dixon ; treasurer, E. W. Peck ; county senators, George F. Edmunds, Jed P. Clark, A. C. Welch.

1863.—Assistant judges, Andrew Warner, Lyman Hall; county clerk, J. S. Adams; sheriff, N. B. Flanagan; State's attorney, Russell S. Taft; judge of probate, Torrey E. Wales; register of probate, A. C. Dixon; treasurer, E. W. Peck; county senators, Jed P. Clark, A. C. Welch, L. B. Englesby.

1864.—Assistant judges, Lyman Hall, William V. Reynolds; county clerk, J. S. Adams; sheriff, William D. Munson; State's attorney, Russell S. Taft; judge of probate, Torrey E. Wales; register of probate, A. C. Dixon; treasurer, E. W. Peck; county senators, L. B. Englesby, Amos Holbart, A. J. Crane.

1865.—Assistant judges, Safford Colby, W. V. Reynolds; county clerk, J. S. Adams; sheriff, William D. Munson; State's attorney, L. B. Englesby; judge of probate, T. E. Wales; register of probate, W. S. Burnap; treasurer, E. W. Peck; county senators, J. L. Barstow, E. H. Lane, E. R. Hard.

1866.—Assistant judges, William V. Reynolds, Safford Colby; county clerk, J. S. Adams; sheriff, W. D. Munson; State's attorney, L. B. Englesby; judge of probate, T. E. Wales; register of probate, R. S. Taft; treasurer, E. W. Peck; county senators, R. S. Taft, J. S. Barstow, E. H. Lane.

1867.—Assistant judges, Safford Colby, Russell J. Morse; county clerk, A. J. Howard; sheriff, W. D. Munson; State's attorney, L. B. Englesby; judge of probate, Torrey E. Wales; register of probate, R. S. Taft; treasurer, E. W. Peck; county senators, J. L. Barstow, E. H. Lane, E. R. Hard.

1868.—Assistant judges, Russell J. Morse, Smith Wright; county clerk, A. J. Howard; sheriff, John C. Griffin; State's attorney, D. Roberts; judge of probate, T. E. Wales; register of probate, R. S. Taft; treasurer, E. W. Peck; county senators, E. R. Hard, E. B. Green, A. B. Halbert.

1869.—Assistant judges, Smith Wright, Nathan Lincoln; county clerk, A. J. Howard; sheriff, Luman A. Drew; State's attorney, E. R. Hard; judge of probate, T. E. Wales; register of probate, R. S. Taft; treasurer, E. W. Peck; county senators, Ezra B. Green, Alfred B. Halbert, George G. Benedict.

(The system of biennial elections established.)

1870.—Assistant judges, Nathan Lincoln, Nathaniel Parker; county clerk, A. J. Howard; sheriff, Luman A. Drew; State's attorney, Romeo H. Start; judge of probate, T. E. Wales; register of probate, Russell S. Taft; treasurer, E. W. Peck; county senators, George G. Benedict, Frederick C. Kennedy, Chauncey Brownell.

1872.—Assistant judges, N. Parker, Alney Stone; county clerk, A. J. Howard; sheriff, Luman A. Drew; State's attorney, W. L. Burnap; judge of probate, Torrey E. Wales; register of probate, Russell S. Taft; treasurer, E. W. Peck; county senators, George H. Bigelow, John L. Mason, A. O. Humphrey.

1874.—Assistant judges, Nathaniel Parker, Alfred B. Halbert; county clerk, A. J. Howard; sheriff, Luman A. Drew; State's attorney, Reuben P. B. Hewitt; judge of probate, Torrey E. Wales; register of probate, Russell S. Taft; treasurer, Edward W. Peck; county senators, William W. Henry, Charles I. Ladd, A. H. Chessmore.

1876.—Assistant judges, Alfred B. Halbert, T. D. Chapman; county clerk, A. J. Howard; sheriff, Luman A. Drew; State's attorney, Cornelius S. Palmer; judge of probate, Torrey E. Wales; register of probate, Russell S. Taft; treasurer, E. W. Peck; county senators, Samuel Huntington, Henry C. Leavenworth, Cyrus M. Spaulding.

1878.—Assistant judges, T. D. Chapman, E. H. Lane; county clerk, A. J. Howard; sheriff, Luman A. Drew; State's attorney, H. S. Peck; judge of probate, Torrey E. Wales; register of probate, Elihu B. Taft; treasurer, E. W. Peck; county senators, Henry Ballard, C. W. Witters, Cicero G. Peck.

1880.—Assistant judges, E. H. Lane, Ezra B. Andrews; county clerk, A. J. Howard; sheriff, Luman A. Drew; State's attorney, M. A. Bingham; judge of probate, Torrey E. Wales; register of probate, Elihu B. Taft; treasurer, E. W. Peck; county senators, A. C. Robinson, Charles W. Woodhouse, Walter A. Weed.

1882.—Assistant judges, Ezra B. Andrews, J. S. Platt; county clerk, O. P. Ray; sheriff, Joseph Barton; State's attorney, J. W. Russell; judge of probate, Torrey E. Wales; register of probate, George W. Wales; treasurer, E. W. Peck; county senators, W. L. Burnap, M. A. Bingham, U. S. Whitcomb.

1884.—Assistant judges, J. S. Platt, John E. Smith; county clerk, O. P. Ray; sheriff, Joseph Barton; State's attorney, Chauncey W. Brownell, jr.; judge of probate, Torrey E. Wales; register of probate, George W. Wales; treasurer, E. W. Peck; county senators, Warren Gibbs, B. H. Day, Henry Brewster.

County Buildings.—After the organization of Chittenden county, though Colchester was the shire town, all causes pending in the Supreme Court were tried in Addison county until October 21, 1788, when an act was passed restoring the trial of actions and appeals to this county. The stated term of court was to begin on the first Tuesday of August annually. In 1789 two terms were held at Colchester, at both of which Nathaniel Chipman presided as chief justice, and Noah Smith and Samuel Knight acted as assistant justices. The third term was held at Burlington, Elijah Paine, chief justice, Samuel Knight and Isaac Tichenor, assistant justices. The County Court held six terms at Colchester, beginning with the February term, 1788. During the four terms of the first two years John Fassett, jr., of Cambridge, was chief justice, and John White, of Georgia, and Samuel Lane, of Burlington, were assistant justices; John Knickerbacor was clerk; Noah Chittenden, of Jericho, sheriff; Samuel Hitchcock, of Burlington, State's attorney. John McNeil, of Charlotte, was judge of probate, and Isaac McNeill, register. Stephen Lawrence, of Burlington, was county treasurer. The next four terms of the court, the last two held at Burlington, at the inn of Gideon King (1790 and 1791), John Fassett, jr., presided as chief justice; and John White and John McNeil were assistant justices; Martin Chittenden was clerk; Stephen Pearl, sheriff;

Samuel Hitchcock, State's attorney for 1790, and William C. Harrington for 1791; Colonel John Spafford was county treasurer.

By a special act of the Legislature, passed October 27, 1790, the courts were removed from Colchester to Burlington, and the session of the Supreme Court fixed on the fourth Tuesday of August, and of the County Court on the last Tuesday of February and the last, save one, of September. Soon after the county was divided by the creation of Franklin county, a controversy arose on the subject of the site of the county buildings. The proceedings of the town in the matter are set forth briefly in the history of Burlington. In the summer of 1796 a court-house was built in the center of Court-House Square. This was replaced in 1802 by another on the site now occupied by the Fletcher Free Library building. The new court-house was burned in 1828 and another erected on the same site, the same building now occupied by the library, a two-story brick building forty-six feet wide and sixty long. The court-room was in the upper story. On the 30th of November, 1829, the property was leased to the county by the town of Burlington, through George Robinson and B. Lane, selectmen, for a term enduring "so long as wood grows and water runs," in consideration of an annual rental of "one peppercorn, if the same shall be demanded." The town also subscribed \$1,500 towards the erection of the court-house on condition of having the basement to the exclusive use of the town for town purposes. Here the town meetings were held until 1854, when the town hall was built, since which time, until appropriated to the uses of the library, it was devoted to the housing of fire engines and apparatus. This building was used for a court-house until the present court-house was completed, in 1873. The new court-house is an elegant structure of cut and hammered stone, two stories in height, with a mansard roof. It cost between \$50,000 and \$60,000, and was two years in progress of erection.

The first jail stood near the northeast corner of Court-House Square, about on the site of the present Strong block. On the 29th day of October, 1798, the Legislature passed an act the preamble of which recited that "Whereas, many persons from the county of Chittenden, for the want of a gaol in said county, have been imprisoned in the gaol in Vergennes, and are there still detained, at a great distance from their families, friends and connections, notwithstanding a good and sufficient gaol is now erected at Burlington, in said county of Chittenden"; therefore, the said prisoners were ordered transferred from Vergennes to Burlington without delay. This humane provision attests that with all the tortures of the whipping-post, the early Vermonters were not wanting in regard for the rights and feelings even of their prisoners at law. In those days imprisonment for debt was not uncommon. On the 5th of November, 1799, the "gaol" in Burlington was made also the "gaol" of the United States.

The land on which the jail is now situated was purchased by the county

from Lyman King, in August, 1807, for \$100, being the whole of city lot No. 353, and a part of lots 354, 367 and 368. The deed stated that it was to be "occupied as the site of a county gaol and such other buildings as said county shall direct." In the rear of this lot a stone jail was erected and a jail-house of wood occupied the site now taken up by its successor. At one o'clock on the morning of the 30th of January, 1851, Stetson's block, including the jail, was destroyed by fire, the loss to the county being about \$10,000, with an insurance of \$6,000. The present jail buildings were at once built in the place of those that were burned.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WAR OF 1812.

Growth of the County—Relations Between the United States and Foreign Countries—Party Feeling—Beginning of Hostilities—The British at Plattsburgh—American Forces on the Lake—Action at St. Armand—Governor Chittenden's Proclamation—MacDonough's Fleet—The Battle of Plattsburgh.

TOWARDS the end of the Revolution the current of immigration began to turn to the north, and they who had been forced to abandon their little clearings along Lake Champlain returned to find that nature had reasserted her dominion over this portion of the earth. Considering the comparative sparseness of population with which New England then extended her frontiers; the slow and laborious methods of travel and transportation; the scarcity of money; and all the perils from cold, from sickness and from famine, which waylay and beset the path of the pioneer, the rapidity with which the forests were felled, and cabins, school-houses and meeting-houses erected, presents a phase of human energy and perseverance gratifying to contemplate. In the year 1791, eight years after the Revolution, the population of the entire county numbered 3,875 souls. Charlotte was the most populous town, leading off with 635 inhabitants, while Williston followed with 471, Hinesburg with 454, Shelburne with 389, Jericho with 381, Essex with 354, and Burlington stood seventh in order with a population of 332. According to the census of 1810, the relation was wholly different. Burlington was the largest town, having 1,690 inhabitants; Charlotte was second, having 1,679; Milton third, with 1,548; Hinesburg fourth, with 1,238; Jericho and Williston were abreast, with 1,185, and Westford next, with 1,107. The inhabitants of the county numbered 14,449.

In the event of another war it is plain that an invasion by the enemy from the north would be attended with greater difficulties from a more effectual resistance, and at the same time would be productive of greater distress to

the settlers. Such proved to be the case. Great Britain had not ceased to insult and injure the United States with every aggravation since she had acknowledged herself conquered in 1783. Causes of complaint increased to such a degree that as early as 1807 commercial intercourse with that country was interdicted by act of Congress. On the 3d of April, 1812, Congress laid an embargo for ninety days on all shipping within the jurisdiction of the United States, and on the following 18th of June the same body declared war with Great Britain. It may not be supposed that the people of this country were at one in regard to the necessity and prudence of this act. The friendly aid which France had rendered the United States, in the first war with Great Britain, had engendered an almost universal feeling of affection towards her in the hearts of the American people. Eager for the more general diffusion of the blessings of liberty, they had watched the progress of the French Revolution with the deepest interest, and for a time believed that the result of that terrible struggle would be the establishment of a more nearly perfect republic than the United States. But when France engrafted upon her new government the chimerical schemes of her infidel philosophy, and abolished the time-honored restraints of law and religion, many of the people in this country who had been warmest in their praises of her desire for liberty recoiled with disgust at her establishment of unbounded licentiousness. Thus, between those who continued their friendship for France and those who were alienated, arose a division, not in sentiment alone, but in opinions respecting the administration of public affairs; the former favored a form of government even more democratic than that of the United States, while the latter believed the necessity of strengthening the hands of government by a centralization of its power. The former were the Republicans of that period, and the latter the Federalists. Having discarded the French Republic as a model government, the Federalists examined and commended the plastic stability of England, and bitterly opposed the passage of the act declaring war with that country. The administration in power being Republican, made the repeal of the British orders in council, the discontinuance of the plundering of American commerce, and of the impressment of American seamen by the British the *sine qua non* of peace.

Party feeling ran high throughout the country, and from this virulence Vermont and Chittenden county were not exempt. Political opponents hotly stigmatized each other as Tories, traitors and enemies to their country. The intercourse and harmony of neighbors and families were interrupted, and for a time the country seemed in danger of being embroiled in a civil war. The Republican, afterwards the Democratic party, in Chittenden county, were led by such men as Cornelius P. Van Ness, Nathan B. Haswell, Jabez Penniman, Heman Lowry and others, arrayed against Daniel Farrand, George Robinson, David Russell, Martin Chittenden, and their associates, leaders of the Federalists.

At Williston the Federalists called a convention at which Daniel Farrand presided as chairman. The administration was denounced in the most bitter invective. A series of resolutions was passed and an address to the people adopted, in which, among other things, it was declared that "the war was not waged to obtain justice from Great Britain, but to aid the cause of the most infamous of tyrants,¹ that of all the calamities which God in his wrath ever suffered to fall on the head of guilty man, war stands pre-eminent; that the government which shall plunge into its horrid vortex, until compelled by absolute necessity, stands guilty in the sight of Heaven and is responsible for every life that is lost; that the time has at length come when silence becomes criminal; . . . that the military power is vested in the vilest hands; and when the citizens are threatened with being tarred and feathered, the elective franchise comes as a rich gift from the beneficence of Heaven, to purchase our deliverance."

Hildreth says concerning this violent antagonism, as early as 1797: "That vehement and virulent party spirit, and close drawing of party lines, which had of late displayed itself in Congress, rapidly spreading throughout the whole country, had made itself conspicuously felt in the elections which succeeded the adjournment of the called session. The opposition had greater hopes of Vermont than of any other New England State. Chittenden, so long the governor, had leaned to their side. But on his declining a re-election, the Federalists succeeded, by a very close vote, in choosing Isaac Tichenor. The opposition, however, obtained a majority in the Lower House of the Legislature, and it was only by one vote that Nathaniel Chittenden, the Federal candidate, was chosen to supply Tichenor's place in the United States Senate." This bitterness of feeling continued without abatement until some time after the declaration of war, when the common sentiment of hostility to an invading enemy absorbed all intestine strife.

During the summer of 1812 preparations were made on Lake Champlain to oppose the naval force that might be sent by the British from Isle aux Noix. Nothing of interest occurred, however, until the 3d of June, 1813. Some British gun-boats having made their appearance within the American lines, the sloops *Growler* and *Eagle* sailed from Plattsburgh on the 2d, under the command of Lieutenant Sidney Smith, with the intention of attacking them. At dark they arrived within a mile of the boundary line, and at dawn on the following day gave chase to three British gun-boats which they discovered. They were unhappily driven by a south wind so far in the channel that they found it difficult to return. The *Eagle* not being sufficiently strong for her weight, sank in shoal water; but her crew were saved. Until the *Eagle* went down the *Growler* had kept up a desperate fight for four hours, but at last yielded to the British. The shores were lined with British soldiers, who, from

¹ Napoleon.

the narrowness of the channel, were enabled to do considerable execution. On the 30th of July the British, in two large sloops of war, three gun-boats, and about forty bateaux, laden with troops, sailors and marines, numbering about 1,400, crossed the line at Champlain, and on the day following landed at Plattsburgh, and immediately began the work of devastation. On their approach, General Mooers issued an order calling out the militia; and when the enemy arrived, about 300 from Plattsburgh and the neighboring towns had collected. This force being deemed incompetent to oppose the British, retired a few miles into the interior, where it was afterwards joined by the residue of the regiment to which it belonged and a regiment from Essex county, N. Y., but at a period too late to prevent the depredations of the enemy. Although the officer who had command of the expedition assured the civil authority of Plattsburgh that private property should be respected, and that citizens without arms should not be molested, yet these promises were no sooner made than violated. The enemy were not satisfied with destroying the public buildings such as the block-house, arsenal, armory, hospital, and military cantonment, nor did they limit their destruction of private property to such as they could eat, drink or carry away; but wantonly destroyed everything destructible that fell in their way. The barracks which they destroyed had been built by the soldiers and were computed to be worth \$25,000. After perpetrating the foregoing and many other outrages they embarked on the 1st of August, retreating with such precipitation that they left their picket guards behind them, twenty-one of whom were made prisoners. After their retreat they came to Burlington and fired a few shots, but retired as soon as the cannon from our batteries began to play on them.

On the 20th of August the American naval force on Lake Champlain consisted of the *President*, carrying twelve guns; the *Commodore Preble*, with eleven; *Montgomery*, eleven; *Frances*, six; two gun-boats, of one eighteen pounder each; and six scows of one twelve pounder each; making in all forty-eight guns. With this force Commodore MacDonough sailed from Burlington to the line in September, and offered battle to the British; but they declined and retired into Canada. His report to the secretary of the navy was as follows:

“UNITED STATES SLOOP *President*, NEAR PLATTSBURGH, Sept. 9, 1813.

“SIR:—I have the honor to inform you, that I arrived here yesterday from near the lines, having sailed from Burlington on the 6th instant, with an intention to fall in with the enemy, who were then near this place. Having proceeded to within a short distance of the lines, I received information that the enemy were at anchor; soon after they weighed and stood to the northward out of the lake. Thus if not acknowledging our ascendancy on the lake, evincing an unwillingness (although they had the advantage of situation, owing to the narrowness of the channel in which their galleys could work, when we should want room) to determine it.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

“Hon. W. Jones, Sec. of the Navy.

THOMAS MACDONOUGH.”

The northern army was concentrated at Burlington under command of General Hampton, and consisted of about four thousand men. At one time even the university buildings were converted into barracks for the accommoda-

tion of the troops. Early in September this army embarked at Burlington, and landed at Cumberland Head, near Plattsburgh. On the 9th they proceeded to Chazy and attacked the enemy's advanced post at Odletown. Seeing that it was impracticable to invade Canada by that route Hampton returned to Champlain and took the route to Chateaugay, where he arrived on the 25th. In the mean time Colonel Clark was detached and ordered to attack a small British force at St. Armand, on Missisco Bay. He found them drawn up under Major Powell, wholly unsuspecting of an attack by land; and after a lively action of ten minutes they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The force of the Americans in this engagement numbered 102, while the number of prisoners taken and sent to Burlington was 101. Nine of the enemy were slain and fourteen wounded. Another engagement took place at Chateaugay on the 26th of October, between the army under Hampton and a force of the British, but as Hampton was unsuccessful and the season far advanced, he soon returned into winter quarters at Plattsburgh.

Governor Martin Chittenden was opposed to the war, and took grounds against the power of the national government for drafting and calling out the militia of the State, supporting his position by the argument that the militia were for the protection and defense of the State alone. A brigade of Vermont militia, which had been drafted into the service of the United States, and marched to Plattsburgh, were, on the 10th of November, discharged by the following proclamation of Governor Chittenden:

By His Excellency MARTIN CHITTENDEN, ESQ., Governor, Captain-General, and Commander-in-Chief, in and over the State of Vermont:

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, it appears that the Third Brigade of the Third Division of the Militia of this State has been ordered from our frontiers to the defense of a neighboring State:—And whereas it further appears, to the extreme regret of the Captain-General, that a part of the Militia of the said Brigade have been placed under the command and at the disposal of an officer of the United States, out of the jurisdiction and control of the Executive of this State, and have been actually marched to the defense of a sister State, fully competent to all the purposes of self-defense, whereby an extensive section of our own Frontier is left, in a measure, unprotected, and the peaceable good citizens thereof are put in great jeopardy, and exposed to the retaliatory incursions and ravages of an exasperated enemy: And, whereas, disturbances of a very serious nature are believed to exist, in consequence of a portion of the Militia having thus been ordered out of the State:

Therefore—to the end that these great evils may be provided against, and, as far as may be, prevented for the future:

Be it known—that such portion of the Militia of said Third Division, as may now be doing duty in the State of New York, or elsewhere, beyond the limits of this State, both Officers and men are hereby ordered and directed by the Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Militia of the State of Vermont, forthwith to return to the respective places of their usual residence, within the territorial limits of said Brigade, and there to hold themselves in constant readiness to act in obedience to the order of Brigadier-General Jacob Davis, who was appointed by the Legislature of this State to the command of said Brigade.

And the said Brigadier-General Davis is hereby ordered and directed, forthwith, to see that the Militia of his said Brigade be completely armed and equipped, as the Law directs, and holden in constant readiness to march on the shortest notice to the defense of the Frontiers; and, in case of actual invasion, without further Orders, to march with his said Brigade, to act, either in co-operation with the

troops of the U. States, or separately, as circumstances may require in repelling the enemy from our territory, and in protecting the good citizens of this State from the ravages of hostile incursions.

And in case of an event, so seriously to be deprecated, it is hoped and expected, that every citizen, without distinction of party, will fly at once to the nearest post of danger, and that the only rallying word will be—"OUR COUNTRY."

Feeling, as the Captain-General does, the weight of responsibility, which rests upon him with regard to the Constitutional duties of the Militia, and the sacred rights of our citizens to protection from this great class of community, so essentially necessary to all free countries; at a moment, too, when they are so imminently exposed to the dangers of hostile incursions, and domestic difficulties, he cannot conscientiously discharge the trust reposed in him by the voice of his fellow-citizens, and by the Constitution of this and the U. States, without an unequivocal declaration, that, in his opinion, the Military strength and resources of this State, must be reserved for its own defense and protection, *exclusively*—excepting in cases provided for, by the Constitution of the U. States; and then, under orders derived *only* from the Commander-in-Chief.

Given under my hand at Montpelier this 10th day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirteen; and of the United States the thirty-eighth.

MARTIN CHITTENDEN.

By his Excellency's Command,
SAMUEL SWIFT, *Secretary.*

This proclamation met with the most obstinate resistance from the officers of the brigade, who refused to obey it, although they returned before their term of service expired, and no further notice was taken of the transaction. The following is the protest of the officers :

CANTONMENT, PLATTSBURGH, NOV. 15, 1813.

To His Excellency, MARTIN CHITTENDEN, ESQ., Governor, Captain-General, Commander-in-Chief, in and over the State of Vermont.

SIR:—A most novel and extraordinary Proclamation from your Excellency, "ordering and directing such portion of the Militia of the Third Brigade of the Third Division of the Militia of Vermont, now doing duty in the State of New York, both officers and men, forthwith to return to their respective places of their residence," has just been communicated to the undersigned officers of said Brigade. A measure so unexampled requires that we should state to your Excellency the reason which induce us and absolutely and positively to refuse obedience to the order contained in your Excellency's Proclamation. With due deference to your Excellency's opinion, we humbly conceive, that when we are ordered into the service of the United States, it becomes our duty, when required, to march to the defence of any section of the Union. We are not of that class who believe that our duties as citizens or soldiers, are circumscribed within the narrow limits of the Town or State in which we reside; but that we are under a paramount obligation to our common country, to the great confederation of States. We further conceive that, while we are in actual service, and during the period for which we were ordered into service, your Excellency's power over us as Governor of the State of Vermont, is suspended.

If it is true, as your Excellency states, that we "are out of the jurisdiction or control of the Executive of Vermont," we would ask from whence your Excellency derives the *right* or presumes to exercise the *power* of ordering us to return from the service in which we are now engaged? If we were *legally* ordered into the service of the United States, your Excellency must be sensible that you have no authority to order us out of that service. If we were *illegally* ordered into the service, our continuance in it is either voluntary or compulsory. If voluntary, it gives no one a right to remonstrate or complain; if compulsory we can appeal to the laws of our country to redress against those who illegally restrain us of our liberty. In *either* case we cannot conceive the right your Excellency has to interfere in the business. Viewing the subject in this light, we conceive it our duty to declare unequivocally to your Excellency, that we shall not obey your Excellency's order for returning, but shall continue in the service of our country until we are legally and honorably discharged. An invitation or order to desert the standard of our country will never be obeyed by us, although it proceeds from the Governor and Captain-General of Vermont.

Perhaps it is proper that we should content ourselves with merely giving your Excellency the reasons which prevail upon us to disregard your proclamation; but we are impressed with the belief that our duty to ourselves, to the soldiers under our command and to the public, require that we should ex-

pose to the world, the motives which produced, and the objects which were intended to be accomplished by such extraordinary proclamation. We shall take the liberty to state to your Excellency, plainly, our sentiments on the subject. We consider your proclamation as a gross insult to the officers and soldiers in service, inasmuch as it implies that they are so *ignorant* of their rights as to believe that you have authority to command them in their present situation, or so *abandoned* as to follow your insidious advice. We cannot regard your proclamation in any other light, than as an unwarrantable stretch of executive authority, issued from the worst motives, to effect the basest purposes. It is, in our opinion, a renewed instance of that spirit of disorganization and anarchy which is carried on by a faction to overwhelm our country with ruin and disgrace. We cannot perceive what other object your Excellency could have in view than to embarrass the operations of the army, to excite mutiny and sedition among the soldiers and induce them to desert, that they might forfeit the wages to which they are entitled for their patriotic services.

We have, however, the satisfaction to inform your Excellency, that although your proclamations have been distributed among the soldiers by your agent delegated for that purpose, they have failed to produce the intended effect—and although it may appear *incredible* to your Excellency, *even soldiers* have discernment sufficient to perceive that the proclamation of a Governor, when offered out of the line of his duty, is a harmless, inoffensive, and nugatory document. They regard it with mingled emotions of pity and contempt for its author, and as a striking monument of his folly.

Before we conclude, we feel ourselves in justice to your Excellency, bound to declare that a knowledge of your Excellency's character induces us to believe, that the folly and infamy of the proclamation to which your Excellency has *put your signature* is not wholly to be ascribed to your Excellency, but chiefly to the evil advisers, with whom we believe your Excellency is encompassed.

We are, with due respect, your Excellency's obedient servants,

LUTHER DIXON, Lieutenant-Colonel,
 ELIJAH DEE, Junior Major,
 JOSIAH GROU, Major,
 CHARLES BENNET, Captain,
 ELIJAH W. WOOD, Captain,
 ELIJAH BIRGE, Captain,
 MARTIN D. FOLLET, Captain,
 AMASA MANSFIELD, Captain,
 T. H. CAMPBELL, Lieutenant,
 DANIEL DODGE, Ensign,
 SANFORD GADCOMB, Captain,
 JAMES FULLINGTON, Qr. Master,
 SHEPARD BEAL, Lieutenant,
 JOHN FASSETT, Surgeon,
 SETH CLARK, JR., Surgeon's Mate,
 THOMAS WATERMAN, Captain,
 BENJAMIN FOLLETT, Lieutenant,
 HIRA HILL, Surgeon's Mate.

On the 4th of December the enemy made his appearance on the lake with six heavy galleys, manned seemingly with more than 400 men, and followed close after our look-out boat, which was bringing the intelligence. They set fire to a small shed which had been in public use, the smoke of which gave the first intimation of their approach. It being calm, four of our galleys, under Lieutenant Cassin, weighed and were ordered in pursuit of them. The direction was to bring them to action, if possible, and hold them until the sloops should come up. The chase continued for three hours without effect. It is presumed that they thought the Americans had gone into winter quarters, and that Plattsburgh was the object of their visit.

When winter set in MacDonough repaired to Vergennes, where timber was

plenty, and began building a new fleet upon Otter Creek. The situation was well chosen, the entrance to the river being protected by a fort under charge of Lieutenant Cassin, after whom it was named. On the 29th of May, 1814, MacDonough brought his fleet out of Otter Creek, and on the same evening cast anchor off Plattsburgh. The fleet consisted of the ship *Saratoga*, commanded by MacDonough himself; the brig *Eagle*, Captain Henley; schooner *Ticonderoga*, Lieutenant Cassin; sloop *Preble*, Lieutenant Charles Budd, and the galleys *Allen*, *Burrows*, *Borer*, *Nettle*, *Viper*, *Centipede*, *Ludlow*, *Wilma*, *Alwyn* and *Ballard*, manned by 882 men, mounting in all eighty-six guns.¹

In the summer of 1813 General Izard had been ordered by the secretary of war, for some unexplainable reason, to remove from this department to the West with the troops under his command, which left General Macomb at Plattsburgh with only about 3,000 men.

Sir George Provost, who was making preparations to invade the States, regarded this movement upon the part of the Americans as tantamount to a retreat, and rendering to him a victory sure and easy. And this would have been most certainly the result had not the militia of Vermont and Northern New York hurried to the assistance of General Macomb.

General Izard protested against the order, and endeavored to convince the War Department that his retirement would greatly endanger the whole northern frontier and give to the enemy the possession of Lake Champlain; but his entreaties were unavailing, and he abandoned camp at Champlain on the 29th of August and took up his march towards Schenectady, and on the next day Major-General Brisbane advanced his position from Canada and occupied the camp.

General Izard abandoned the camp at Champlain on the 29th of August, and the next day Major-General Brisbane advanced his division from Odletown to that place. On the 3d of September 14,000 British troops were collected at Champlain. This force was composed of four troops of the Nineteenth Light Dragoons, 300 men; two companies Royal Artillery, 400 men; one brigade of Rocketeers, 25 men; one brigade Royal Sappers and Miners, 75 men; the First Brigade of Infantry, consisting of the first battalion of the Twenty-seventh Regiment, the Fifty-eighth and Fifth, and the Third or Buffs, in all 3,700 men, under command of Major-General Robinson; the Second Brigade, formed by the Eighty-eighth and Thirty-ninth, and the third battalions of the Twenty-seventh and Seventy-sixth, in all 3,600 men, under Major-General Powers; the Third Brigade, composed of the second battalion of the Eighth or King's, and the Eighteenth, Forty-ninth and Sixth, 3,100 men, under Major-General Brisbane. There was also a light brigade, 2,800 strong, composed of Muron's Swiss Regiment; the Canadian Chasseurs, the

¹ The following description of the Battle of Plattsburgh is substantially the same as written by Peter S. Palmer, in his history of Lake Champlain, and inserted in the *Vermont Historical Magazine* in an able article written by Thomas H. Canfield.

Voltigeurs, and the Frontier Light Infantry. The whole was under Sir George Provost, governor-general of Canada, Lieutenant-General De Rottenburgh being second in command.

On the 4th the main body reached Chazy village, and the next night encamped near Sampson's, about eight miles from Plattsburgh. At the same time Captain Pring, with a number of gun-boats, moved up the lake as far as Isle La Motte and erected a battery of three long eighteen pounders on the west side of that island, to cover the landing of the supplies for the troops.

Brigadier-General Macomb was now at Plattsburgh, actively engaged in preparations to resist the expected attack. On the 3d of September he issued a general order detailing his plan of defense. "The troops [says this order] will line the parapet in two ranks, leaving intervals for the artillery. A reserve of one-fifth of the whole force in infantry will be detailed and paraded fronting the several angles, which it will be their particular duty to sustain. To each bastion are to be assigned, by the several commanders of forts, a sufficient number of infantry to line all the faces (in single rank) of each tier. Should the enemy gain the ditch, the front rank of the part assailed will mount the parapet and repel him with its fire and bayonet. If the men of this rank are determined, no human force can dispossess them of that position."

The American works were built upon an elevated plain, lying between the banks of the river Saranac and Lake Champlain. The river descends from the west until it approaches within about 160 rods of the lake, and then turns toward the north and runs about one mile in a northeasterly direction to the lake. The land between the river and lake at this point is nearly in the shape of a right-angled triangle, the perpendicular being formed by the lake shore. About eighty rods above the mouth of the river, and near the center of the village, is the "lower bridge"; and about one mile higher up, following the course of the stream, was another bridge, on the road leading south to Salmon River, called the "upper bridge." One mile and a half above this bridge is a ford of the river.¹ The stream can also be forded at the bridges and at a point about midway between them. The south bank of the river, above the village, is from fifty to sixty feet high, and steep. About sixty rods above the "lower bridge" is a deep ravine, running back from the river and extending nearly to the lake shore. The principal work, called Fort Moreau, stood opposite the bend of the river, and about half way between it and the lake. It was three-fourths of a mile south of the "lower bridge." A redoubt, called Fort Brown, stood on the bank of the river, directly opposite the bend, and about fifty rods west of Fort Moreau. There was another redoubt to the east of Fort Moreau, near the bank of the lake, called Fort Scott. On the point, near the mouth of the river, was a block-house and battery. Another block-house stood on

¹ This ford is near the spot where General Pike encamped in 1812. The buildings were burned by Colonel Murray in 1813.

the south side of the ravine, about half way between the river and the lake. The defense of Fort Moreau was entrusted to Colonel Melancton Smith, who had for its garrison the Twenty-ninth and Sixth Regiments. Lieutenant-Colonel Storrs was stationed in Fort Brown with detachments of the Thirtieth and Thirty-first, and Major Vinson in Fort Scott with the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth. The block-house near the ravine was entrusted to Captain Smith of the Rifles, and had for its defense a part of his company and of the convalescents of one of the absent regiments. The block-house on the point was garrisoned by a detachment of artillery under Lieutenant Fowler. The light artillery was ordered to take such position as would best annoy the enemy. When not employed they were to take post in the ravine with the light troops.

As soon as the British had advanced to Chazy village, Captain Sproul was ordered by General Macomb, with 200 men of the Thirteenth and two field pieces, to take position near the Dead Creek bridge and to abattis the road beyond, while Lieutenant-Colonel Appling was stationed in advance with 110 riflemen and a troop of New York State cavalry, under Captain Safford and Lieutenant M. M. Standish, to watch the movements of the enemy. Macomb also made arrangements with Major-General Mooers for calling out the New York militia, and addressed a letter to Governor Chittenden, of Vermont, requesting aid from that State. On the 4th, 700 of the Clinton and Essex militia had collected at Plattsburgh.¹ They were advanced the next day about five miles on the North Road, and lay during the night in the vicinity of the present stone church in Beekmantown. The militia were directed to watch the enemy, skirmish with him as he advanced, break up the bridges and obstruct the road with fallen trees.

On the 5th, as we have already stated, the British occupied a position near Sampson's, on the lake road. The troops were there divided into two columns, and moved toward the village of Plattsburgh on the morning of the 6th before daylight, the right column crossing over to the Beekmantown road, the left following the lake road leading to the Dead Creek bridge. The right column was composed of Major-General Powers's brigade, supported by four companies of light infantry and a demi-brigade under Major-General Robinson. The left was led by Major-General Brisbane's brigade. Information of this contemplated movement having reached General Macomb on the evening of the 5th, he ordered Major Wool, with a detachment of 250 men, to advance on the Beekmantown road to the support of the militia. Captain Leonard, of the light artillery, was also directed to be on the ground before daylight with two field-pieces.

The right column of the British advanced more rapidly than the left, and,

¹ These belonged to Colonel Thomas Miller's and Colonel Joiner's regiments, Major Sanford's battalion and the Thirty-seventh regiment.

at an early hour, met Major Wool's detachment and the militia, who had taken a position near the residence of Ira Howe, in Beekmantown. Wool's party opened a brisk fire of musketry upon the head of the British column as it approached, severely wounding Lieutenant West of the Third Buffs, and about twenty privates. Near this place Goodspeed and Jay, two men of Captain Atwood's company of militia, were wounded and taken prisoners. Wool, with his men, now fell back as far as Culver's Hill, four and a half miles from the village, where he awaited the approach of the British. He was supported by a few of the militia who had been rallied by their officers, but the greater portion had retreated precipitately, after the first fire near Howe's. The resistance at Culver's Hill was intrepid but momentary, for the British troops pressed firmly forward, occupying the whole road, and only returning the fire by their flanks and leading platoons, the latter of whom were once driven to the base of the hill, after having reached its summit. At this point Lieutenant-Colonel Willington, of the Third Buffs, fell as he was ascending the hill at the head of his regiment. Ensign Chapman, of the same regiment, was also killed there, and Captain Westropp, of the Fifty-eighth, severely wounded. Several of the Americans were killed, including Patridge, of the Essex militia.

Learning that a large body of the British were advancing on a parallel road, leading from Beekmantown Corners, to gain his rear, Wool fell back as far as "Halsey's Corners," about one and a half miles from the village bridge. He was there joined, about eight o'clock in the morning, by Captain Leonard with two pieces of light artillery. Leonard placed his guns in battery at an angle in the road, masked by Wool's infantry and a small body of militia, and as the British approached opened a most galling fire upon the head of the column; the balls cutting a narrow and bloody lane through the moving mass. Three times were the guns discharged, but even this terrible fire did not check the progress of the column, for the men, throwing aside their knapsacks, pressed forward, the bugles sounding the charge, and forced Leonard hastily to withdraw towards the village. At this place a number of the British were killed or wounded. Among the latter was Lieutenant Kingsbury, of the Third Buffs, who was taken into the adjoining farm-house of Isaac C. Platt, esq., where he soon afterwards died.

Finding that the enemy's right column was steadily approaching the village, General Macomb ordered in the detachments at Dead Creek; at the same time directing Lieutenant-Colonel Appling to fall on the British flank. The rapid advance of the column on the Beekmantown road had reversed Appling's position, and he had barely time to save his retreat, coming in a few rods ahead, as the British debouched from the woods a little north of the village. Here he poured in a destructive fire from his riflemen at rest, and continued to annoy the enemy, until he formed a junction with Wool, who was slowly retiring towards the lower bridge. The field pieces were taken across the bridge

and formed a battery for its protection, and to cover the retreat of Wool's, Appling's and Sproul's men. These detachments retired alternately, keeping up a brisk fire until they got under cover of the works.

The left column of the British army did not arrive near the village until after Sproul's and Appling's detachments had been withdrawn; their march having been retarded by the obstructions placed in the road, and by the removal of the bridge at Dead Creek. As this column passed along the beach of the lake, it was much annoyed by a brisk fire from several galleys, which MacDonough had ordered to the head of the bay. After this fire had continued for about two hours, the wind began to blow so heavy from the south as to endanger the safety of the galleys. Mr. Duncan, a midshipman of the *Saratoga*, was therefore sent in a gig to order them to return. As that officer approached he received a severe wound from the enemy's fire, which for a few minutes was concentrated upon his boat. About this time one of the galleys drifted under the guns of the British and sustained some loss, but was eventually brought off.

As soon as the American troops had crossed the river the plank were removed from the lower bridge and were piled up at its east end to form a breast-work for the infantry. A similar breast-work was made by the militia at the upper bridge. The British light troops made several attempts, in the course of the day, to cross at the village, but were repulsed by the guards at the bridge, and by the sharp fire of a company of volunteers who had taken possession of a stone grist-mill near by. An attempt was also made to cross at the upper bridge, which was gallantly resisted by the militia. The loss this day, on both sides, was greater than the whole loss during the rest of the siege, forty-five of the Americans and more than 200 British having been killed or wounded.¹

The configuration of the land on the north side of the river differs somewhat from that on the south side. The bank at the mouth of the river is abrupt and about thirty feet high. This bank, with a depression above the lower bridge, opposite the mill-pond, follows the margin of the stream until within about eighty rods of Fort Brown, when the hill recedes from the river and is less abrupt. The flat and hill opposite Fort Brown were covered with small trees and bushes. About one mile back from the river is an elevated ridge running to the north. At Allen's farm-house, which stood upon this ridge at the distance of one and one-fourth miles from the American forts, Sir George Provost established his headquarters. The army were encamped upon the ridge and on the high ground north of the village.

From the 7th to the 10th Provost was busily engaged in bringing up his battering trains and supplies and in preparing his approaches. He erected a

¹ General Macomb, in his general order of the 7th, estimates the British loss at from two to three hundred. The *Burlington Sentinel* of the 9th states it to have been about three hundred.

battery on the bank of the lake north of the mouth of the river; another near the edge of the steep bank above the mill-pond; another near the burial ground, and one, supplied with rocket works, on the hill opposite Fort Brown. Besides these there were three smaller batteries erected at other points within range of the American forts.

While Provost was thus engaged the American troops were diligently at work day and night in strengthening their defenses. The barracks and hospitals in the vicinity of the forts were burned and the sick removed to Crab Island, about two miles distant, where they were protected from the weather by tents. A small battery was erected on that island, mounting two six pounders, which was manned by convalescents. The Americans also, during this time, fired hot shot into and burned some fifteen or sixteen buildings on the north side of the river, which had afforded protection to the British light troops.¹

From the 7th to the 10th the pickets and militia were engaged in frequent skirmishes with the enemy at the two bridges and at the different fords along the river. On the morning of the 7th a party of British under Captain Noadie attempted to cross the river at a ford about five miles west of the village. They were, however, met by a company of Colonel Miller's regiment of militia, under command of Captain Vaughan, and were repulsed with a loss of two killed and several wounded. The same day Lieutenant Runk, of the Sixth, was mortally wounded as he was passing in the street near the present dwelling of A. C. Moore.

On the night of the 9th, while the British were engaged in erecting their rocket battery near Fort Brown, Captain McGlassin, of the Fifteenth Infantry, obtained permission from General Macomb to take a party of fifty men and attack a detachment of British troops at work upon the battery. The night was dark and stormy and favored such an enterprise. Ordering his men to take the flints from their muskets, McGlassin crossed the river, and passing through a small clump of dwarf oaks, reached, unobserved, the foot of the hill upon which the enemy were at work. There he divided his force into two parties, one of which was sent by a circuitous route to the rear of the battery. As soon as this party had reached its position, McGlassin in a loud voice ordered his men to charge "on the front and rear," when they rushed forward with all the noise it was possible for them to make and entered the work at both sides on the run. The working party were taken by surprise, and supposing themselves attacked by overwhelming numbers retreated precipitately towards the main camp. McGlassin spiked the guns and led his party back

¹The *Burlington Sentinel* says, that up to the evening of the 8th the following buildings had been burned: Jonathan Griffin's house and store; Roswell Wait's house and store; Mr. Savage's house; D. Buck's house; Mr. Powers's store; Widow Beaumont's house and store; Charles Backus's house and store; Joseph Thomas's two stores, and Mr. Goldsmith's house. The court-house and jail were also burned.

to the American fort without losing a man. The whole affair was boldly conceived and most gallantly executed. It was long before the British officers would believe that fifty men could make so much noise or so badly frighten over three hundred of their veteran troops.

When the British army reached Plattsburgh their gun-boats had advanced as far as the Isle La Motte, where they remained under command of Captain Pring. On the 8th Captain Downie reached that place with the rest of the fleet, and on the morning of the 11th the whole weighed anchor and stood south to attack the Americans, who lay in the bay off Plattsburgh.

As the British vessels rounded Cumberland Head, about eight o'clock in the morning, they found MacDonough at anchor a little south of the mouth of the Saranac River and abreast, but out of gun-shot of the forts. His vessels lay in a line running north from Crab Island and nearly parallel with the west shore. The brig *Eagle*, Captain Henley, lay at the head of the line inside the point of the Head. This vessel mounted twenty guns and had on board 150 men. Next to her and on the south lay MacDonough's flag-ship, the *Saratoga*, mounting twenty-six guns, with 212 men. Next south was the schooner *Ticonderoga*, of seventeen guns, Lieutenant Cassin, with 110 men, and next to her, and at the southern extremity of the line, lay the sloop *Preble*, Lieutenant Charles Budd. This vessel carried seven guns and was manned by thirty men. She lay so near the shoal extending northeast from Crab Island as to prevent the enemy from turning that end of the line. To the rear of the line were ten gun-boats, six of which mounted one long twenty-four pounder and one eighteen pound columbiad each; the other four carried one twelve pounder. The gun-boats had on an average thirty-five men each. Two of the gun-boats lay a little north and in rear of the *Eagle*, to sustain the head of the line; the others were placed opposite the intervals between the different vessels and about forty rods to their rear. The larger vessels were at anchor while the gun-boats were kept in position by their sweeps.

The British fleet was composed of the frigate *Confiance*, carrying 37 guns, with over 300 men, commanded by Captain Downie; the brig *Linnet*, Captain Pring, of 16 guns and 120 men; the sloop *Chub*, Lieutenant McGhee, and the sloop *Finch*, Lieutenant Hicks, carrying 11 guns and about 45 men each. To these vessels were added 12 gun-boats of about 45 men each; 8 of them carried 2 guns, and 4 one gun each. Thus the force of the Americans consisted of 1 ship, 1 brig, 1 schooner, 1 sloop, and 10 gun-boats, manned by 882 men, and carrying in all 86 guns. The British had 1 frigate, 1 brig, 2 sloops and 12 gun-boats, manned by over 1,000 men, and carrying in all 95 guns. The metal of the vessels on both sides was unusually heavy. The *Saratoga* mounted 8 long twenty-fours, 6 forty-twos, and 12 thirty-twos, while the *Confiance* had the gun-deck of a heavy frigate, with 30 long twenty-fours upon it. She also had a spacious top-gallant fore-castle, and a poop that came no further forward than

the mizzen mast. On the first were a long twenty-four on a circle, and 4 heavy carronades; 2 heavy carronades were mounted on the poop.

When the British fleet appeared in sight the *Finch* led and kept in a course toward Crab Island, while the other vessels hove to opposite the point of Cumberland Head, to allow the gun-boats to come up and receive final instructions as to the plan of attack. The vessels then filled and headed in towards the American fleet, passing inside of the point of Cumberland Head, the *Chub* laying her course a little to windward of the *Eagle*, in order to support the *Linnet*, which stood directly towards that vessel. Captain Downie had determined to lay the *Confiance* athwart the *Saratoga*, but the wind baffling, he was obliged to anchor at about two cables' length from that ship. The *Finch*, which had run about half way to Crab Island, tacked and took her station, with the gun-boats, opposite the *Ticonderoga* and the *Preble*.

As the British vessels approached they received the fire of the American fleet, the brig *Eagle* firing first, and being soon followed by the *Saratoga* and the sloop and schooner.¹ The *Linnet* poured her broadside into the *Saratoga* as she passed that ship to take her position opposite the *Eagle*. Captain Downie brought his vessel into action in the most gallant manner, and did not fire a gun until he was perfectly secured, although his vessel suffered severely from the fire of the Americans. As soon, however, as the *Confiance* had been brought into position, she discharged all her larboard guns at nearly the same instant. The effect of this broadside, thrown from long twenty-four pounders, double-shotted, in smooth water, was terrible. The *Saratoga* trembled to her very keel; about 40 of her crew were disabled, including her first lieutenant, Mr. Gamble, who was killed while sighting the bow gun.

Soon after the commencement of the engagement the *Chub*, while manœuvring near the head of the American line, received a broadside from the *Eagle*, which so crippled her that she drifted down between the opposing vessels and struck. She was taken possession of by Mr. Charles Platt, one of the *Saratoga's* midshipmen, and was towed in shore and anchored. The *Chub* had suffered severely, nearly half of her men having been killed or wounded. About an hour later the *Finch* was driven from her position by the *Ticonderoga*, and, being badly injured, drifted upon the shoal near Crab Island, where she grounded. After being fired into from the small battery on the island, she struck and was taken possession of by the invalids who manned the battery.

After the loss of the *Finch* the British gun-boats made several efforts to

¹The first gun fired on board the *Saratoga* was a long twenty-four, which MacDonough himself sighted. The shot is said to have struck the *Confiance* near the outer hawse-hole, and to have passed the length of her deck, killing and wounding several men, and carrying away the wheel. In clearing the decks of the *Saratoga*, some hen-coops were thrown overboard and the poultry permitted to run at large. Startled by the report of the opening gun of the *Eagle*, a young cock flew upon a gun-slide, clapped his wings and crowed. The men gave three cheers and considered the little incident as a happy omen. — *Cooper's Naval History and Niles's Register*.

close, and succeeded in compelling the sloop *Preble* to cut her cables and to anchor in shore of the line, where she was of no more service during the engagement. The gun-boats, emboldened by this success, now directed their efforts towards the *Ticonderoga*, against which they made several very gallant assaults, bringing the boats, upon two or three occasions, within a few feet of the schooner's side. They were, however, as often beaten back, and the schooner during the remainder of the day completely covered that extremity of the line.

While these changes were taking place at the lower end of the line, a change was also made at the other extremity. The *Eagle* having lost her springs and finding herself exposed to the fire of both the *Linnet* and *Confiance*, dropped down and anchored between the *Saratoga* and *Ticonderoga*, and a little in shore of both. From this position she opened afresh on the *Confiance* and the British gun-boats, with her larboard guns. This change relieved the brig, but left the *Saratoga* exposed to the whole fire of the *Linnet*, which sprung her broadsides in such a manner as to rake the ship on her bows.

The fire from the *Saratoga* and *Confiance* now began materially to lessen, as gun after gun on both vessels became disabled, until at last the *Saratoga* had not a single available gun, and the *Confiance* was but little better off. It therefore became necessary that both vessels should wind, to continue the action with any success. This the *Saratoga* did after considerable delay, but the *Confiance* was less fortunate, as the only effect of her efforts was to force the vessel ahead. As soon as the *Saratoga* came around she poured a fresh broadside from her larboard guns into the *Confiance*, which stood the fire a few minutes and then struck. The ship then brought her guns to bear on the *Linnet*, which surrendered in about fifteen minutes afterwards. At this time the British gun-boats lay half a mile in the rear, where they had been driven by the sharp fire of the *Ticonderoga* and *Eagle*. These boats lowered their colors as soon as they found the larger vessels had submitted, but not being pursued, for the American gun-boats were sent to aid the *Confiance* and *Linnet* which were reported to be in a sinking condition, they escaped, together with a store sloop which lay near the point of Cumberland Head during the battle.

The engagement continued for two and a half hours, and was the most severely fought naval battle of the war. The *Saratoga* had 28 men killed and 29 wounded; the *Eagle* 13 killed and 20 wounded; the *Ticonderoga* 6 killed and 6 wounded, and the *Preble* 2 killed. The loss on the gun-boats was 3 killed and 3 wounded. Total killed and wounded 110, being equal to every 8th man in the fleet. Besides, the *Saratoga* had been hulled 55 times and was twice on fire; the *Eagle* was hulled 39 times. The carnage and destruction had been as great on the other side. The *Confiance* had 41 men killed and 83 wounded; the *Linnet* reported her casualties at 10 killed and 14 wounded, but the killed and wounded probably exceeded 50; the *Chub* was reported at 6 killed and 10 wounded, and the *Finch* at 2 wounded. No account is given of

the loss on the gun boats, but, from their close and severe contest with the *Ticonderoga*, it must have been large. The total of killed and wounded on the British side was equal to at least one-fifth the whole number of men in their fleet. The *Confiance* had been hulled 105 times. So severe had been the contest, that at the close of the action there was not a mast in either fleet fit for use.

Among those killed on the side of the British were Captain Downie, who fell soon after the action commenced, Captain Alexander Anderson of the Marines, Midshipman William Gunn of the *Confiance*, and Lieutenant William Paul and Boatswain Charles Jackson of the *Linnet*. Among the wounded were Midshipman Lee of the *Confiance*, Midshipman John Sinclair of the *Linnet*, and Lieutenant James McGhee of the *Chub*. The American officers killed were Peter Gamble first lieutenant of the *Saratoga*, John Stansbury, first lieutenant of the *Ticonderoga*, Midshipman James M. Baldwin, and Sailing-master Rogers Carter. Referring to the death of three of these officers, Mr. Cooper, in his *History of the Navy*, says: "Lieutenant Gamble was on his knees sighting the bow gun, when a shot entered the port, split the quoin, drove a portion of it against his breast, and laid him dead on the quarter-deck without breaking his skin. Fifteen minutes later one of the American shot struck the muzzle of a twenty-four on the *Confiance*, dismounted it, sending it bodily inboard against the groin of Captain Downie, killing him also without breaking the skin. Lieutenant Stansbury suddenly disappeared from the bulwarks forward, while superintending some duty with the springs of the *Ticonderoga*. Two days after the action, his body rose to the surface of the water, and it was found that it had been cut in two by a round shot."

It is said that scarcely an individual escaped on board of either the *Confiance* or *Saratoga*, without some injury. MacDonough was twice knocked down; once by the spanker-boom, which was cut in two and fell upon his back, as he was bending his body to sight a gun; and again by the head of a gunner, which was driven against him, and knocked him into the scuppers. Mr. Brum, the sailing-master of the *Saratoga*, had his clothes torn off by a splinter, while winding the ship. Mr. Vallette, acting lieutenant, had a shot-box, on which he was standing, knocked from under his feet, and he, too, was knocked down by the head of a seaman. Very few escaped without some accident, and it appears to have been agreed on both sides, to call no man wounded who could keep out of the hospital. Midshipman Lee, of the *Confiance*, who was wounded in the action, thus describes the condition of that vessel: "The havoc on both sides is dreadful. I don't think there are more than five of our men, out of 300, but what are killed or wounded. Never was a shower of hail so thick as the shot whistling about our ears. Were you to see my jacket, waistcoat and trowsers, you would be astonished how I escaped as I did, for they are literally torn all to rags with shot and splinters; the upper part of my hat was also shot away.

There is one of our marines who was in the Trafalgar action with Lord Nelson, who says it was a mere *flea-bite* in comparison with this."

As soon as the British fleet was observed approaching Cumberland Head on the morning of the 11th, Sir George Provost ordered General Powers's brigade and a part of General Robinson's brigade, consisting of four companies of light infantry, and the Third Battalions of the Twenty-seventh and Seventy-sixth, to force the fords of the Saranac, and to assault the American works. The advance was made, and the batteries were opened the moment the action on the lake commenced.

The British attempted to cross the river at three points; one at the village bridge, where they were repulsed by the artillery and Smith; one at the upper bridge, where they were foiled by the pickets and riflemen, guards under Captains Brooks, Richards, under Captain Grovenor and Lieutenants Hamilton and Smith, supported by a detachment of militia; and the third at the ford near "Pike's Cantonment," where they were resisted by the New York militia, under Major-General Mooers and Brigadier-General Wright. At this latter point several companies succeeded in crossing, driving the militia before them towards Salmon River. The British advanced, firing by platoons, but with such carelessness of aim as to do but little injury. At Salmon River the militia were joined by a large detachment of the Vermont volunteers, and were soon afterwards re-enforced by Lieutenant Sumpter with a party of artillery and a field-piece. Here they rallied and were drawn up to meet the attack of the British troops who were rapidly approaching. Just at this moment an officer rode up to the ranks proclaiming the welcome intelligence that the British fleet had surrendered. With three hearty cheers the militia immediately pressed forward against the enemy, who having been at the same moment recalled, were now rapidly retiring toward the ford. In their retreat a company of the Seventy-sixth lost their way among the thick pines, where they were surrounded and attacked by several companies of militia and Vermont volunteers. Three Lieutenants and twenty-seven men were made prisoners, and Captain Purchase and the rest of the company killed.¹ The rest of the British detachment regained the north bank of the Saranac with much loss.

Although no further attempt was made to cross the river, the British batteries continued their fire upon the American works until sundown. This fire was returned by the guns of Fort Brown, which were managed during the day with great skill by Captain Alexander Brooks and the corps of veteran artillery under his command.

Sir George Provost had now under his command over 13,000 troops, more than half of whom had served with distinction under Wellington, while the American force did not exceed 1,500 regulars fit for duty, 2,500 Vermont

¹ It is said Captain Purchase was shot down while waving a white handkerchief over his head, as a notice that he had surrendered.

volunteers under Major-General Strong, 600 of whom had just arrived, and General Wright's brigade of Clinton and Essex militia, 700 strong, under command of Major-General Mooers. With his superior force Provost could have forced the passage of the Saranac and have crushed Macomb by the mere weight of numbers. But the victory would have been attended with great sacrifice of life, and would have led to no permanent advantage to the British. MacDonough was in command of the lake, reinforcements of regulars were hastening to the support of Macomb, the militia were rising *en masse* in every quarter, and within two weeks Provost would have been surrounded, his supplies from Canada cut off, and an only alternative left to force his way back with the loss of half his army, or to have surrendered. In a dispatch to Earl Bathurst, after referring to the loss of the fleet, he says: "This unlooked-for event depriving me of the co-operation of the fleet, without which the further prosecution of the service was become impracticable, I did not hesitate to arrest the course of the troops advancing to the attack, because the most complete success would have been unavailing; and the possession of the enemy's works offered no advantage to compensate for the loss we must have sustained in acquiring possession of them."

This was a just and merited compliment to the skill and bravery of the American regulars and militia. The former were few in number, but resolute and unflinching. Among the latter the greatest enthusiasm now prevailed. They had become accustomed to the "smell of powder," and animated by the recollection of MacDonough's victory, were ready to oppose any force that might attempt the passage of the Saranac. It is due to the patriotism of the citizens of Vermont to mention the fact that as soon as Governor Chittenden received information from General Macomb of the invasion of the enemy, he issued a spirited address calling on the Vermont militia to rally to the aid of their countrymen on the opposite side of the lake. This address was most nobly responded to, for when the requisition of the president for a reinforcement of 2,000 militia to the aid of General Macomb reached the governor, he replied that the order had not only been anticipated, but far exceeded by the voluntary enrollment of his fellow-citizens. The same enthusiasm pervaded the militia on the New York side. When Major-General Mooers's orders were received for the militia of Warren and Washington counties to assemble *en masse* and march to the frontier, there appeared under arms 250 men *more* than had ever mustered at an inspection or review.

Acting upon the considerations stated in his dispatch to Earl Bathurst, Sir George Provost prepared for an instant and hasty retreat. As soon as the sun went down he dismantled his batteries, and at nine o'clock at night sent off his heavy baggage and artillery, which were quickly followed by the main army; the rear guard, consisting of a light brigade, started a little before daybreak, leaving behind them vast quantities of provisions, tents, camp equipage, am-

munition, etc. The sick and wounded were also left behind, consigned to the generosity and humane care of General Macomb. So silent and rapid was the retreat that the main army had passed through Beekmantown before its absence was known in the American camp. The light troops, volunteers and militia were immediately sent in pursuit. They followed the retreating column as far as Chazy, and took a few prisoners. The roads were muddy and very heavy at the time, which not only prevented further pursuit, but delayed Provost's retreat. The last of the British army did not leave Champlain until the 24th.

General Macomb, in his returns, states the number of killed, wounded and missing of the regular force under his command, during the skirmishes and bombardment at 123. The only commissioned officer killed was Lieutenant George W. Runk, of the Sixth Regiment, who was severely wounded on the 7th and died the next day. The loss among the volunteers and militia was small. The loss of the British has never been correctly ascertained. Their accounts fix the casualties of the expedition at under 200 killed and wounded, and 400 hundred lost by desertion. This, however, is far below the true number. At the time, the American officers believed the total loss of the British, from the time they first crossed the lines until they again entered Canada, in killed, wounded and prisoners, and by desertion, was over 2,000 men. Seventy-five prisoners were taken.¹

On the 12th the Vermont volunteers returned home, and on the 13th the New York militia were disbanded by General Macomb, and orders issued countermanding the march of thousands who were flocking to the frontier.

On the morning of the 13th of September the remains of the lamented Gamble, Stansbury, Baldwin, Carter and Baron were placed in separate boats, which, manned by crews from their respective vessels, proceeded to the *Confiance*, where they were joined by the British officers with the bodies of Downie, Anderson, Paul, Gunn and Jackson. At the shore of the lake the procession was joined by a large concourse of the military and citizens of Plattsburgh, who accompanied the bodies to the village burial-ground. Near the center of the grave-yard, beneath the shade of two pines, now rests the ashes of those gallant officers. The sailors and marines who fell in the engagement were buried on Crab Island, side by side, in one common grave.

With the Battle of Plattsburgh closed all active operations upon the Champlain frontier. For several months, however, the inhabitants were kept in a

¹ The following list of British officers killed or wounded during the invasion was published in the *London Gazette* of the 19th and 26th of November, 1814:

KILLED.—Captain (Brevet Lieut. Col.) James Willington and Ensign John Chapman, of the 3d Buffs; Capt. John Purchase, 76th Regiment, foot.

WOUNDED.—Captain T. Crosse, A. D. C., (slightly); Lieut. R. Kingsbury, severely, (since dead); Lieut. John West, (severely); Lieutenants Benson and Holmes, (slightly); all of the 3d Buffs. Captain L. Westropp, (severely); Lieut. C. Brohier and Adjutant Lewis, (slightly); of the 58th Regiment, foot.

state of alarm, as it was rumored that the British authorities contemplated another campaign. Major-General Mooers, of New York, and Major-General Strong, of Vermont, ordered their respective divisions of militia to hold themselves in readiness for active service. General Macomb remained at Plattsburgh with a small force, and caused two redoubts to be thrown up a short distance to the south of Fort Moreau, which he named Fort Tompkins and Fort Gaines.

The Treaty of Ghent was signed on the 24th of December, 1814, and, on the 17th of February following was ratified by the United States Senate. With the publication of this treaty all fears of further hostilities ceased.¹

CHAPTER VIII.

EARLY CUSTOMS.²

Value of Historical Study—Making a Home in the Wilderness—Pot and Pearl Ashes—The Cat-Whipper—The Primitive Store—Lumbering—Religious Observances—The Sign Post—The Schoolmaster—The Doctor—Amusements—A Practical Joke—Meager Traveling Facilities—Material Progress—Comparative Morality.

VERMONT, from her isolated position and from the peculiar individuality of her people and history, has been much less indifferent to her past than most of the other States. Many a Vermonter, especially of the earlier days, has treasured up in his memory traditions, genealogies and bits of history which lend dignity and interest to places that otherwise would possess only the dreariness of the unromantic present. The influence of this loyalty to her past has been very apparent in shaping the character and influence of Vermonters. It has increased their active devotion both to State and nation, and has lent an individuality to the Vermonter which has more than once been a passport to success.

In spite of American contempt for a servile adherence to the past, a community as well as an individual is strongly upheld by what lies behind. We cannot separate ourselves from the past, and to ignore our obligations to it is often to detract from our present power. That there is a growing irreverence for the past, with its antiquated notions, here as well as elsewhere, needs no demonstration. The true cause lies in the misconception which the thought of the

¹ The following is a copy of MacDonough's letter to the secretary of the navy :

United States Ship Saratoga, off Plattsburgh, Sept. 11, 1814.

SIR: The Almighty has been pleased to grant us a signal victory on Lake Champlain, in the capture of one frigate, one brig and two sloops of war of the enemy.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, Sir,

To WM. JARVIS.

T. MACDONOUGH.

² Prepared by John W. Buckham.

day is fostering, that superiority consists, not in strength or beauty of character, nor even in bodily or mental vigor, for all these our fathers eminently possessed, but rather in the conveniencies and advantages of material advancement, or the possession of telephones and electric lights, or possibly in the increased refinements of social life and customs, and most of all in the superior knowledge with which modern science has replaced the crude conceptions of the past. In the possession of these facilities, which are after all not of essential value, the present generation holds the past in a certain pitying contempt which necessarily diminishes historical interest, except as history furnishes the material for ridicule and pharisaic self-congratulation.

With these words of introduction we will consider somewhat in detail the occupations and customs of the early Vermont settlers. The earliest permanent settlements in the county we find to have been, 1st, that of Remember Baker and Ira Allen at Winooski Falls, who were engaged, as Thompson tells us, in the manufacture of anchors; 2d, a farming community in Charlotte; 3d, on the lake shore in Shelburne, a lumbering camp under two men named Logan and Pottier. These three settlements, or "clearings," with their respective employments, may represent the three principal occupations of the early inhabitants of the county—manufacturing, husbandry and trade. Of these husbandry was by far the most general employment, and in truth the other two are hardly worthy to be mentioned as independent occupations until a later period.

The work of making a clearing and establishing a home was toilsome and difficult. Jerome Belknap, in his history of New Hampshire, describes its hardships thus: "They erect a square building of poles, notched at the ends to keep them fast together. The crevices are plastered with clay or the stiffest earth which can be had, mixed with moss or straw. The roof is either bark or split boards. The chimney, a pile of stones, within which a fire is made on the ground, and a hole is left in the roof for the smoke to pass out. Another hole is made in the side of the house for a window, which is occasionally closed with a wooden shutter. Ovens are built at a small distance from the house, of the best stones which can be found, cemented and plastered with clay and stiff earth." After the first hardships are past the life of the settler is somewhat less burdensome. The new soil yields productively, and frugality and labor bring a sufficient return to supply his simple wants.

The farm implements which the early Vermonters possessed were few and crude. His plow was a wooden "bull-plow," his reaper was a sickle, his threshing machine a flail. The garments of the household were made by the "good wife." For the winter they were of wool from the backs of the "good-man's" own sheep. The lighter garments were of linen from the flax fields which every farm possessed. The spinning-wheel which now stands in the fashionable parlor was then no ornament to be tied with ribbons and stand in toilless ease to be won-

dered at by curious grandchildren. Its busy wheel made ceaseless hum during many a long afternoon in the days of "homespun." The food of the farmer's family may be negatively described as not dainty. Pork and beef, vegetables, salt fish, corn bread and rye bread formed the staple fare—a diet well calculated to render its partaker robust.

The cold of the long winters was moderated by the aid of huge open fire places wherein large sticks of wood cut "sled-length" roared and crackled through the winter evenings. Whether or not by keeping gigantic fires the dwellers managed to keep warm, certain it is that the heat given out by one of these open fires was very small in proportion to the fuel consumed. The writer has been told that a dish of water placed on the hearth within two feet of the fire would freeze on some of the bitter cold nights. In one instance we find an illustration of the danger which attended this method of warming. A family in one of the early settlements having "plentifully supplied the fire with wood, retired to rest. The flame was probably blown into the room, kindling the combustible matter within its reach. Thus by the smoke their slumbers were rendered heavier and heavier, till they slept the sleep of death. The morning came and the smouldering ruins and the naked bones revealed to the neighbors the painful calamity. At the funeral, for the burial of these bones, the theme of the pioneer pastor's discourse was: 'Suppose ye that they were sinners above all men, because they suffered such things?'"

To speak of manufacturing and commerce as occupations of the early inhabitants of the State is, as was said above, somewhat misleading. To be sure there was the making of maple sugar and of pot and pearl ashes, spoken of with much loftiness by the early historians of the State; but these were rather a part of the farmers' and merchants' employment than separate industries. The maple sugar seems to have been very imperfectly manufactured, being, as an early writer says, "rough, coarse and dirty, and frequently burnt, smoky or greasy." The same writer (1809) says that there were about one thousand tons annually made in the State.

There were the usual artisans who were always to be found even in an agricultural community—blacksmiths, carpenters, and the shoemakers or cat-whippers. "Whip the cat" was the name given to the process by which the household was supplied with foot gear. The shoemaker would present himself at the house of each family in turn and take up his abode there, using the hide of the cattle which the farmer himself had slaughtered, until the whole family were supplied with substantial shoes.

Of manufacturing, properly so called, the anchor forge already spoken of at Colchester is the only instance in this part of the State in the earliest days.

Trade, with the difficulties of transportation and amidst a self-supporting agricultural people, was but little more than a meager system of occasional barter. As the population increased, division of labor and the birth of new wants led

to the establishment in certain locations of general stores, where were to be found everything from a shoe-string to a wagon. Here the farmer bartered his butter and eggs for "general merchandise." In some places it was the custom for the store-keeper to supply refreshment in a liquid form to each who came to trade. A story is told in one of the towns of the county of an old farmer who came to purchase a bit of wire, or something of that kind, bringing an egg to pay for it. After making the bargain the customer called for the usual reward in the shape of an egg punch, whereupon the unfortunate shop-keeper was obliged to break the egg into the glass and serve it up to his shrewd customer, losing thus time, profit, and goods by the transaction.

The last of our three classes of occupations was that of lumbering. This was necessarily an industry of slight importance in the early history. Belknap speaks of lumbering thus deprecatingly: "Those who make the getting of lumber their principal business generally work hard for little profit. . . . They are always in debt and frequently at law. Their families are ill provided with necessaries, and their children are without education or morals."¹

With this brief account of the occupations of the people we can the better appreciate the peculiar customs, religious, educational and social, which characterize the time.

Religious observance was a matter of great moment with the early Vermonters. Of religious extraction, and accustomed to look upon life in a sober and earnest spirit, they made religion a matter of the heart and conduct. The Sabbath began at sunset Saturday night and while there was little of the rigorous Puritanism of Massachusetts in the observance of the holy day, there was in general the decorous and sober mein becoming men and women of the serious disposition of our Vermont fathers and mothers. The minister was everywhere regarded with veneration and respect. His opinion on any subject was obediently deferred to. He was always welcomed at the board of his parishioners and served with the best in the larder, and was always the privileged taster of the white bread (then a great luxury), since the rye bread was supposed to give him the heartburn. The sermons, which in common with the discourses of the entire clergy of New England, were fraught with abstruse theology, were listened to with the greatest attention by the congregation, many with pencil and paper in hand. The discussion of the sermon was prolonged throughout the week with the zest of men of acute and intelligent minds. An afternoon service of no mean length often followed that of the morning. Often of a Sunday noon there might be seen gathered about the "meeting-house" steps groups of those who had come from a distance and were waiting for the second service, as they ate their lunch, talking over the morning discourse, with an occasional reference to crops and politics,—iron-

¹ This refers more particularly to New Hampshire.

visaged farmers, kindly-faced mothers, and brown-fisted youngsters preserving with effort a decorum befitting the Sabbath.

The tithing-man is too familiar a personage in literature to call for a description.

A full account of the political customs would necessitate an account of political history, which it is not our intention to undertake. A reference may not improperly be made, however, to that old-time land-mark of the village common, the "sign-post." This was a roofed bulletin board on which were posted notices of town meetings, public warrants, and lost, strayed or stolen animals. The "sign-post" served the functions of town-crier and daily newspaper. The town meetings were usually held in the meeting-house or the school-house, and were occasions of great interest and importance in those days.

The education obtainable in the schools of early Vermont was of a rigidly practical nature. The "three R's" were not looked down upon in those days when a "winter's schooling" was supposed to bring no small accomplishment to the fortunate pupil. The teacher, in a community where muscle was more required than "brains," was often hardly dealt with by the stalwart lads who were forced to attend. A history of Vermont schoolmasters would be a volume of thrilling interest, but the historian has yet to appear having fit talents for the task. As an instance of what such a book might contain, the writer will be pardoned if he relates a "true story" which was told him not fifty miles from the site of the university. One summer afternoon in the midst of the drowsy buzz of the scholars over their tasks, the teacher of one of the "destrict" schools was startled by the drawling voice of one of the "big fellers," who, stretching his arms with a yawn, announced: "Well, boys, I'm goin' berryin'; whose comin'?" Several of the bolder ones signified their assent, the band arose from their seats and started for the door. But the master was in this instance a "bold 'un" when put to bay, and seizing the heavy poker which lay by the stove, he posted himself at the door and announced that there would be no berrying just then. The first of the insurgents endeavored to pass and received a blow from the poker which felled him to the floor. Whether the rest experienced the same merited chastisement or not the writer cannot positively affirm, but the master was victorious. Not all struggles, however, ended so fortunately for the young schoolmaster. Not infrequently he was carried out and "flogged," but though roughly treated in his own kingdom, the schoolmaster (who was often a young divinity student earning a temporary stipend to meet the expenses of his study) was a welcome guest at the "husking bees," and received some degree of admiration for his "book larnin'." "Boarding round" has not yet become so far extinct as to come within the province of the historian.

The doctor was in every sense a public servant, always at the call of the

neediest patient, riding through storm and cold, day and night to minister to the wants of the sick; present at every funeral, birth and death, he was known and loved of all, and, as the "servant of all," he was in a real sense the greatest among them. The science of medicine was in those days very imperfect. Cupping and leeching were universally practiced. Medicines in death-giving quantities—senna and manna, rhubarb and molasses, were swallowed by the ignorant patient at the slightest symptom of disease. The fever patient was denied water and allowed small quantities of clam juice in its place. Fortunately nature was generally strong enough to counteract these ill-conceived remedies.

Amusements were of a simple character and absorbed but little of the time or attention of a people so devoted to work. The unrefined jollity of a husking bee or a Hallowe'en party, and among the less stringent an occasional country dance, formed the recreation of the young folks. The young men when not over-tired with their work contended in awkward athletics. Frequently after a heavy snow storm the young men turned out to "break out" the roads. This was an occasion of much rough sport which often culminated in a good time at the inn.

As for the "old folks," they had their social visits and long chats by the fire, when men discussed the political and theological questions of the day, as well as the more immediate subjects of local and personal interest. For the early Vermonters were, in their dry and common-sense fashion, shrewd observers and excellent conversationalists.

While the Vermonter was singularly free from levity and light-headedness, he yet possessed a grim sort of humor, which found its most natural expression in the enjoyment of "practical jokes." The older men seldom condescended to perpetrate such a joke themselves, but they laughed in their sleeves when their boys succeeded in an especially good one. The following, which actually occurred, may serve as an illustration. When the "Know-nothing" party was holding its secret meetings in every State in New England, an organization having been formed in one of the towns of this county, excited considerable hostile curiosity in the minds of some of the big boys in the community, and they determined to play a trick on the members. One night, knowing the fear which existed among the Know-nothings for the Irish Catholics, whose interests they were presumed to oppose, the boys gathered about the door of the hall at the hour of adjournment, and when the unsuspecting members issued from the door, the boys set up a yell like that of fiends, and took after the frightened victims, who fled in all directions. The pursuit was exciting. One man, hotly pressed by his pursuers and losing in his terror all presence of mind, dashed right into the mill-pond which lay in front of his house. While he was splashing and floundering in the water the boy pursuer stole quietly around the pond and into the house, when he busily concerned himself with the newspaper. Soon, to his astonishment, his father came

stumbling breathlessly in, pale and dripping, and announced in awesome and excited tones that he had been chased by the biggest Irishman he had ever seen, but that he had escaped by rushing into the mill-pond.

That in which the early inhabitants were at the greatest disadvantage was, perhaps, the inconvenience of travel and transportation. Rapid and commodious methods of transportation insure an enlightenment which cannot otherwise be obtained. In the facility of transportation our forefathers were very deficient. At first traveling was done entirely on horseback. Journeys were long and fatiguing. Often the roads were marked only by blazed trees. The horse was often obliged to carry "double." Ponderous saddle-bags supplied the place of baggage and express cars. When at length the roads were built and stage lines introduced, traveling was much easier and more rapid, though still attended with great hardship and difficulty. The main stage routes from Burlington were to the east and south, the former to Montpelier by the way of Richmond, and the latter through Charlotte to Middlebury and Rutland. Some of the long, low-roofed inns along the stage routes are still to be seen; they were often the scenes of intemperance, though in those days, when the temperance movement was still a thing of the future, we must regard the "moderate drinking" of the abstemious farmers with a lenity proportionate to their ignorance of "liquor fiend" statistics.

In one movement in the history of material progress Vermont was in the van, though she has never received a due honor therefor. In 1808, the year following the launching of Robert Fulton's steamboat, there was launched in Burlington the second steamboat ever made, bearing the name *Vermont*. This fact will indicate the importance which the navigation of Lake Champlain early assumed. The introduction of the steamboat upon Vermont waters was the first step in that line of material progress which has been the history of all the New England States. Occurring so early as it did in her history, so far in advance of the other marked movements toward material perfection, it seems, indeed, an omen of progress. Steamboat, railroad, and telegraph, with their attendant influences upon material prosperity, have drawn for us the line for demarkation between the old and the new. Vermont, though she is wisely adopting the innovation of modern progress, has not so far made the transition from the old to the new as to have lost all reverence for the virtues and, strange as the word may seem, for the advantages of the past. What mean these virtues and advantages? Williams in his quaint *History of Vermont* of the date of 1812, in speaking of agriculture as an employment, says: "Those employments which are the most necessary and the most useful to men, seem to be most nearly connected with morality and virtue." It is in this character, then, that our Vermont fathers held their pre-eminence. If, as has been recently supposed, the development of character, that is, morality and religion, is the true end of life, then may we well hold our forefathers in re-

membrance and reverence, for in this respect they were in many respects our superiors. First, and most eminently, they were our superiors in courage; the courage born of patient endurance of hardship, the courage which can face a dreary outlook of work and privation without flinching, the courage which can battle with a sudden evil with an over-mastering fortitude — this courage was theirs, and it was not merely a physical courage, but a deeper, moral courage. As Beckley in his *History of Vermont* says, they were no dough-faces nor doe-faces. All honor from those who, in the midst of the refinements which science is so rapidly multiplying, can with difficulty endure physical discomfort, or meet moral danger, to those early Vermonters who left the fruit of their courageous toil, and their more courageous character, to their children and their children's children. Around the central virtue of courage are grouped the characteristic Vermont virtues of hardihood, hospitality, and frankness. Enterprise and intelligence have given force to Vermont influence, and make for her a place in American history which is worthy of pride. If by contemplating the fine type of character possessed by the fathers and forefathers of Vermont, as developed in that rough pioneer life, we can reproduce in ourselves anything of their sterling qualities and kindly virtues, it is well to speak often and think often of early Vermont.

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

Methods of Constructing Early Roads — Movements Towards the Building of Post and Stage Roads — Turnpike Roads — Plank-Road Companies — Railroads.

THE first measures looking to the development of the internal improvements in the county of Chittenden were adopted before the organization of the county by the several towns now composing it. One of the first duties of the proprietors was to lay out and survey such roads within their grants as the necessities of the future inhabitants should require. On the organization of the towns the settlers themselves improved, altered and added to the roads and bridges constructed by the proprietors, according to the growth of their needs. The first act of the General Assembly in relation to the development of facilities for travel was passed on the 9th of March, 1787, and provided that upon the application of any person interested, showing the necessity of laying out a new highway from town to town, or from place to place, or of altering old highways, the selectmen of the town in which the construction or alteration was wanted should immediately proceed to effect the required improvement. As early as 1798 an act was passed enabling Israel Converse, Josiah Edson,

Stephen Fisk and Timothy Mitchel to run a stage over the most direct road from Windsor to Burlington. Post-roads and stage-roads were generally in process of construction at that time. The General Assembly passed an act on the 18th of February, 1797, appointing committees to lay out a stage or post-road from the court-house in Vergennes to the court-house in Burlington, and from Onion River to the Canada line. The next few years filled many pages of the statute books with enactments promoting the construction of roads, among which it may be pertinent to mention the following:

On the 9th of November, 1802, an act was passed appointing Thaddeus Tuttle, Daniel Hurlbut and Parley Davis a committee to "look out," lay out and survey a public highway for a permanent post or stage-road from the court-house in Burlington, "in the most direct and convenient course," to the bridge over the main branch of Onion River, in the town of Montpelier; a subsequent act required them to enter upon the work by the 15th of June, 1803. On the 1st of February, 1804, David Russell, Joshua Isham and Benjamin Harrington were appointed a committee to lay out a stage-road from the court-house in Burlington to meet the road previously constructed from Onion River to the Canada line.

On the 7th of November, 1805, there seemed to be a general movement in the towns and counties in the western part of the State to connect all the important points between Bennington and the Canada line by turnpike roads. One act passed on that day incorporated the Sand-bar Turnpike Company, which was composed of Francis Child, Thaddeus Tuttle, Benjamin Boardman, William Munson, William V. Woods, Richard Mott, Joseph Phelps, John Stark, Philo Berry, Carlisle D. Tyler, Simeon Clark, Samuel Davidson and their associates. The turnpike which they were to construct was to lead from the lower bridge over Onion River, in the town of Colchester, by the sand-bar to the ferry from Middle Hero to Cumberland Head. On the same day the General Assembly passed another act incorporating the Mount Tabor Turnpike Company, which was to build and keep in repair a turnpike from Danby to Manchester; the Dorset Turnpike Company, to build a turnpike from the "stage-road" in Dorset to Danby; the Pawlet Turnpike Company, to build and keep a turnpike from Fitch's Mills, in Pawlet, through "Reupert" to Salem, N. Y.; the Waltham Turnpike Company, to build and keep a turnpike from Middlebury to Vergennes; the Fairhaven Turnpike Company, to build and keep a turnpike from Fairhaven through Orwell for Vergennes; the Poultney Turnpike Company, to build and keep a turnpike from the Hubbardton turnpike to the south line of the State; the Bennington Turnpike Company, to build and keep a turnpike from the south line of Pownal to the Bennington court-house; and the Winooski Turnpike Company, consisting of Daniel Hurlbut, Thaddeus Tuttle, Solomon Miller, John Johnson, Martin Chittenden, Jacob Spafford, Charles Bulkeley and David Wing, jr., with their associates, who were to con-

struct and keep in repair a turnpike from the Burlington court-house, to pass "on or near the Winooskie or Onion River, to the north end of Elijah Paine's turnpike, in Montpelier."

The raised part of these roads was to be not less than eighteen feet wide. The Fairhaven and Winooski companies were to have as many gates as they should think proper, not exceeding at the rate of one gate for each eleven miles. The usual provision was inserted that "no toll shall be demanded at any turnpike gate of any person being a citizen of this State, and living within eight miles of such gate; but such person shall at all times pass free with his horse, carriage or team; also at any greater distance, when going to or from public worship, or on military duty, or to or from any grist or saw-mill." It was further provided that the roads were to be begun within one year, and completed within five years after the passage of the act. The Winooski Company was obliged to procure an extension of time for the completion of the road, which was finally accepted in October of the year 1811. This corporation performed its duties, and enjoyed the benefits flowing from its franchises, until a few years after the opening of the several railroads through Chittenden county.

On the 6th of November, 1806, an act was passed granting to Daniel Hurlbut, of Burlington, and his associates, the exclusive privilege of building a toll-bridge over Onion River, between Williston and Essex, at or near Hubbell's Falls. The period of the privilege was for thirty-five years. John Johnson, of Essex, Joseph Beeman, jr., of Fairfax, and Samuel Hubbard, of Huntsburgh, were on the 8th day of November, 1808, appointed by the General Assembly a committee to lay out a road from Daniel Hurlbut's bridge over Onion River at Hubbell's Falls in Essex, by the most convenient and direct course, through Essex, Westford, etc., to the Canada line. On the 10th of November, 1813, was incorporated the Burlington Turnpike Company, composed of Ziba Pier-son, of Shelburne, Amos W. Barnum, of Vergennes, Ebenezer T. Englesby, of Burlington, William W. Gage, of Ferrisburgh, and Israel Harrington, of Shelburne, who were to construct a turnpike from the court-house in Vergennes to the court-house in Burlington. Daniel Chipman, Ezra Hoyt and Henry Olin were appointed to lay out this road. At the next session of the Legislature they were allowed three years for its completion. The General Assembly passed an act on the 23d of October, 1816, appointing Gideon Wing, of Monkton, Nathan Leavenworth, of Hinesburg, and Zadoch Wheeler, of Charlotte, a committee to lay out a stage-road from the court-house in Middlebury through New Haven to the Methodist meeting-house in Monkton, thence to the Baptist meeting-house in Charlotte, and through Shelburne to the lower falls on Onion River, in the town of Burlington. On the 5th of November, 1816, Ezra Hoyt, of New Haven, Thomas D. Rood, of Jericho, and Charles Stevens, of Enosburgh, were appointed a committee to lay out and survey a



Thos. W. Caulfield

public road from Middlebury to the Canada line. On the 11th of November, 1819, Luther Dixon, of Underhill, Daniel Dodge, of Johnson, and Joseph Barrett, of Bakersfield, were appointed a committee to lay out a road from Ziba Wood's, in Westford, through the corner of Fairfax and Fletcher, to Cambridge Borough. Other committees were appointed and other companies organized after 1820, but they did not have much to do with Chittenden county.

Plank Roads.—Although there have never been any plank roads constructed in the county, it may be well to make a few passing observations on the several plans entertained by prominent residents looking to the improvement of the highways by converting them into plank roads. A company by the name of the Shelburne and Hinesburg Plank Road Company was incorporated by the Legislature on the 4th of November, 1850, and was the first company of the kind in Chittenden county. Its capital stock was \$25,000. The road was to be constructed from Hinesburg village through Charlotte to the Rutland and Burlington Railroad in Shelburne village. Commissioners to receive subscriptions to stock were Joseph Marsh and William C. Benton, of Hinesburg, Henry S. Morse, E. Meech, jr., and John Simonds 2d, of Shelburne. On the 9th of November, in the same year, the Williston Plank Road Company was chartered, with a capital stock of \$20,000. The commissioners were Harry Bradley, Carlos Baxter, Joseph D. Allen, Harry Miller, James W. Hurlburt, David A. Murray and David French. The road was to lead from the village of Williston to the village of Burlington. The Williston and Jericho Plank Road Company was incorporated on the 11th of the same month, with a capital stock of \$10,000, for the purpose of constructing a plank road from the Winooski turnpike at Eagle Hall in Williston by the nearest route to the "Four Corners" in Jericho. David French, David A. Murray, Roswell B. Fay, Truman Galusha and John H. Tower were appointed commissioners to receive subscriptions. Two days after the chartering of this company the Hinesburg and Burlington Plank Road Company was incorporated by the Legislature with a capital stock of \$25,000, with power to build a plank road from Hinesburg to Burlington. The commissioners were Joseph Marsh, Daniel Goodyear, Marcus Hull, of Hinesburg, and Henry B. Stacy, Henry P. Hickok and Cassius P. Peck, of Burlington. The construction of railroads prevented the consummation of these several plans for connecting the different towns in the county by the Utopian thoroughfares known as plank roads, capital and enterprise being diverted from the latter to the former.

*Railroads.*¹—The first effectual act incorporating a railroad company whose road should run through Chittenden county, was passed by the General Assembly of Vermont on the 31st of October, 1843. By its provisions the persons who should thereafter become stockholders were constituted a body

¹ For an interesting statement concerning the circumstances which governed the construction of the railroads in this county, the reader is referred to the sketch of Thomas H. Canfield.

corporate by the name of the Vermont Central Railroad Company, to construct a road with a single or double track from some point on the eastern shore of Lake Champlain, thence up the valley of Onion River and extending to a point on the Connecticut River most convenient to meet a railroad either from Concord, N. H., or Fitchburg, Mass., to said river. The capital stock of the new corporation was \$1,000,000, divided, as usual, into shares of one hundred dollars each. Charles Paine, John Peck, Wyllys Lyman, Daniel Baldwin, E. P. Jewett, Andrew Tracy and Levi B. Vilas were appointed by this act commissioners to open books for subscriptions to stock at Montpelier and Burlington. The first officers and directors of this company were as follows: Directors elected at Montpelier, July 23, 1845, Charles Paine, Northfield; Robert G. Shaw, Samuel S. Lewis, Boston; Jacob Forster, Charlestown, Mass.; Daniel Baldwin, Montpelier; John Peck, Burlington; James R. Langdon, Montpelier. The officers elected the same day were: Charles Paine, president; Samuel H. Walley, treasurer; E. P. Walton, clerk. The work of constructing the road was not commenced until the spring of 1847. Unlooked-for difficulties then delayed its completion until 1849, in November of which year the first train of cars passed over it. Its route was finally established as follows: Commencing at Windsor, it follows the Connecticut River to the mouth of the White River; thence up that stream to the source of its third branch; thence, reaching the summit in Roxbury, it passes down the valley of Dog River and enters the Winooski valley near Montpelier; thence continuing in the Winooski valley, it reaches its terminus at Burlington, a distance of 117 miles from Windsor. In accordance with the expressed wishes of a majority of the freeholders of Burlington, the road was first built from the river and lake through the ravine that divides the city of Burlington, across North, Pearl, College and Main streets to the rear of the site of the courthouse and to its station on St. Paul street, which was the house now occupied by F. J. Hendee. The present route was not ready for use until 1861, when one train passed over it, and it was not regularly used until 1862. After the fall of 1862 the new route was used exclusively for freight and passenger trains, excepting for a day or two in April, 1863, when the old route was resorted to, owing to a slide on the new tracks. Negotiations respecting the maintenance of highway bridges over the new road were not completed until 1864.¹

On October 31, 1845, a similar act was passed, constituting Benjamin Swift, John Smith, Lawrence Brainerd, William O. Gadcomb, Victor Atwood, Abel Houghton, Gardner G. Smith, Romeo H. Hoyt, Samuel W. Keyes, Stephen S. Keyes, Timothy Foster, George Green, Bradley Barlow, Peter Chase, Jacob Wead, William Green, Hiram Bellows, Homer E. Hubbell, Isaac Patrick Clark, Alvah Sabin, Joseph Clark, Albert G. Whittemore, Daniel H. Onion, Oscar A. Burton, Horace Eaton, William Clapp, and Asa Owen Aldis,

¹ See Benedict vs. Heineberg; 43 Vt. Rep., 232.

and their associates and successors a body corporate by the name of the Vermont and Canada Railroad Company, with a capital stock, also, of one million dollars. Samuel W. Keyes, Stephen S. Keyes, Abel Houghton, Lawrence Brainerd, John Smith, Hiram Bellows, Joseph Clark, Lemuel B. Platt, and Daniel H. Onion, were appointed commissioners to receive subscriptions to stock in Grand Isle and Chittenden counties. On the 15th of November, 1847, this act was amended and the right given to the company to construct its road "from some point in Highgate, on the Canada line, thence through the village of St. Albans to some point or points in Chittenden county, most convenient for meeting at the village of Burlington, a railroad to be built on the route described in the acts to incorporate the Champlain and Connecticut River Railroad Company, and the Vermont Central Railroad Company." The route determined upon extends from Rouse's Point to Burlington, through Colchester, Milton, Georgia, St. Albans, Swanton and Alburgh, a distance of fifty-three miles. The work of its construction was begun early in September, 1848, in the northern part of Georgia, and completed early in 1851. The first officers of this company were as follows:

John Smith, president; Samuel H. Walley, treasurer; Lawrence Brainerd, clerk; directors, John Smith, Charles Paine, S. S. Lewis, S. M. Felton, Lawrence Brainerd, William Farrar and Heman Carpenter. The present officers and directors are as follows: John L. Mason, president; William G. Shaw, treasurer and clerk; directors, John L. Mason, Jed. P. Clarke, Alfred S. Hall, Henry D. Hyde, Thomas H. Perkins, Augustus Russ, and Charles E. Billings.

The Champlain and Connecticut River Railroad Company, above mentioned, was chartered on the 31st of October, 1843, for the purpose and with the right of "constructing a railroad from some point at Burlington, thence southwardly, through the counties of Addison, Rutland, Windsor and Windham, to some point on the western bank of the Connecticut River." The route fixed upon was from Bellows Falls to Burlington, a distance of 119½ miles, through portions of the valleys of Williams and Black Rivers, on the east side of the Green Mountains, and along the valleys of Otter Creek and Lake Champlain, on the west side. The first meeting of stockholders was held at Rutland on the 6th of May, 1845, Timothy Follett, of Burlington, being chairman, and A. L. Brown, of Rutland, clerk. It was there voted to open the books for subscriptions to stock on the 10th of June following. On the 6th of November, 1847, the name of the company was changed by the Legislature to the Rutland and Burlington Railroad Company, and at a subsequent date to the Rutland Railroad Company. The construction of this road was begun in February, 1847, in the town of Rockingham, near Bellows Falls, and completed in December, 1849.

On the 24th of August, 1849, the Vermont and Canada road was leased to the Vermont Central Railroad Company, which after the period of fifty years



was to have an absolute grant of the same. The Vermont Central Railroad Company was afterwards forced to place the road under two mortgages, and on the 12th of May, 1854, gave a deed of surrender to the trustees for the bondholders under the first mortgage, and on the 21st of June, 1854, to the trustees under the second mortgage. On the 23d of November, 1872, the bondholders under these mortgages were incorporated under the name of the Central Vermont Railroad Company, for the purpose of purchasing the stock of the Vermont Central and Vermont and Canada companies, its capital stock to be an amount sufficient to "purchase or retire the first and second mortgage bonds of the Vermont Central Railroad," and such additional amount as should be authorized by a majority vote of the stockholders. George Nichols, John W. Stewart and Bradley Barlow were appointed commissioners to receive subscriptions to stock. Meantime, on the 30th of December, 1870, the Rutland Railroad was leased to the Vermont Central Company, and thus all the roads then opened in the county passed under the control of the Central Vermont. The Burlington and Lamoille Railroad Company was organized under the general laws of the State on the 24th of February, 1875, and the work of constructing its road was begun in May following, and opened for traffic on the 2d of July, 1877. It extends a distance of thirty-five miles, viz: from Burlington to Cambridge. The first officers of this company were: William B. Hatch, of New York, president; N. Parker, of Burlington, vice-president; E. W. Peck, of Burlington, treasurer; D. C. Linsley, of Burlington, manager. This road has also recently come under the control of the Central Vermont Railroad Company.

The first board of directors of the Central Vermont Railroad Company, elected at St. Albans, May 21, 1873, were: Wm. Butler Duncan, S. L. M. Barlow, New York city; Trenor W. Park, Bennington; J. Gregory Smith, St. Albans; John B. Page, Rutland; Benjamin P. Cheney, Boston; John Q. Hoyt, George H. Brown, John S. Schultze, New York city; Worthington C. Smith, St. Albans; Joseph Clark, Milton; J. G. McCullough, Bennington; James R. Langdon, Montpelier. The officers elected May 27, 1873, were: J. Gregory Smith, president; W. C. Smith, vice-president; George Nichols, clerk; J. Gregory Smith, S. L. M. Barlow, Trenor W. Park, John S. Schultze, executive committee; Duncan, Sherman & Co., financial agents; J. W. Hobart, general superintendent; L. Millis, general freight agent. The present directors are: J. Gregory Smith, Joseph Hickson, Benjamin P. Cheney, Ezra H. Baker, James R. Langdon, W. H. Bingham, E. C. Smith. The present officers are: J. Gregory Smith, president; J. R. Langdon, first vice-president; E. C. Smith, second vice-president; J. W. Hobart, general manager; J. M. Foss, general superintendent; D. D. Ranlett, treasurer, and George Nichols, clerk.

CHAPTER X.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.¹

First Proceedings Towards the Establishment of a College in Vermont—Dartmouth's Proposition—Offer of Elijah Paine—The Liberal Offer of Ira Allen—Finally Effective and the the University Established at Burlington—The Vicissitudes of its History—The Vermont Agricultural College—The University Buildings—Billings Library—Public Schools of Burlington—Female Seminary—Young Ladies' School—Vermont Episcopal Institute—Academies, etc., at Charlotte, Colchester, Essex, Hinesburg, Underhill, and Williston.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.—The first hint of a college for the State of Vermont is found in the constitution of 1777, which declares that "one university in this State ought to be established by direction of the General Assembly." When, in 1779, the State began to grant charters for townships on its own authority, it reserved in each, one right of land, about 320 acres, "for the use of a seminary or college." These reservations amounted in all to some 29,000 acres, scattered through about 120 towns and gores, and lying mostly in the unsettled and mountainous sections of the State. Dartmouth College obtained its charter in 1779, and was planted at Hanover, N. H., on the bank of the Connecticut, as a central position which might equally serve the convenience and obtain the patronage of both New Hampshire and the "New Hampshire Grants." Dartmouth, in fact, seems to have claimed Vermont as her preserve, and had such influence in the Legislature as to obtain, in 1785, the grant of an entire township of land, 23,040 acres, almost as much as all that had been reserved in scattered portions for a like institution in her own domain.

In October, 1786, the General Assembly received and considered a letter from the secretary of the board of trustees of Dartmouth College, conveying a "grateful expression and high sense" of the beneficence of the State; also a "letter and address of Mr. President Wheelock." The address suggested that the State should sequester to the use of the college "a part of the public [land] rights in the State, those only which were left for a society for the propagation of knowledge in foreign parts." In return for these expected concessions the college promised to educate students from Vermont without charge for tuition, not only in the college, but in academies which it was proposed to set up and maintain in the several counties in the State. A hint was also given of a "branch college" in Vermont, "if the Legislature shall ever think it necessary." It was suggested, further, that if Vermont should establish a college, it should be "joined in one bond of union" with Dartmouth. These propositions were printed by order of the Assembly in both the Vermont newspapers, and severely criticised as an attempt to divert the glebe rights improperly, and

¹Prepared by Professor J. E. Goodrich.

to prevent the founding of colleges in Vermont. The Assembly finally resolved, March 3, 1787, that "the proposals of President Wheelock, in behalf of the trustees of Dartmouth College, are such that they cannot be accepted."

There were those in the State, however, who thought that Vermont should have a complete and independent educational equipment. In October of the year last named, the Hon. Elijah Paine, of Williamstown, offered to give two thousand pounds for the erection of buildings, etc., if the Legislature would locate the desired institution at Williamstown, and secure to it the use of the public lands. No action was had on this proposition until two years after, when an adverse report was presented, the committee deeming it inexpedient as yet to fix upon a definite location for a university, on account of the sparseness of the population.

In October, 1789, the project of a State university was again urged upon the Legislature in a memorial by the Hon. Ira Allen, of Colchester, who presented various reasons for such an independent establishment, and suggested Burlington as a suitable location. It was at some distance from the seat of Dartmouth College, easily reached by the inhabitants of Vermont, and readily accessible from Canada and the northern parts of New York. His arguments were supported by an offer of four thousand pounds towards the founding of the proposed university if the Legislature would "locate it within two miles of Burlington Bay." Other subscriptions¹ were added to those of Gen. Allen, making a total of five thousand six hundred and forty-three pounds and twelve shillings. Of the four thousand pounds, one thousand was to be paid partly "in a proper square of lands sufficient to erect all the public buildings on, to form a handsome green and convenient gardens for the officers of the college," and partly "in provisions, materials and labor in erecting the public buildings." The remaining three thousand pounds was to be paid "in new lands that will rent in produce, that is, Wheat, Beef, Pork, Butter or Cheese, for the annual interest at six per cent. of said £3,000." In consequence of this memorial, a committee was appointed "to draft a plan for a constitution and government of a college to be established in this State." Upon the question of location, however, the Legislature was not so well agreed. It was thought that other towns should have a chance to present their claims, so, after a long debate, a committee of seven was appointed, one from each county, "to receive absolute donations and particular subscriptions for a college." But no donations or subscriptions were received, Gen. Allen's liberal offer having discouraged all competitors.

In October of 1791 the Legislature again took up the project of establishing a State university. A bill was drawn, discussed, and passed in grand committee, or as we would now say, in joint assembly; but this bill had still to be

¹ The general subscription was headed by Governor Thomas Chittenden with the sum of three hundred pounds.

completed by designating the location and the names of the trustees. The matter of location had been debated ever since the memorial of Elijah Paine, in 1785. Much discussion was had, a committee of inquiry appointed, and the claims of various other towns considered. Much interest had been awakened in various sections of the State, the southern portion claiming to be specially considered, as it had been longest settled. When the matter came to a vote, Burlington had eighty-nine ballots, Rutland twenty-four, Montpelier five, Williamstown five, and other towns one each. The bill was passed without opposition, and approved 3d of November, 1791. The trustees were to be the governor of the State, the speaker of the House of Representatives for the time being, and the president of the university, with ten others. This board was empowered to fill all vacancies, *ex-officio* members excepted, to take charge of all the lands given by "the authority of this State for the use and benefit of a college," to hold not more than 70,000 acres of land in this State, and to have freedom of taxation for all property below one hundred thousand pounds. Its catholic religious character was indicated in the provision that no preference should be given to any sect or religious denomination. Accordingly, the original board of trustees shows the names of one Baptist and two Congregational clergymen, and of one Friend.¹

The first meeting of the corporation was held at Windsor on the same day in which the charter was granted. A committee was appointed to solicit subscriptions and to secure the donations which had previously been offered. The next meeting was held at Burlington in June of the following year. The present site was chosen for the location of the university buildings, and a plot of fifty acres, then covered with stately pines, was set off from lands belonging to Gen. Ira Allen. The president's house was begun in 1794, but not completed until 1799.² The Rev. Daniel C. Sanders, who the next year became president of the college, was invited from Vergennes to Burlington, took up

¹ In a letter of St. John de Crevecoeur to Ethan Allen, written six years before the charter of the university was granted, there is found an offer to "get another [seal] engraved for the college the State of Vermont intends erecting and I will take upon myself the imagining the device thereof. I will do my best endeavours to procure from the king some marks of his bounty and some usefull presents for the above college. The name of the new college I would beg to send it along with the new seal which I shall send you from Paris." Ethan Allen replies under date of 2d March, 1786: "With respect to the college, a committee is now appointed to mark out the place, and as to the seal of the college and its device and any other matters relating thereto, the people in Vermont confide in Mr. St. John and are his humble serv'ts." (This St. John is the man after whom St. Johnsbury was named. He also suggested the name of Vergennes. Himself and his three children were naturalized as citizens of Vermont by special act, 10th March, 1787.)

² In 1795 Ira Allen made a new proposition to the Legislature, viz.: Of a further donation of a thousand pounds in lands and one thousand more in books and apparatus, if they would consent to christen the rising institution "Allen's University." This offer seems not to have met with any favor. Allen's departure for Europe in the fall of this year, his subsequent detention there, and the serious financial loss sustained by him in consequence of an unfortunate enterprise in which he embarked at this time, were prominent among the causes of the seemingly needless delay in getting the university into operation.

his residence in the new building, and received pupils in study preparatory to a college course. The tuition charged for this service was \$12 a year, his salary as minister of the town being but \$400.

The college officers were not appointed, nor was a college edifice begun, until the year 1800. On the 17th of October Mr. Sanders was chosen president and authorized to employ a tutor to aid him in the work of instruction. The college proper began its operations in 1801 with a class of four, who were graduated three years after. With the exception of a single term in 1804, in which he had the assistance of a tutor, President Sanders constituted the entire working faculty until 1807, giving six and sometimes eight or more hours a day to the labor of personal instruction. In addition, he was charged with the ordinary duties of a college presidency, having oversight of the building, donations, lands and other out-door interests of the institution. When we remember that he was at the same time minister of the parish of Burlington, we can easily believe him to have been a rather busy man.

In 1807 the corporation took careful note of what had been accomplished, and laid their plans for enlargement and progress. The Rev. Samuel Williams, LL.D., author of a well-known history of Vermont, was soon appointed lecturer on astronomy and natural philosophy, the first instruction of the kind, as is supposed, ever given in New England. In 1807 James Dean, a graduate of Dartmouth College, became tutor in mathematics and natural philosophy, and John Pomeroy, M.D., gave lectures in anatomy and surgery. Both these gentlemen were elected to professorships in 1809. The apparatus in astronomy and physics is said to have been more complete than in any other New England College, save the two old foundations of Harvard and Yale. The college library contained 100 volumes. There was also a society library of 100 volumes, and a "Burlington library" estimated at a value of \$500.00. The course of study was modeled in the main after that of Harvard, Dr. Sanders being a graduate of that institution. Tuition was fixed at \$12.00 a year, and there seem to have been no charges for incidentals. The expenses of living were so low that the president estimated that a student by teaching four months each winter at \$16.00 a month could pay his board and all college bills, and leave at last with \$32.00 in his pocket! The president had a salary of \$600.00; the professor of mathematics had exactly \$348.71, and the tutor \$300.00. The total income from lands was \$1,048.71. The corporation appropriated \$150.00 to purchase books for the library, and \$100.00 to be added to the philosophical apparatus; and appointed David Russell, esq., as general agent to rent the public lands, sell lands not public, and look after the various out-door interests of the university. There were forty-seven students on the ground, and larger numbers were confidently expected. The work done and the growth attained in seven years justified large hopes for the future of the institution. Ira Allen's constructive ability, Dr. Williams's scholarship, the

trained sagacity of Samuel Hitchcock, the first secretary of the corporation, also a graduate of Harvard, the zeal and the indefatigable industry of President Sanders, and the vigorous and hopeful spirit of David Russell, the new financial agent—these were sufficient guaranties of growth and prosperity. But trouble soon came. The university was ere long involved in a political war by reason of the Non-Intercourse Act of 1807, the first fore-runner of the War of 1812. There was intense and systematic opposition in this section of the State to the action of the United States authorities. The prosperity of this region, and especially of this, the leading town, depended on free commercial intercourse with Canada. There was no outlet of any sort, east or south, for the surplus products of the country. So violent was the resistance to the measures of the Federal authorities that Vermont was at one time declared by proclamation of the president of the United States to be in a state of rebellion. Dr. Sanders had been so long identified with both town and college that he could not well refrain from uttering his convictions with boldness and energy. The animosity engendered in this political war acted unfavorably upon the material interests of the university in many ways. Suffice is to say that whatever errors had been made in the obtaining the collection or the use of subscriptions were only too easily brought into the controversy by persons who had been irritated or disappointed. Then there was the competition between this and the Middlebury College, which had been founded in 1800. The rival institution lay between Burlington and a large number of the earlier settled towns of the State; it narrowed the field from which patronage was to be expected, and deprived the university in no slight degree of the sympathy and active support of the clergy, and other educated citizens of the commonwealth. It seems to have been the hope of those who secured the charter for Middlebury College that the establishment of a university here at Burlington might be forestalled by getting their own institution into active and succesful operation. This was located in the midst of the wealthiest and most populous section of the State ; in the midst, also, of the most active religious influence. It was only natural that appeals should be made in its behalf to the religious prejudices of the good people of the State, and not without effect. Students were drawn away from the university and the sympathies of the clergy, and of religious people generally, gathered about the sister college.

About this time, 1809–10, certain friends of the university thought that its interests might be furthered by effecting a closer union with the State. An act passed on the 10th of November, 1810, completely changed the constitution of the board of control. The Legislature was thereafter to elect five trustees every three years; and ten members, a majority of the whole board, were at once chosen. In 1823 the number of trustees was increased to twenty-eight; an arrangement which lasted only five years, all parties being ready in 1828 to return to the original charter. This scheme of close affiliation between



the Legislature and the university failed to secure the advantages which had been expected from it.

The new corporation began, however, with vigor and system. The finances were examined, and a better agency organized to manage the funds and lands of the university. Four new professorships were established, and the outlook was full of hope. Such men as Samuel Hitchcock, Dudley Chase, Titus Hutchinson, Royall Tyler and William C. Bradley—a group of names combining scholarship, knowledge of affairs, and a disposition to scrutinize and keep watch over the details of administration—such men, had they not been absorbed in politics, might have given to the nascent university an enlarged scope and an increase of stability and usefulness.

But at this time politics took precedence of all other subjects. The restrictions laid upon trade had all but ruined Northern Vermont. Smuggling was rife on the frontier. The whole border was lined with customs officers. War was declared against Great Britain on the 18th of June, 1812, and troops were ordered to Burlington, which became the headquarters of military operations. The college edifice was seized for an arsenal, and soon after was demanded for barracks. So the corporation, making a virtue of necessity, on the 24th of March, 1814, leased the building to the United States government for \$5,000 a year, and resolved “that the regular course of instruction be, and hereby is, suspended, and that those officers of the college to whose offices salaries are annexed, be dismissed from their offices, respectively.” The members of the senior class received their degrees, and the younger students were recommended to complete their studies elsewhere.

The university was reorganized in the summer of 1815 with a new faculty, of which the Rev. Samuel Austin, of Worcester, Massachusetts, was the head. The college building was repaired by the United States government, and instruction began in September. But the financial affairs of the institution were not yet on a sound footing. The rent paid by the United States was applied to the canceling of old debts, supposed to have been outlawed. After six years (March, 1821) President Austin resigned, and was succeeded by the Rev. Daniel Haskell, then pastor of the First Church, Burlington, as president *pro tempore*. But so great were the difficulties and so few the encouragements of the situation that announcement was actually made that instruction would cease to be given in the college at the end of the fall term. A few of the graduates, however, were not so utterly disheartened. A literary society in the university held a meeting, along with the alumni in the town, to consider a proposition to divide the library of the society. The discussion developed various and conflicting opinions, and continued for several evenings. A young professor, Arthur L. Porter, protested against the scattering of the library, as treason in the republic of letters. He insisted that the college might be revived, and outlined the course to be adopted to that end. The result of his appeal was the





John W. Pomroy



restoration of harmony and the appointment of a committee to do what might be possible to turn the tide and resuscitate the institution. By the end of the term Mr. Haskell had been regularly appointed president, and James Dean professor of mathematics. The efforts of the young men were rewarded with a high degree of success. In about two years the number of students was raised from twenty-two to seventy.

But now came sudden disaster and darkness. On the 27th of May, 1824, "the noble college edifice," as Thompson calls it, was reduced to ashes by an accidental fire, along with portions of the library and apparatus. And to add to the calamity, President Haskell, the high-priest of this temple of science, overburdened with trials and anxieties, was smitten with insanity! The destruction of the building seemed to have been received as a challenge by the generosity of the good people of Burlington. Before commencement in August they had rallied again to the help of the college and subscribed more than \$8,300 for a new edifice. This resulted mainly from the efforts of the same young men who two years before had prevented the closing of the college doors and apparently started the university on a career of prosperity. Let us set down here the names of Charles Adams, Luman Foote, John N. Pomeroy and Gamaliel Sawyer, all four graduates of the college and worthy to be remembered with those of Professor Porter and Nathan B. Haswell, as the names of young men whose energy and hopeful enthusiasm secured the erection of a building to take the place of the one destroyed. Within three months plans were adopted and the construction of the building contracted for. A president and new professors were obtained, and instruction was continued while the new buildings were in process of erection. Prayers and recitations were attended in a large and unoccupied dry goods store at the north end of the college park, or "square," as it was then called. The corner-stone of the north college was laid by Governor Van Ness April 26, 1825, Charles Adams, esq., of the class of 1804, delivering the address. The laying of the corner-stone of the south college, by Lafayette, on the 29th of June of the same year, is commemorated by a stone with an appropriate inscription, which has been moved from its original position, and now rests in the southwest corner of the central projection of the main college building.

The Rev. James Marsh was elected to the presidency in October, 1825, his immediate predecessor, Dr. Willard Preston, having held office but a single year. George W. Benedict was then in charge of the department of mathematics and natural philosophy, and the Rev. Joseph Torrey was called in 1827 to the chair of Greek and Latin. Mr. Marsh was more variously and more profoundly learned than any one who had preceded him in the office. He had had experience in the work of college instruction, and had well-considered views of his own as to the scope and method of college discipline; and his colleagues were not unworthy coadjutors of their chief. The course of study was at once brought under review and some modifications made in 1827.



In 1829 was published an "Exposition of the System of Instruction and Discipline pursued in [the University of Vermont," followed in 1831 by an enlarged edition of the same. It is the tradition that this document was written in the main by Professor George W. Benedict. There is not space here to outline the contents of this pamphlet. It was received with marked favor, and is believed to have had important influence in shaping the higher education of the country. It is still referred to as a land-mark in the development of the present system of college studies.

In 1832 Dr. Marsh resigned the presidency to give himself to the duties of the chair of moral and intellectual philosophy, and the Rev. John Wheeler, of Windsor, Vt., succeeded him. Mr. Farrand N. Benedict at the same time became professor of mathematics. A subscription of \$25,000, begun before Dr. Marsh's resignation, was not only completed in 1834, but so increased that about \$30,000 was realized from it. This increase of funds enabled the college to increase its teaching force, to purchase philosophical apparatus and a valuable library of 7,000 volumes, to repair the buildings, and pay some pressing debts. And the efforts made in raising the subscription made the institution more widely known, and increased its influence and the number of its friends. Indeed, a new interest was awakened in the subject of collegiate education throughout the State.

A word should be said of the library then procured. The greatest care was used and the best advice taken in the selection of the books. The agent sent abroad to purchase them was Professor Joseph Torrey, than whom a more competent person could not have been found. The 7,000 volumes were bought at an average price of about \$1.25 a volume, and the collection was one which, for the uses of a collegiate institution, was excelled by no library in the United States, except perhaps that of Harvard. How incomplete it was, none knew better than the men who spent so much time and thought in selecting it.

At this time the financial affairs of the institution were carefully examined, lands looked up, college property inventoried, and a proper system of book-keeping instituted. The carelessness and unwisdom with which the affairs of the university had sometimes been managed may be illustrated by the fact that General Ira Allen's original liberal grant of fifty acres for the college site had been alienated to pay agents and others, until only one acre and a half remained! One cannot think of such reckless waste of the original resources of the institution without indignation! The sagacious and far-reaching plans of Allen were balked, and for the time in large measure defeated by the incompetence and greed of agents.¹

¹ It will be of interest to add that the original domain of the university was part of lot No. 112 on the town plan. Its south boundary was Main street, while on the west it took in the houses now on the west side of College Park and a portion of the gardens adjoining. The north line seems to have been near where the museum now stands.

The prospects of the university were now bright and hopeful. To secure what had been gained, and to insure further progress and growth another subscription was started in 1836 with promise of success, but disaster came instead! One general bankruptcy involved the whole country in 1837. Debts could not be collected. The banks suspended specie payments. Many of the States actually repudiated their obligations. Money vanished from men's sight. To raise money for a college in the face of general financial wreck was, of course, impossible. The wonder is, that the professors did not desert their posts. Rents, tuitions and subscriptions alike went in large part unpaid. The library was attached by an importunate creditor, himself hard pressed by others, and advertised to be sold by the sheriff. The college emerged from the fearful crisis of 1837-39 with a debt of about \$25,000, but without sacrifice of a dollar of its property, or dishonor to its commercial credit. But with what toil and privation and self-denial to the instructors themselves and to their families, will never be known.

In 1839 plans were laid and measures taken with a view to enlargement and future growth. Twenty-one acres of land were added, by purchase, to the acre and a half, and the trustees were recommended by the board of instruction to acquire the whole plot of land lying within the public roads which surround the university. This same year the Hon. Azariah Williams, of Concord, Vt., made over to the college his large landed estate valued at \$25,000. This year, too, the college received its first legacy, \$500, from the Hon. Elijah Paine, of Williamstown, Vt., and others made promises to remember the university in their wills.

In 1842 occurred the death of Dr. James Marsh. Professor Torrey was transferred to the chair of philosophy and Calvin Pease succeeded him in that of Latin and Greek. In 1845 the Rev. W. G. S. Shedd was elected professor of English literature, and a new subscription was begun with the intention of raising \$100,000. \$50,000 was subscribed and secured. In 1847 Professor G. W. Benedict resigned, after twenty-two years of devoted and most effective service. In 1848 President Wheeler resigned, and the next year the Rev. Worthington Smith, D. D., of St. Albans, Vt., was chosen to fill the office. A new subscription was opened, with a view to raise \$30,000, and the university entered upon a period of moderate prosperity. The six classes which entered during Dr. Smith's administration graduated a total of 135, the largest numbering twenty-seven. President Smith's health failing in 1855, he was succeeded in the presidency by Professor Pease, who retained the office until February, 1862, when he was called to the pastorate of a church in Rochester, N. Y. In the following September Professor Torrey was made president, and filled the office until 1866.

The operations of the university were once more sadly interrupted by the civil war. In 1861 a large proportion of the undergraduates, moved by their love

of the fatherland, exchanged the "still air of delightful studies" for the commotion and dangers of the tented field. They rushed to the defense of the country with an alacrity which threatened to leave the dormitories and lecture-rooms empty. The catalogue of 1862-63 shows that of a total enrollment of sixty-four; twenty-eight, or forty-four per cent. of the whole number, were in actual service in the field. And it appears that college boys made good soldiers, as even at that early period of the war one is set down as captain of cavalry, six as lieutenants, and others as filling various subaltern offices. Some of them gained higher posts subsequently, and others of them—are not the names of these young patriots inscribed on the memorial tablet in the chapel of the University?

And again it took a long time to recover from the effects direct and indirect of the war. Some, as was natural, never returned to complete their course at the university. Others, who were in the way to a college training, also joined the army, and came out of the war too old, as they thought, to enter college, or with complete change of plans and aims. The universal rule, "To him that hath shall be given," operated here as elsewhere. The classes were for a time so small as to cease to be attractive to young men, and not a few went outside the State to pursue their college course.

By act of the General Assembly, 9th November, 1865, the Vermont Agricultural College, which had been chartered the year before, was incorporated with the University of Vermont. One of the conditions of the original charter was that \$100,000 should be raised by voluntary subscription for its endowment or other uses. This not having been complied with, the charter of the college would, by one of its provisions, have lost its validity by 15th November, 1865, had not the union been consummated. The expenses of this college or department are defrayed by the Agricultural College Fund, provided by the act of Congress of 2d July, 1862, the income of which is \$8,130 annually. The act under which the college is organized prescribes that its "leading object shall be, without excluding classical and other scientific studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts." In accordance with this act, the university has established courses in civil engineering, mining engineering, chemistry and agriculture. A literary-scientific course has also been added for the benefit of such as desire the advantages of the regular academic course, but are unable to pursue Greek. The instruction in botany, philosophy, zoology and geology, comes naturally also is within the scope of the ordinance just cited.

Very soon after this union was effected, the corporation invited Prof. James B. Angell, LL. D., of Providence, R. I., to the presidency. He was inaugurated 1st August, 1866, and entered with sagacity and vigor upon the difficult duties of the position. Money was to be raised, friends, war and enemies to be conciliated, facilities and men provided for the new courses of instruction, repairs



to be made, students to be gathered, and hope and courage to be infused into the whole constituency of the college. There were conflicting views and interests also to be harmonized. Not a few of the alumni looked with a feeling akin to jealousy and distrust upon the "agricultural" member of the new firm; and the "practical" friends of the new college deemed the successful raising of a bed of beets to be of more profit to the State, and more in the line of the real intent of Congress than all the "dead" languages and fine-spun metaphysics in the old-fashioned curriculum. Mr. Angell soon gave proof of his rare qualities, in the quiet yet masterly skill which characterized his administration. He had a large business capacity, tact in the development of his plans, and a quick insight into the characters and motives of men. His cordial manners and power of persuasive speech drew students and others into terms of liking and friendship, and disarmed the almost hostility with which some of his plans were regarded by some of the older graduates of the institution. He introduced, also, into the college, and into the relations of the college with the city, a new and exceedingly pleasant social element — one which has not yet ceased to characterize the intercourse of citizens and students. Under Mr. Angell's leadership the university made a steady advance both as to facilities and as to the number of undergraduates. By 1867 the alumni had subscribed \$25,000 to endow a professorship in honor of Dr. James Marsh, and about as much more had been promised for other objects. In 1869 Mr. Angell reported that there were already upon the books about \$75,000 of the \$80,000 which it was proposed to obtain immediately. This subscription was completed in October of that year. The money was used in part for the renovation and remodeling of the college building, the equipment of the new laboratory, and the erection of the president's house. The catalogue of 1866 shows a total of thirty-one students; that of 1870, of sixty-seven.

At the close of the year 1870-71 Mr. Angell resigned, to accept the presidency of the University of Michigan, and Professor Matthew H. Buckham, who was graduated from the university in 1851, and who had served the institution in the chairs of Greek and of English for fifteen years, was elected to the vacant office. At the same meeting of the trustees a vote was passed to admit young women to the academic and scientific departments of the university, under such regulations as the faculty should prescribe. Curiously enough, on the very same day on which this vote was passed, the associate alumni, after a spirited debate, also passed a resolution, requesting the corporation "to consider whether they should not now offer its privileges to all persons, male and female alike," and expressing the conviction that "right and justice, a wise philosophy and a sagacious policy, invite to this new course." One young woman entered the classical department in the spring and six more in the fall of 1872. The university sought in this way to meet one of the growing needs of the time, and contribute something to the raising of the standard, though without the



expectation that women would come in large numbers to avail themselves of the benefits offered. At that date few schools in the country offered to women the opportunity for a sound and well-balanced training. Vassar College was then the only institution east of the Hudson which pretended to give the equivalent of a collegiate course.

Some of the recent gains and changes must be very hastily sketched. In June, 1881, John P. Howard, esq., of Burlington, gave \$50,000 for the endowment of the chair of natural history. The surplus income after the professor's salary is paid is to be applied to the increase of the museum and library. John N. Pomeroy, LL. D., of Burlington, a graduate of the class of 1809, and for several years the oldest living alumnus, left \$20,000 by will, toward the endowment of the chair of chemistry, a department in which Mr. Pomeroy had long years before given the first course of lectures ever offered in the university.

June 26, 1883, was dedicated the bronze statue of Lafayette, which now graces the center of the park, and is said to be the most successful work of America's foremost living sculptor, Mr. J. Q. A. Ward. This also was Mr. Howard's gift. And it is not without reason that Mr. Howard's name is inscribed at one angle, and Lafayette's at another angle of the foundation walls of the principal university building. (See what is said, *post*, about the college buildings.)

In 1883 the Hon. Frederick Billings, of Woodstock, presented to the university, *first*, the famous library of the Hon. George P. Marsh, a collection of 12,000 volumes of rare value and interest; and *secondly*, the munificent sum of \$100,000 for the erection of a library building suitable to enshrine such treasures as the Marsh collection and the old college library. The Billings Library was completed in July, 1885, at a total cost of \$150,000; such a repository for literary treasures as no other college in America possesses, and matched, for elegance and serviceableness combined, by few the other side of the sea.

I can only name the Park Gallery of Art, founded in 1873, by the Hon. Trenor W. Park, of Bennington, which contains a choice collection of casts, paintings, engravings, etc.; the enlarged laboratory, with its ample facilities for chemical manipulation and experiment; the Commons Hall, built in 1885; the engineering course which has introduced so many young men into lucrative and honorable positions; the improvements in park and grounds; the considerable increase in the number of scholarships, and other proofs of the public confidence, and a steady and substantial progress.

The latest catalogue (1885-86) presents an enrollment of 143 students in arts and science, besides 20 in special courses, and 191 in the medical college. The graduating class this year (1886) numbered 29, the largest in the history of the institution. The total number of graduates in course is 1,038, of whom 31 are women. The whole number who have been graduated from the medical school is 1,201.



What sort of discipline the university gives, what kind of men it sends out, may be seen by scanning the roll of its alumni. Dr. Shedd, now of Union Theological Seminary; Dr. Clark, of the A. B. C. F. M.; Dr. Spalding, of Syracuse, N. Y.; Dr. Cutler, of Worcester, Mass.; Dr. Dwinell, of California; Dr. J. H. Hopkins, of Wilkesbarre, Pa.; Bishops Bissel, of Vermont, and Howe, of South Carolina, are living specimens from the long list of preachers and theologians whom it has helped to equip. What it has done for law and statesmanship may be suggested by the names of Collamar, Culver, Aldis, Kasson, Eaton, Gilbert, Hale, Benedict, Bennett, Jameson, Palmer, Powers, Smith—a list that might be greatly extended. Among the graduates who have been presidents or professors in other colleges may be mentioned Marsh, Herrick, and Ferrin, of Pacific University; Williams, Wead, Kent, Wells, Dennison, and Dewey, of Michigan University; Peabody, of Illinois Industrial University; Allen, of the University of Pennsylvania; Tuttle, of Cornell; Woodruff, of Andover—but we will not complete the roll. As to those who have done yeoman's service in other departments of educational work, they are too many for separate mention.

And the university has done something for journalism. In the person of Henry J. Raymond it founded the *New York Times*; in that of James R. Spalding, of the same class (1840), it created the *New York World*. It was Alexander Mann, of the class of 1838, who made the *Rochester American* a power outside the State of New York, as well as within it. Dr. Gilbert, in his conduct of the *Chicago Advance*, has both done good battle for religion and morals, and won himself a good report. But the list would be too long, if we were to give half the names which deserve place here.

A list of the men of business who have received the diploma of the university would include railroad kings, manufacturers whose wares are sold on other continents, and publishers whose imprint is familiar wherever English books are read. We cannot find space for even a part of it. And we have given these few names mainly to show by living examples that the institution at least does no harm to such earnest and capable young men as seek from it a practical training for their life-work. And some, as the record shows, and as we are glad to add, go back again from the college to that oldest and honorablest of all professions, agriculture, and so give practical demonstration that Greek and science and philosophy are no disqualification or damage even to the farmer!

The University Buildings.—In October, 1793, the corporation voted "that early in the next summer a house shall be built on the college square for the use of the university." This building was intended for the residence of the president. It was begun in 1794, and nearly completed in 1795, but was not finished so as to be occupied until 1799. It was situated on the east side of the college park, a little to the south and west of the present museum building.



It was of wood, 48 by 32 feet, two stories high, with hipped roof. After serving its original purpose for many years, in process of time this building became unfit for the residence of the president, and degenerated into a tenement house. It was commonly known, forty years ago, as "the Old Yellow House," — and among the students, owing to the number and variety of its occupants, as the "House of the Seven Nations." One still, cold night in the winter of 1844 it was burned to the ground — by a stroke of lightning, as was said by the students. The faculty, however, had a different theory of the matter.

The original college edifice proper was erected in 1801. In October of 1799 the citizens of Burlington offered to the corporation a special subscription of \$2,300 to aid in the erection of this building and in the procuring of books and apparatus, and contracts for the building were made the next year. The structure occupied the same site as the present edifice, and was of brick, 160 feet long, seventy-five feet wide in the center and forty-five in the wings, and four stories in height. It had a hall in each story running the entire length of the building, and contained a chapel, seven public rooms, and forty-five rooms for students. This building was destroyed on the 24th of May, 1824, by an accidental fire, said to have been caused by sparks falling upon the roof from one of the chimneys. The sparks were afterward ascertained to have come from some shavings which a student had set on fire in his stove on the ground floor.

The "different college buildings" were stated by the *Vermont Sentinel* in July, 1805, to have cost thus far \$24,391; but this must be too low a figure, as Thompson gives the cost of the original main building alone at about \$35,000, "the greater part of which was contributed in Burlington and vicinity." It appears also that the funds for building the original president's house came mainly from Burlington.

The new plan embraced three buildings, the north and south ones each three stories high and seventy-five feet long by thirty-six wide, while the middle one was eighty-six feet long with a projection in front and rear, and was designed for administrative purposes. It contained the chapel, museum, library and lecture rooms, besides two rooms which were assigned to the two rival debating societies, the "Phi Sigma Nu" and "University Institute," each with its separate room for a library. The north and south college buildings were finished in the course of 1825-26, and cost about \$10,000, "nearly all subscribed by inhabitants of Burlington and vicinity." The middle college was erected and nearly completed in 1829 and cost about \$9,000. The dome by which it was surmounted, and which for more than fifty years served as a beacon for the wide region of country between the Green Mountains and the Adirondacks, was designed and the working plans therefor executed by the late Professor George W. Benedict.



The north and south college buildings were fitted for dormitories. Each was built in two "divisions," separated by partition walls. There were no halls lengthwise of any of the buildings, and it was impossible to pass from one division to another or to the center building, without going out of doors. All the buildings were of brick and covered originally with tin, which was subsequently, about thirty-eight years ago, replaced with Welsh slate. At this time the buildings, which were originally separated by spaces of some seven feet, were connected so as to form a continuous wall, and the small rooms thus gained were used in various ways. The total length of the old building amounted, according to these figures, to 250 feet.

In the olden time there were recitation rooms on the lower floor of south college. Soon after Mr. Angell assumed the presidency [in 1866], the lower story of the north college was taken for the general laboratory, lecture, assaying rooms and other uses of the chemical department. The chapel was refitted and refurnished somewhere about 1860. In 1861, or the earlier part of 1862, the south college was thoroughly repaired and the interior changed so as to furnish convenient suites of rooms for the use of students. The students' rooms in the north college were remodeled after a similar plan two or three years later. In 1862, also, the present museum building, 40x60 feet, was erected. This was originally but two stories high, and owed its existence mainly to the efforts of President Pease and Professor Clark. The third story was added in 1864, at the expense of the Hon. Trenor W. Park, of Bennington, for the accommodation of the art gallery. What has been known to later generations of students as "the old president's house"—that now occupied by Professor Petty—is believed on good authority to have been standing in 1808. By whom or when it was built I have not been able to ascertain. It did not belong originally to the university. C. P. Van Ness is said to have lived in it in 1809 and for many years after that date to have owned and occupied it; but President Haskell is affirmed to have made it his residence after his resignation of the pastorate of the First Church [in 1822], and President Marsh lived and died in it [1826-42]. It was familiarly known in distinction from the first president's mansion—"the Old Yellow House"—as the "White House." Not long after the death of Dr. Marsh it became a college boarding-house, and for some years gathered more students about its long tables than any other three or four houses in the village.

President Marsh's office, a one-story wooden building, used to stand near the street line to the southwest of the house, and we believe is still preserved as a part of the cottage now occupied by the college janitor.

The president's mansion, now occupied by President Buckham, was built for President Angell in 1869. It was erected during the days of inflated currency, when it took a great deal of money to buy a very little of any other commodity, and cost some \$14,000, raised by subscription in Burlington.



In 1882-83, by the liberality of Mr. John P. Howard, what is known to the present generation as the old college building was thoroughly remodeled and reconstructed at an expense of nearly \$50,000. Greater height was given to each story, and the ends and center brought forward by projections, giving a depth at the center of sixty feet, and at the ends of forty-two feet

The center of the building rises a story higher than the rest and is surmounted by a belfry and spire, the gilded finial of which is 150 feet from the ground. The tip of the center gable is ninety-three feet from the ground. Between the large projections and gables are two smaller ones, in which are the two front entrances.

As to interior arrangement, the chapel occupies the same position as in the old college building. It is 65 feet long, 33 feet wide and 23 feet high. Under the chapel is the drill room, over it the lecture room of the professor of civil engineering, and a drawing room. Opening from the main halls on each side of the central projection are the president's office, waiting room, etc. To the south and north of these halls are six lecture rooms, each 33 by 25 feet, with large lobbies attached and two smaller recitation rooms, besides rooms for apparatus, chemical stores, etc. At the north end is the chemical laboratory, over that the rest of this end and the whole of the south end are devoted to dormitories. The fourth story affords a large additional number of dormitories.

The first lectures in the medical department were to be mixed classes of ladies and gentlemen of the old "Pearl-street House," not the structure at present occupied by the St. Joseph's College, but one which was burned on the same site.

The old medical college building, at the south end of the park, was erected in 1829, and was originally a plain, brick structure of two stories. During the suspension of the medical department from 1830 to 1853, the laboratory and lecture room in this building were used by the professor of chemistry and natural philosophy for the lectures on chemistry and physiology in the academical course. In 1859, at an expense of some \$4,000, the medical building was thoroughly overhauled, and greatly enlarged by an extension to the rear and by the addition of another story, to afford room for an enlarged amphitheatre, etc. In 1880 the lecture rooms were again enlarged, this time to the utmost extent the building would admit of, and a new chemical laboratory and dissecting rooms were provided, in a two-story addition in the rear of the main structure. But these accommodations soon came to be too narrow, and in 1884 were abandoned for the new quarters at the north end of the park. This building, formerly the residence of Governor Underwood, was purchased, refitted, and presented to the university for the use of the medical college by the same generous friend who had previously rebuilt the main college edifice.

The Billings Library was completed and dedicated in the summer of 1885,



the building having been begun in the fall of 1883. It is of sandstone from Longmeadow, Mass., 167 feet in length, and 67 feet in depth at the center. The polygonal apse is 52 feet high and 47 feet in diameter. From the ground to the apex of the central gable is 62 feet, the width of the main front being $58\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The central tower is 90 feet high, constructed entirely of stone. The main library room is 62 feet long by 41 feet broad, with a room beneath of the same dimensions, intended for duplicates, Congressional documents and other volumes not likely to be often consulted, as well as for work-tables at which volumes are to be prepared for the bindery or for shelving. The library is heated by steam, the boiler for which is located about 170 feet east of the building. The central hall is used as a reading and reference room, the north hall for study, and there are four special rooms, besides the librarian's, in any one of which a student or writer who has need of absolute solitude may be entirely by himself. The interior is richly finished in Georgia pine, with the exception of the brick floors, and the furniture of the library, which is of oak. The massive mantle-piece too is of oak, and shows some very fine carving. Excellent carving is exhibited also in the hammer-beams of the apse for Marsh Library, and in the stone work about and above the entrance. At the angle of the gable, upon a huge round stone, is carved the seal of the university with its venerable motto, *studiis rebus honestis*. But there is not space here for a full and detailed description. Suffice it to say that the architecture is of the Romanesque order; that the edifice is one among the most successful of those lately erected by Mr. H. H. Richardson, a man whose recent death has been so deeply deplored by all intelligent lovers of architectural art; and that a half hour's visit to the building will give one a better idea of it than a hundred pages of figures and adjectives. When you visit it you will find a thing of beauty not only, but of highest utility and convenience, and will see over the generous mantle the face of the princely donor, Frederick Billings, an alumnus of 1844, and a fellow-townsmen of the Marshes.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN BURLINGTON. — The first school-house in the town of Burlington was built a little to the east of the building now occupied by St. Joseph's College, and was taught by Nathaniel Winslow. "I went there to school about ten days," says one of the early settlers, "and could learn nothing from him."

In 1790 the town was divided into two school districts, in 1795 into three, into four the next year, and in 1813 there were eight. It was then deemed best to consolidate the three village districts into one, but in 1829 this village district was again divided, this time into six.

Burlington Academy, as it was called, came into being in 1820. Its affairs were managed by a corporation, and its support derived from a charge for tuition. The "academy" building stood on the corner of College and Willard streets, just where the present high-school edifice stands, and was regarded as a

[The text in this section is extremely faint and illegible. It appears to be a multi-paragraph document, possibly a letter or a report, with several lines of text per paragraph. The content is not discernible.]

commodious and convenient structure until the latter years of its existence. The Burlington High School was incorporated October 22, 1829, and seems to have succeeded to all the rights and duties of the "academy." Boys had here a chance to prepare for college, or to push their English studies further than was possible in the ordinary public schools. The first teacher in the academy was Master Caulkings, whose traditional reputation seems to indicate a man well fitted by gifts and acquirements for the post of preceptor. The school admitted both sexes.

In 1849 a union school district was organized from five of the eight districts then existing in the village. The several districts were to maintain primary and middle schools under separate control; but more advanced instruction was provided by a tax laid on the five districts in common. This scheme was continued for nineteen years, and had for a time a salutary effect on the schools below. The school bore a deservedly high reputation, being presided over by teachers of sound scholarship and considerable experience. The first principal, H. N. Hibbard, now Judge Hibbard of Chicago, was succeeded by S. H. Peabody, now regent of Illinois University. He was followed by H. B. Buckingham, for many years and until the present year (1886) the head of the State Normal School at Buffalo, N. Y. Other names are those of C. W. Thompson and A. A. Smith, both clergymen at present, and Isaac N. Camp, now a merchant in Chicago. Miss Jane Noble was preceptress for five years, the one element of permanence in the board of instruction. Miss Katharine A. Hagar held the same position for several years from 1855. Previously to 1849 Joel I. Benedict, afterwards professor in the New York Free Academy, was preceptor of the academy for a time, and gave the school an enviable fame by his skill in teaching mathematics. And after his time it was not unusual for classes to be pursuing trigonometry, surveying, and the calculus, with an enthusiasm which shamed the young men in the university. The Latin classes read Livy and Tacitus, as well as the ordinary texts of the preparatory course, and sometimes the girls essayed Greek.

The time-honored district system, supplemented by the union district which provided academic instruction for the village, continued until 1868. By special act of the Legislature, November 19, 1867, subsequently accepted by the city as a part of its charter, the ten school districts of the city (there had been sixteen in the town) were abolished, and the nineteen schools maintained by them, including the Union High School, came under the supervision of a board of six school commissioners, two from each ward, and a superintendent elected by their board. This was changed by the amended charter of the city, November 26, 1872, to a board of five commissioners, one from each of the five wards, severally elected for a term of two years. The schools were at once graded so far as the existing buildings would allow, special pains taken in the selection of teachers, a uniform course of study established, a teachers' institute

held for the training of teachers in the two lower grades, teachers' meetings frequently called, a teachers' library founded, and an evening school established for such as could not attend the day school. The time of daily school attendance was reduced at once to five hours per day, in the primary schools to four and a half hours, and opportunity given to the teachers to visit other schools, and study the plans and methods of others. As rapidly as the funds would allow, increased and improved accommodations were gained by selling the old school-houses and building larger ones. At first there were three grammar schools, one for each ward. After the erection of the present high-school building, in 1871, the grammar school grade occupied the lower story of this edifice, though this soon proved insufficient to accommodate the increasing numbers, and the overflow was accommodated in the "annex," on the corner of Main and South Union streets. The succession of superintendents has been the following: J. E. Goodrich, A. J. Willard, John H. French, H. L. Dodge, C. J. Alger and H. C. Wheeler, the last of whom still holds the office, having been elected in 1880. Mr. Alger had charge of the schools during the previous five years, and by his faithful, intelligent and vigorous supervision did much to raise the standard of instruction, and increase the efficiency of the school.

The report of the superintendent of 1866 (Rev. E. Mix) is a general indictment of almost everything and everybody connected with the schools; and that for 1867 (M. H. Buckham) is hardly less severe. It maintains the "belief that our public schools, *as they now are*, are unworthy of patronage," and speaks of the condition of our schools for the last twenty years as "source of grief and mortification to a large majority of our citizens." This disgraceful state of our means and methods of public education in 1868 can hardly be conceived by those who are acquainted with the commodious and healthful school buildings, the systematic and competent instruction, the helps and appliances provided for the teachers' use, and the effective supervision, of the present day. In 1869 intelligent citizens of Burlington were confident that they had established the best *school system* in Vermont. To-day they are proud of the schools themselves, and may safely challenge comparison with any other portion of the State. The High School in particular enjoys an enviable reputation both as a place of general education and preparation for the ordinary duties of citizenship and as a fitting school for those who intend pursuing a university course, and is largely patronized by the towns adjoining. The successive principals since 1868 have been the following: Marcia P. Brown, Louis Pollens, Charles S. Halsey, Joseph D. Bartley, D. Temple Torrey and S. W. Landon. Mr. Landon was graduated from the University of Vermont in 1874, and came to his present post after an exceptionally successful career as principal of the High School in St. Albans. The school never stood higher than to-day in the public estimation, for both the moral and the mental discipline which it affords. The last school report (for 1885) shows a roll of thirty-three teachers, besides five

pupil teachers, the teachers in two day and one evening ungraded schools, and two special instructors, one in elocution and one in vocal music. The latter gentleman, N. H. Thompson, has shown remarkable aptness and ability in his department, having filled the place since 1881, as also during the years 1877-78. It appears that in 1883 three of the teachers were graduates of college, thirteen of normal schools, one of Mt. Holyoke, and nine of high schools (six of the city high schools). The salary account in 1885 was \$16,927.87, and the total expense \$23,429.22. Tuition from non-resident pupils, \$977.

The city owes a large debt to such men as James B. Angell, William G. Shaw, G. G. Benedict, M. H. Buckham, L. L. Lawrence, Henry Loomis, Rev. L. G. Ware, Rev. George B. Safford, S. Huntington, C. F. Ward, and others, who as school commissioners contributed so much by their counsel and their influence to the development and success of the present system of city schools. And this, although without pay or reward.

Burlington Female Seminary.—The project of a separate school for the education of girls seems to have been suggested and urged as early as 1832 by the Rev. John K. Converse, who came to Burlington in April of that year to become the pastor of the First Church. He tried to convince the citizens that the sums annually expended for the education of their girls were sufficient, if united, to maintain a school of high grade in their own town. The scheme was encouraged by President Marsh of the university, but it was generally looked upon as impracticable, the common sentiment being that the college needed all the aid which the town was able to bestow. Two educational enterprises, it was thought, were less likely to succeed than one. In 1834, however, the plan came under discussion once more and a committee of citizens was appointed March 9, 1835, to consider and report upon the subject. The result of the report and of the increased attention consequently given to the scheme, was the actual opening of the school the following May, in a large house secured for the purpose. This building stood on the north side of Bank street near its intersection with Church. In 1840 the school was removed to the buildings at the foot of Church street, erected by Bishop Hopkins for the Episcopal residence and a boys' school. The formal charter of the seminary was dated November 15, 1836. The first preceptress was Miss Mary C. Green, of Windsor, Vt. In 1841 she gave place to Miss Thirza Lee, who the next year was succeeded by Mrs. Martha O. Paine; and she, in 1844, by the Rev. J. K. Converse, who retired from his pastoral charge in October of that year. The Rev. Buel W. Smith was associate principal from 1848 to 1860, when he established a separate "ladies' seminary" in the south building. Mr. Converse retained his position as head of the school until 1874. Mr. Converse says that he paid about \$15,000 for the two buildings. They afforded accommodations for fifty boarders. The school enjoyed a liberal patronage for several years. The catalogue of 1856-57 gives a list of six teachers and two pupil-teachers,



besides the two principals. In addition to the common branches, instruction was offered in French, Latin, instrumental and vocal music, drawing, painting, etc. The course of study, which covered three years, is said to have been drawn up mainly by Professor Torrey, of the university. The whole number of pupils for 1849 is stated at 165; 1851, 174; 1853, 176; 1855, 137; 1862, 164. In 1862 it was claimed for the institution that it had educated more than 1,500 pupils from nineteen different States, the Canadas and Scotland, of whom some six hundred had substantially finished the prescribed course of studies. The board of trustees is made up of excellent names, those of Joseph Torrey, Bishop Hopkins, George P. Marsh and George W. Benedict being among them.

From September, 1860, for about four years, Mr. Smith maintained a separate school in the building adjoining that of Mr. Converse. He admitted, besides young ladies, boys and young men who desired to fit themselves for business or for college. Professor T. E. Molt was the instructor in music. His father, Professor Theodore F. Molt, from Germany, had for many years given very thorough and competent instruction in the same branch in the seminary. The roll of instructors in the seminary contains the names of not a few who were well equipped in attainments, in character, and by long experience as well, for their responsible work. In his later years Mr. Converse used often to refer, and not without reason, to the great numbers of young women who had received the benefits of the school. They had been raised to a nobler life and filled far wider influence in consequence of the direction and impulse here imparted. Many of them had in their turn become teachers also, and helped to awaken in another generation the love of good learning and the thirst for the things that are "true and honest and pure and of good report."

Young Ladies' School.—In March, 1845, Miss Catharine Fleming, now Mrs. J. H. Worcester, began a school for girls on Locust street, now Elmwood avenue. At first the school was limited to twelve pupils but it soon increased so as repeatedly to require additional accommodations, and before it was discontinued, in July, 1870, it had more than sixty on its roll. In 1855 the Rev. Mr. Worcester resigned his charge as pastor of the First Church and became a principal teacher in the school, having special charge of the mental and moral philosophy, chemistry, physics, astronomy, and related branches. In addition to Latin and the usual modern languages, Greek also and some of the higher mathematics had a place in the curriculum. The school was well supplied with apparatus for experimental illustrations in natural science, and maintained a uniformly high reputation for the competence of its corps of teachers and the thoroughness of the training afforded. Among the assistant instructors were Kate Fessenden, now Mrs. John I. Gilbert, of Malone, N. Y.; Lydia K. Hodges, now Mrs. Everett Wheeler, of New York city; Julia Fleming, and (in music) Messrs. T. E. Molt and S. C. Moore. These, with Mr. and Mrs. Wor-

cester, constituted the faculty in 1862. The school building furnished rooms for but twenty-four boarders, but the school always received a large patronage from the town. During the twenty-five years of its existence this school helped to mould the intellects and characters of almost 700 young women, of whom more than eighty of themselves subsequently became teachers. Among these the most widely known, perhaps, was Mary A. Burnham, whose long career as a teacher in the high schools of Montpelier and Rutland, later as a member of the first faculty of Wellesley College, and during the last years of her laborious and useful life (alas! too soon cut short) as head of a fitting school (for Smith College) in Northampton, Mass., gave proof not only of rare qualities of both head and heart, but reflected honor on the school which could send forth young women so admirably equipped for the highest and most difficult duties. Miss Fessenden, too, it should be said, subsequently became a member of the faculty as first organized at Vassar College. In the case of most of its pupils, this modest building on Locust street (now 25 Elmwood avenue) was the scene of their most advanced studies, the place from which they stepped at once into active life. As yet Vassar (begun in 1865) and Wellesley and Smith Colleges did not exist, and the older colleges were not open to young women.

The Vermont Episcopal Institute.—It would seem that the account of the institute should be prefaced by a concise sketch of the school for boys which Bishop Hopkins established immediately after taking up his residence in Burlington. Within three years after his consecration, 31st October, 1832, he purchased a two-story brick house near the southern end of Church street, with thirteen acres of land attached, and took immediate possession with his family. Three pupils had accompanied him from Boston. To accommodate these and others, two wings were added to the house, for school-room, dormitories and oratory; and both were filled by October, 1833. Instruction was given by two candidates for orders. By the end of 1835 there were thirty-eight pupils in attendance, and this number had grown to fifty-two before additional buildings were erected. In the spring of 1836 the bishop proceeded to erect two large buildings, one on either hand of his house, each fronted with Ionic porticos; the south wing, a structure of three stories and basement, intended for a school of about 100 boys; the north wing, of different internal construction, designed for the professors and their families and about twenty theological students (there were six already). Behind the central portion was erected a "hall of the fine arts," eighty feet long and twenty feet high. The center building and the two wings were joined by chambers in two stories, and in addition the three parts were connected by one straight corridor in the rear, 120 feet long. The entire front presented an extent of 240 feet. The thirteen acres had by this time been enlarged to forty, and about 400 acres more had been purchased some two miles north of the village; the whole was estimated



to be worth \$40,000. To complete and furnish the buildings the bishop effected a loan of \$10,000, securing this by a mortgage on the entire property. In the fall of 1836 the number of scholars had risen to nearly eighty, filling six school-rooms with the various classes, and before long the motto *Pro ecclesia Dei* was placed upon the front of the central building, high over the doorway. The motto has disappeared, but the leaves and flowers, carved by the bishop's own hands to embellish it, may still be seen where he placed them. In 1837 a theological professor was elected, and a salary of \$600 provided by the diocese; but nothing came of it all. This year occurred the financial panic which wrecked so many business men and institutions. Some parents were compelled by the hard times to withdraw their boys, and others were unable to pay their bills. Then came the troubles with Canada, and the pupils from that quarter were called home. This reduced the attendance to about one-third of the former number and compelled the discharge of several of the teachers. Of the heroic efforts made by Bishop Hopkins, at home and in England, to avert disaster and save so promising an enterprise, this is not the place to speak. Suffice it to say that all attempts to save the buildings and a few acres of ground were unavailing; the whole property connected with the school passed into other hands under foreclosure of mortgage in January, 1841, and the scheme, with all its actual equipments and all its possibilities, was at an end. The one edifice was made into three separate buildings in order to effect a sale. The north one was a long time a dwelling house, and in 1872 came to be occupied as a boarding school for young ladies. The south and central buildings were occupied from 1841 to 1860, and the central one till 1871, by a female seminary. The southern one was at last turned into a hotel and known for some years as the "Lawrence House." This was torn down about four years ago. The Vermont Episcopal Institute was founded by the Right Reverend John Henry Hopkins, D.D., LL.D., the first bishop of Vermont. The act of incorporation is dated November 14, 1854, and constitutes John H. Hopkins, Charles B. Marvin, Thomas H. Canfield, Edward J. Phelps and Albert L. Catlin the first board of trustees. The property held by the corporation consists of one hundred acres of land on Rock Point, about two miles from the Burlington post-office, and in full view of the city across the bay. It affords a peculiarly advantageous site for a seminary of learning, being retired from the noise and temptations of the town, of unsurpassed healthfulness, and affording unusual advantages for bathing, boating and other out-door exercises. The various charming views which it presents of lake and mountain scenery are by no means least among the attractions it offers to young men who are looking for a place of study that shall unite the quiet of a country home with the many advantages of a near residence to a town. The building is of the style known as the Collegiate Gothic, is three stories high, besides an office, 125 feet long, 44 feet wide at the center, 57 feet wide at the northern end, and 66 feet wide



at the southern end, which contains a chapel complete, capable of seating 150 people. The tower projects twenty-two feet, and is seventy feet in height. The building is fitted up with all the conveniences needed for a first-class boarding-school, and will accommodate seventy-five pupils, with the teachers and the principal's family. It is constructed of marble found upon the point. The academical department was opened 1st September, 1860, under the direction of the Rev. Theodore Hopkins, A.M., a son of the late bishop; and during his administration acquired and enjoyed an extensive reputation as a thorough and efficient school. In 1881 he was succeeded by Henry H. Ross, A.M., an experienced teacher, who has proved himself competent to maintain and advance the high standard of instruction set by his predecessors. The catalogue for the tenth year (1869-70) gives a roll of 196 different pupils for the year preceding, and the names of sixty-four as entered for the current year, two only of whom are designated as day-scholars. A later catalogue gives 371 names of pupils from 1860 to 1877. The twenty-fifth annual catalogue shows a faculty of seven instructors with forty-five "cadets." This name is a reminder that the school is organized and officered for military drill. The young soldiers make a fine appearance upon parade, and have gained many compliments by the promptness and precision of their exercises and evolutions. It was a cherished project with Bishop Hopkins to provide a "church" school for the sons and daughters of his charge. To promote this object he devoted, as he says in his deed of gift, "all his property perpetually to the service of Almighty God as the property of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." The deed bears date 15th December, 1854, at which time the property was valued at \$20,000. He subsequently obtained some \$40,000 more, which was expended in the erection of buildings and the accumulation of a fund for a girls' school, the foundation of which he had commenced, when he was called from the scene of his earthly labors, 9th January, 1868.

The Episcopal Church in Vermont thus possesses, what hardly any other diocese in the Union has, an Episcopal residence with 100 acres of land adjoining, giving ample room for the further erection of a young ladies' school, a theological seminary, a hospital — indeed, whatever buildings may be deemed necessary for the uses and development of the church. For this endowment the Episcopal Church in Vermont is indebted primarily to her lamented first bishop, who labored so unsparingly for her advancement; but thanks are due also to those clergymen and laymen upon the board of trustees, who assisted and sustained him in all his undertakings, and this without a dollar of compensation for time employed, or expenses incurred in the discharge of their trust. In a recent report to the convention of the diocese the trustees say that "not a dollar of its funds has ever been lost, \$73,000 of which have come into their hands." The treasurer of the board for most of the twenty-six years the





Wood. H. Stephens



school has existed has been Thomas H. Canfield, esq., of Burlington, who had the supervision of building operations, and the care of the whole property, during the time when the plans of the bishop were crystallizing into permanent and appropriate forms. To name other gentlemen, dead and living, who aided in the upbuilding of the institute, would be a pleasant task, if the space assigned to this chapter would allow.

The late John P. Howard has recently left \$20,000 for a female department, and the trustees are now taking steps to raise \$40,000 with which to erect suitable buildings for a young ladies' seminary, upon the eminence at the east end of the property. This is to be in all respects a fitting counterpart of the building occupied by the boys' school at the opposite end nearer the lake, and will be furnished with all modern improvements and apparatus for a ladies' school of the highest character.

A word should be said of the theological department connected with the institute. This went into operation September 1, 1860, under the care of the Rev. John A. Hicks, D.D., previously of Rutland, Vt., as resident professor of divinity. The department drew but few students, and was before long discontinued. There is a library belonging to the school, of 1,600 volumes, largely composed of "the best remains of Christian antiquity." The salary of the divinity professor was provided for by a special legacy.

Charlotte Female Seminary went into operation May 1, 1835, and in the following year a building was erected for its accommodation. Its chief founder was the Hon. Luther M. Stone, M.D. In 1840 this building passed into the hands of the Methodist Episcopal Society. After a few years of prosperity it finally declined, and for the period of a generation now, the demand for education of the high school grade has been met by select schools maintained for two or three terms in the year, and with very frequent change of instructors.

Colchester Academy. — In the year 1850 a building was erected in part by public subscription, which should serve for the uses of a town hall and an academy. For a number of years a school of academic grade was sustained here by the people of this and adjoining towns, but for the last ten years there has been only an occasional select school for some three months in the fall. The first preceptor here was William H. Belding, who was succeeded by Daniel W. Ellis, Walter Freeman, John McKeen, Clinton G. Mayo, S. H. Wheeler and D. H. Bicknell.

Essex Classical Institute. — The first school in Essex dates from 1788, and was taught by John Finch, an Englishman, who is said to have been sour-faced and severe. The first school district of which any record exists was organized in 1796, and embraced the northeast portion of the town. The school-house in which this was held was the second one erected in the town, the first having stood on Brown's River, near Jericho. Both were constructed of logs. In 1830 a large stone school-house was put up at the Center, the upper story of



which was fitted up by private enterprise for a school of "high" or academic grade, and so used for several years. This school was conducted by a succession of excellent teachers, Henry J. Raymond being of the number.

The "Chittenden County Institute" was chartered in 1853. In the following year a commodious brick building was erected upon the land given by Deacon Alvah J. Watkins, and in August of the next year the school was opened under the charge of Henry B. Buckham, with 125 pupils. Mr. Buckham's successors in the principalship were: A. T. Deming, C. W. Watkins and Milton R. Tyler. In 1862 Asa Sanderson became the proprietor, remodeled the building, gave the school the title of "Essex Academy," and made it in part, a boarding-school. Under Mr. Sanderson's care, the school attained a prosperity surpassing its previous history. His fifth catalogue, 1867, shows the whole number of pupils to be 170, forty-one pursuing classical studies. The catalogue of the next year shows Oscar Atwood, now for several years the master of the Rutland High School, to be the instructor in Latin and Greek, and the number of students increased to 205, thirty of whom are studying music. In February, 1869, the school building was burned, but the friends of education in the town, aided by the friends of the school in the county, subscribed liberally, and the present structure was raised on the foundation of the old, at a cost of \$5,400. In 1876, just before his death, Thaddeus R. Fletcher, of Burlington, gave to the institute the handsome sum of \$10,000 as a permanent fund, of which the interest only is available for the support of the school. In August, 1884, Miss Mary M. Fletcher, daughter of the above named, presented the trustees with \$2,000 to purchase and furnish the boarding-house now connected with the school.

Since the re-opening of the school as the Essex Classical Institute, in 1869, the following persons have been elected principals: F. D. Mussey, A. E. Clark, A. D. Whitney, R. B. Lillie, M. S. Woodman, W. D. McIntosh, W. A. Doring, T. S. Adams, Allan C. Ferrin, and the present incumbent, L. E. Tupper.

This school is now fairly prosperous, and, it is hoped, will continue to be in the future as it has been in the past, a place where youth may be prepared for business or college at a comparatively small expense and in a thorough manner. It is the aim of the board of trustees gradually to raise the standard of the school till it shall be second to none in the quality of the work done.

Hinesburg Academy was incorporated in 1824. One of the earliest institutions of the kind in this section of the State, it for many years enjoyed a wide reputation and considerable patronage, and was an important preparatory school for young men from Western Vermont desiring to enter college. It has been one of the most prominent institutions of its class in the State, although in later years with the changing population and other schools springing up in towns around, its students have been largely from Hinesburg and adjacent towns, and much fewer in number than formerly. The succession of principals of the



academy since its foundation have been: Asa Brainard, John A. Edgell, Otto S. Hoyt, Archibald Fleming, Peola Durkee, J. A. B. Stone, — Wood, A. J. Sampson, Homer H. Benson, Peola Durkee, George Lee Lyman, F. W. Powers, Ira O. Miller, John D. Kingsbury, George Lee Lyman, A. E. Leavenworth, Hiram Carleton, P. F. Leavens, George I. Bryant, A. E. Leavenworth, J. W. Russell, George W. Winch.

Among the graduates of Hinesburg Academy some became well known in Vermont, and some have achieved a reputation outside of the State. In the first class that were graduated from it were: Rev. Chauncey Taylor, Rev. Peola Durkee, Rev. Elon O. Martin and Rev. Buel W. Smith. Later were: James M. Slade, of Middlebury, Dewitt C. Clark, Rev. Aaron Pease and Rev. Calvin Pease, afterwards president of the University of Vermont, Rev. O. G. Wheeler, Edgar Waddams, now Catholic bishop of Ogdensburgh, James W. Hickcock, Dugald Stewart, Henry Lawrence, of Vergennes, and Edwin D. Mason. For several years past the academy building has been occupied by the town high school, of which William N. Ferrin was principal in 1875-76.

Hinesburg was one of the few towns which adopted the so-called town system of schools, which it still maintains with success. The old school-houses are retained and in them the primary schools are held. But the district lines are abolished and the schools are put in charge of a board of six directors, of whom two are chosen each year, who are elected at the regular town meeting in March and hold office for three years. The change in the character of the primary schools under this system has not been very noticeable. A few improvements have been effected. Thirty-four weeks of school are now supported in all the schools, where twenty-four was the common number. And a high school free to scholars in town is maintained two terms in the year. The school tax is more equally adjusted, being levied upon each man's grand list, thus materially lightening the burden upon the poorer classes in back districts who are ambitious to educate their children.

A literary society was organized here in 1810 (incorporated in 1822), which in a few years gathered a respectable library, and by its meetings for discussion did much to stimulate and direct the intellectual development of the young men of the place. This was an influential factor, along with the academy, in producing the intelligence which for several decades characterized the community. The general interest in education is now doubtless somewhat lessened by the large intermixture of inhabitants of French and Irish descent.

Underhill Academy had its origin in a select school taught by Mr. J. S. Cillely at Underhill Flat, in a house formerly occupied by the late Joseph Kingsbury. This school was so prosperous that in a few years the citizens of the village erected a building for a school of secondary instruction, and obtained for it from the Legislature, October 23, 1852, an act of incorporation. It was commonly called Bell Institute, though the charter name was Underhill Acad-



emy. The school though without endowment was successfully conducted by Mr. Cilley as principal until 1852, when he retired and was succeeded by Ezra H. Byington, a graduate of that year from the University of Vermont, who remained at the head of the school for about three years. He was followed by A. T. Deming, a graduate of Middlebury College, who conducted the institute successfully for about a year. During the two years succeeding the prosperity of the school greatly declined, because of frequent changes in the principalship. In the fall of 1858, however, the institution was greatly revived under the management of S. L. Bales, who continued in charge for some three years, and was succeeded by George N. Abbott, who also was at the head of the school for three years. During the next six years, beginning with 1863, the management of the school was frequently changed. Some of the teachers during this period showed abilities of a high order, but their terms of service were too short to enable them to contribute much to the reputation and prosperity of the school. Among them were George H. French, Byron J. Ward, and the Rev. Josiah Swett, D. D. In 1869 the building was thoroughly repaired, and the school entered upon a new season of prosperity under the direction of Oscar Atwood, whose previous success in other schools attracted a large number of pupils from surrounding towns. During his administration strong hope was entertained that the school might be put upon a solid financial basis, but this failing of realization, Mr. Atwood accepted a call to a more inviting field. Since his retirement the school has had a rather checkered history. Excellent teachers have undertaken the charge of the school, among whom may be named Davis R. Dewey, the Rev. John D. Emerson, and John W. Buckham; but the financial encouragement has been too meager to retain any man as permanent principal. Their work has not been without value, however, in the stimulating influence on the community at large, and several young men have been incited to put themselves in the way of a collegiate education. The academy saw its days of brightest prosperity under the administration of Messrs. Byington, Bates and Atwood. During these years the number of pupils was large enough to furnish a fair support to the teachers; and the pupils of the school were of a superior class, both as to character and attainments. During Mr. Atwood's principalship of three years the average number of pupils was somewhat above one hundred. The character of the school and the quality of his work can be best shown by reference to one of his catalogues. That for 1870, covering five terms—a year and a quarter—gives a total of one hundred and seventy-five pupils, eighty-one boys and ninety-four girls, of whom thirty-eight are in the classical department; and among the names of pupils the following, who happen to be known to the writer: E. A. Andrews, now a lawyer in Buffalo, N. Y.; Rufus W. Bishop, now of Chicago, and professor in a medical college; C. F. Groves, now a clergyman in Kansas; C. H. Hayden, lately principal of Hinesburg Academy; M. B. Hol-



comb, now a physician in Keeseville, N. Y.; S. W. Landon, successively master of the St. Albans and Burlington high schools; C. E. Meech, editor, now in Oregon; S. N. Taggart, a successful lawyer in Chicago; and F. E. Woodruff, now professor in Andover Theological Seminary. These names show at once the character of the patronage enjoyed by the school, and the character of the moral as well as the intellectual training here imparted. Others no doubt have made for themselves an equally worthy record. Justice seems to require that we register also the names of some of the female teachers who contributed so greatly to the fame and success of the institution: Ann Eliza Hoyt, afterwards Mrs. E. H. Byington; Mary Mayo, now Mrs. Henry Tenant; Augusta Smith, now wife of the Rev. S. W. Dike; Mrs. George N. Abbott, and Ella Walker, now Mrs. E. S. Whitcomb, jr. The wide and permanent influence of this modest academy may be further increased by giving the names of a few more of its graduates: Revs. W. S. Hazen, H. E. Butler, L. H. Elliott, E. J. Ranslow, C. H. Dunton, D. D., and George W. Henderson, with Hon. Seneca Haselton, Byron J. Ward, Hon. Cornelius Palmer, and Melville Smillie, all lawyers. Whatever may be the future of Underhill Academy, "the past at least is secure."

Williston Academy.—This school was opened about 1829 by the Rev. Peter Chase, then pastor of the Baptist Church in Williston, in a building which he had himself erected on a plot of land purchased by him in 1828. The school received pupils of both sexes and was conducted by Mr. Chase for several years with a good degree of success. His successor in his double office of pastor and teacher was the Rev. William Arthur, the father of ex-President Arthur. He is said to have been an efficient and acceptable instructor. His successor, the Rev. Josiah Goodhue, pastor of the Congregational Church, was followed by Homer Benson, then a theological student; Augustus Gould, who became a lawyer; Leonard Whitney, a native of Williston, who became a minister, and — Bates, who also became a clergyman, and was the last teacher in the original building, which now became the Baptist meeting-house.

The school had been so prosperous that its loss was seriously felt by the people of Williston. So they set about supplying its place, and in 1841 erected a substantial brick building not far from the site of the old academy. Mr. Emerson J. Hamilton, who graduated from the University of Vermont in 1842, became the principal of the school and did good and faithful service here until he removed to take charge of similar work in Oswego, N. Y., where he still resides. The school continued to prosper under the direction of Mr. (now Rev.) E. R. Lyman. Under his successor, P. H. Sanford, the number of students in attendance was sometimes as high as 120. The teachers who followed held the place of principal but for brief periods. In the summer of 1858 the patrons of the academy desired increased facilities for instruction and a greater permanence in the headship of the school, expended \$1,500 in en-

larging and repairing the building, and engaged Mr. J. S. Cilley as principal. He opened the school on the 1st of September with 114 pupils in attendance, a number which was raised to 140 before the term ended. His administration was judicious and successful. The community rallied to his support, and the school had an enviable reputation for its thorough instruction and its vigorous and salutary discipline. By-and-by the shadow of war fell on the land and this school suffered in some degree, as did others, by the prompt enlistment in the service of the country of those young men who else would have been fitting themselves for college or business. The academy, however, continued to flourish with marked success until the spring of 1868, when Mr. Cilley closed his connection with it in order to take charge of the high school in Brandon. Many of Mr. Cilley's students to-day hold honorable positions in business and professional life. Some of them, however, after fighting bravely for their country were starved in Andersonville or shot down in battle, and now sleep in the honored grave of the soldier. Mr. Cilley has always used his teachership as a sacred trust, a high commission. And the young men — not so young now as they were — are not few who hold him in very high and tender regard, and feel for him a half filial affection. Since Mr. Cilley's departure the school has suffered from lack of permanence in the chief teachership, no one, so far as the writer is aware, remaining for a term of years. In 1883 the "academy" became a "graded school," the upper section of the general town system — a change which has taken place in multitudes of the old time New England academies. Mason S. Stone took charge of the school in the fall of 1883, — Carpenter in 1884, and William C. Clark in 1885.

"This academy probably furnished most of the education ever received by more than a thousand of the young men and women of the county belonging to the last generation. In the times it was wonderfully provided with apparatus, and from President Arthur's father down it had some strong men among its teachers."

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORY OF THE BENCH AND BAR.¹

The Bar of Chittenden County a Strong One — List of Attorneys, Past and Present — Early Courts and First Trials — Decrease of Litigation Since the Settlement of Cases Under the National Bankrupt Act of 1867 — Biographical Sketches.

THE Bar of Chittenden county from the earliest record has been a strong one. In the list of membership, printed below, are some names that live in history, and others, whose local reputation remaining little dimmed by time,

¹ Prepared by Robert Roberts, esq.

would seem to indicate that they too might well have been written in high places. Several of the present generation of practitioners, with the opportunities of public life, have won national fame. The reputation of a lawyer who confines himself strictly to his practice seldom extends beyond the limits of his own State. But within the confines of Vermont the most important cases, wherever tried, have with noticeable frequency been conducted, upon one side or the other, by some member of the bar of this county.

List of attorneys and dates of their admission to practice in the County Court of Chittenden county since the organization of the county, as appears by the records of the county clerk's office :

Albert Stevens, Sept., 1799; Paul Dodge, Feb., 1800; Phineas Lyman, Feb., 1800; Moses Fay, Sept., 1800; Daniel Benedict, Sept., 1800; Daniel S. Bantram, Feb., 1801; Philo Berry, Feb., 1801; Morey Woodworth, Feb., 1801; Thomas Jones, Sept., 1801; George Robinson, Feb., 1802; David Edmonds, Feb., 1802; Samuel Holton, Feb., 1802; John S. Eldridge, Sept., 1803; Isaac Webb (no record of admission), Feb., 1804; William Page, jr., Feb., 1806; Charles Adams, Sept., 1807; James L. Sawyer, Sept., 1812; Archibald W. Hyde, Sept., 1812; Solomon S. Miller, Sept., 1812; Norman Williams, Feb., 1814; Timothy Follett, Feb., 1814; Timothy Tyler, Sept., 1814; Henry Hitchcock, Sept., 1815; John N. Pomeroy, Feb., 1816; David French, Feb., 1817; Charles H. Perrigo, Feb., 1819; John P. Richardson, Sept., 1819; Andrew Thompson, Feb., 1821; Luman Foote, Feb., 1821; Jacob Maeck, Sept., 1821; Gamaliel B. Sawyer, Feb., 1822; Jared Kenyon, Sept., 1823; Joseph Porter, Feb., 1824; George Peaslee, Feb., 1824; Henry Leavenworth, Feb., 1824; Warren Hoxie, Aug., 1826; William P. Briggs, Aug., 1826; Richard W. Smith, adjourned, 1826; John Storrs, Aug., 1827; Boyd H. Wilson, March, 1828; Irad C. Day, Aug., 1828; Frederick G. Hill, Aug., 1829; Theodore Patrick, Aug., 1830; Henry Lyman, Aug., 1830; E. L. B. Brooks, Aug., 1830; William Weston, Aug., 1830; Charles F. Deming, March, 1831; Alonzo A. Wainwright, March, 1831; Sylvanus M. Parsons, March, 1831; Hector Adams, March, 1832; Asahel Peck, March, 1832; Martin B. Mener, Aug., 1832; Sebastian F. Taylor, Aug., 1832; Walter A. Buckbee, March, 1833; W. S. Hawkins, Aug., 1833; Albert Mason, Aug., 1833; James E. P. Weeks, Aug., 1833; Samuel L. Bascomb, Aug., 1834; George F. Warner, Aug., 1835; Leonard Whitney, Aug., 1835; Horatio N. Wells, Aug., 1835; Austin M. Gould, Aug., 1835; Thaddeus R. Kendall, March, 1835; George K. Platt, Aug., 1836; Charles D. Kasson, March, 1837; Romeo Austin, Aug., 1840; Ira B. Pierson, Aug., 1840; George H. Peck, Aug., 1841; James W. Hickok; Nov., 1842; Aaron B. Maynard, Nov., 1842; Edward Van Sicklen, Nov., 1842; Benjamin J. Tenney, May, 1842; Edward A. Stansbury, May, 1842; Joseph W. Allen, May, 1843; Samuel N. Parmelee, May, 1843; Henry Hale, May, 1843; John Sullivan Adams, Oct., 1843; Daniel B. Buckley, Oct., 1844;



William W. Peck, Oct., 1844; Torrey E. Wales, March, 1845; Eleazer R. Hard, March, 1845; Bradford Rixford, March, 1846; William W. Onion, Oct., 1846; James H. Allen, Sept., 1847; Edmund H. Bennett, Sept., 1847; Elisha F. Mead, Sept., 1847; David B. Northrop, Sept., 1847; Guy C. Prentiss, Sept., 1847; Samuel D. Wing, Sept., 1847; Samuel Wells, Sept., 1847; James O'Grady, Sept., 1848; George F. Bailey, March, 1849; Franklin D. Colton, March, 1849; George F. Edmunds, March, 1849; Carolus Noyes, March, 1850; Thaddeus D. Isham, March, 1850; Hiram Stevens, Sept., 1850; Luther L. Dixon, Sept., 1850; William M. Miller, March, 1851; B. E. B. Kennedy, Sept., 1852; E. C. Palmer, March, 1853; William G. Shaw, March, 1853; P. M. Sayles, March, 1853; Wyllys Lyman, jr., May, 1854; John B. Wheeler, March, 1855; E. P. Hill, March, 1856; Samuel H. Reed, March, 1856; Russell S. Taft, Nov., 1856; Frederick H. Waterman, March, 1857; William W. Walker, March, 1857; Charles I. Alger, March, 1858; Asa R. Burseson, March, 1860; Cornelius W. Morse, March, 1860; George W. Kennedy, Sept., 1860; S. H. Davis, Sept., 1860; George Allen, jr., April, 1861; James R. Hickok, April, 1861; H. H. Talcott, Sept., 1861; Dwight L. Heald, April, 1862; Evelyn L. Pierpoint, April, 1862; Henry Ward Dana, Sept., 1862; Henry Ballard, Sept., 1863; Charles E. Allen, Sept., 1864; Peter Leclair, April, 1865; Alfred C. Ballard, Sept., 1865; Frank L. Hungerford, Sept., 1865; L. L. Lawrence, April, 1866; W. L. Burnap, April, 1866; Bradbury W. Hight, April, 1866; Alexander G. Watson, Sept., 1867; George Bigelow Shaw, April, 1868; Reuben P. B. Hewett, April, 1868; Addison C. Benedict, Sept., 1869; John H. Bissell, April, 1870; Edward F. Brownell, Sept., 1870; Albert G. Whittemore, Sept., 1870; Cornelius S. Palmer, April, 1871; Julius W. Russell, Sept., 1871; Robert Roberts, Sept., 1871; Henry L. Washburn, Sept., 1871; Henry O. Wheeler, April, 1872; Chauncey W. Brownell, jr., Sept., 1872; Elihu B. Taft, April, 1873; Hamilton S. Peck, April, 1873; Delbert M. Mead, April, 1874; Seneca Haselton, April, 1875; John T. Drew, April, 1875; William Henry Hare, April, 1876; Frank P. Goin, Sept., 1876; L. F. Englesby, April, 1879; Rufus E. Brown, Sept., 1880; John J. Enright, April, 1881; Elliott G. Arthur, Sept., 1881; George W. Wales, April, 1882; David J. Foster, April, 1883.

The greater number of the attorneys formerly admitted to practice in the County Court have located in the county. Many, however, have removed to other fields immediately after admission.

The records of the County Court do not disclose the names of all the lawyers who have practiced before it, for many were admitted to the bar elsewhere. A list of these, doubtless more or less incomplete, is as follows: Samuel Hitchcock, William C. Harrington, John Fay, Elnathan Keyes, Daniel Farrand, Phineas Lyman, Moses Fay, Stephen Mix Mitchell, George Robinson, C. P. Van Ness, Warren Loomis, Isaac Warner, John C. Thompson, Sen-



eca Austin, George P. Marsh, Alvan Foote, A. W. Hyde, Davis Stone, Sanford Gadcomb, Jason Chamberlin, William H. Griswold, John B. Richardson, Luman Foote, Benjamin F. Bailey, William Brayton, Amos Blodgett, George F. Porter, Charles Russell, Nahum Peck, Lyman Cummings, David A. Smalley, David B. Webster, Carlos Baxter, Albert G. Whittemore, Heman Allen, Edward J. Phelps, Levi Underwood, Frederick George Hill, Lucius E. Chittenden, Hiram B. Smith, Daniel B. Hale, C. F. Davey, E. E. Kellogg, Daniel Roberts, Jeremiah French, L. F. Wilbur, R. S. Taft, C. J. Alger, R. H. Start.

The present membership of the county bar, with dates of admission, as appears from the docket of the County Court, for the April term, 1886, is as follows: In Burlington: Daniel Roberts, Sept., 1832; Levi Underwood, June, 1842; Torrey E. Wales, March, 1845; Eleazer R. Hard, March, 1845; William G. Shaw, March, 1853; Carolus Noyes, March, 1850; L. F. Wilbur, December, 1856; Charles J. Alger, April, 1858; A. V. Spalding, June, 1859; Henry Ballard, September, 1863; Charles E. Allen, September, 1864; W. L. Burnap, April, 1866; O. P. Ray, March, 1867; A. G. Safford, Sept., 1867; George B. Shaw, Sept., 1868; A. G. Whittemore, Sept., 1870; Ed. F. Brownell, Sept., 1870; J. W. Russell, Sept., 1871; Robert Roberts, Sept., 1871; H. O. Wheeler, April, 1872; C. W. Brownell, jr., Sept., 1872; H. S. Peck, April, 1873; E. B. Taft, April, 1873; Seneca Haselton, April, 1875; William H. Hare, April, 1876; L. F. Englesby, April, 1879; John J. Enright, April, 1881; George W. Wales, April, 1882; David J. Foster, April, 1883. In Colchester: Henry N. Deavitt, March, 1866; H. F. Wolcott, April, 1876. In Essex: M. A. Bingham, May, 1868. In Jericho: M. H. Alexander, April, 1883. In Milton: C. W. Witters, Sept., 1860; J. E. Wheelock, June, 1868; H. E. Powell, April, 1875. In Richmond: S. H. Davis, Sept., 1860. In Underhill: J. J. Monahan, June, 1866; V. A. Bullard, April, 1884.

The county of Chittenden was set off from Addison and incorporated into a distinct county October 22, 1787. The Supreme Court held two annual sessions in Colchester, commencing with the August term, 1789. At this and the succeeding term Nathaniel Chipman presided as chief justice, and at the third term, held at Burlington, Elijah Paine was chief justice. The County Court held six terms at Colchester, commencing with the February term, 1788. The four first terms John Fassett, jr., of Cambridge, presided as chief justice, and John White, of Georgia, and Samuel Lane, of Burlington, as assistant justices. John Knickerbacor was clerk, Noah Chittenden, of Jericho, sheriff, and Samuel Hitchcock, of Burlington, State's attorney. The next four terms of the court, the two last held at Burlington, John Fassett, jr., presided as chief justice, and John White and John McNeil were assistant justices. Martin Chittenden was clerk, Stephen Pearl, sheriff, Samuel Hitchcock, State's attorney, for 1790, and William C. Harrington for 1791; and the county, still retaining



its original limits, which extended over the counties of Grand Isle, Franklin, Lamoille and parts of Washington and Orleans, had been divided into three probate districts, and Matthew Cole, of Richmond, Jonathan Hoyt, of St. Albans, and Timothy Pearl, of Burlington, were appointed judges of probate in their respective districts.

By special act of the Legislature, passed October 27, 1790, the courts were removed from Colchester to Burlington. In the mean time the county of Chittenden had grown so much in its business and population that it was cut down in its territory, and, on the 5th of November, 1792, a new county on the north was carved out and incorporated under the name of Franklin. Then followed the usual controversy as to the location of the shire-town and the county buildings. By special act of the Legislature in 1793 a committee was appointed to "fix on the place for holding County and Supreme Courts in the county of Chittenden, and to stick a stake for the place of building a court-house." The action of this committee resulted in the permanent establishment of the courts and the court-house at Burlington. Since the permanent location of the county buildings, however, still further reductions have been made from the original limits of the county.

After the organization of the county of Chittenden the first terms of the court were held at the house of Ira Allen, in Colchester, and after the removal of the courts to Burlington the seat of justice was for a time at the primitive abode of Captain King, of Burlington Bay, at the foot of what is now Battery street. The first court-house was placed near the center of the present City Hall Park, and the whipping-post near it.

The first case found in the records of the County Court is William Hubbell vs. Andrew Van Gilder, entered at the February term, 1788. This was an action of book account to recover a balance of seven pounds and six pence. The defendant thereupon brings against the plaintiff in the first suit and Phineas Heath an action of trespass *vi et armis* for assault and duress of imprisonment for twelve hours, claiming fifty pounds damages. Both cases, by consent of parties, were referred to John White, Samuel Lane and John Knickerbacor, to be heard and decided according to law. The referees reported that the original plaintiff was entitled to recover six shillings on book, and that the defendant in that suit recover of Hubbell and Heath five pounds for assault and five pounds and fourteen shillings costs. The inference from the record would seem to be that in those days it was expensive to undertake to enforce a claim by the primitive method of force and arms. At the same term of court Ira Allen was sued upon a ten pound note by Abraham Ives, of Wallingford. Indeed, Allen seems to have been a frequent litigant in the early days.

The first recorded criminal trial was that of Mott, Dean and accomplices for the murder of three revenue officers on the Winooski River, not far below the falls. The respondents were a party of smugglers. Their boat was in the



river and the revenue officers were lying in wait below, some in a boat and some on shore, when the smugglers opened fire with fatal effect. Mott, who killed two of the officers, procured a new trial by means of that godsend to criminals, a motion in arrest, and escaped with a sentence, "to stand in the pillory for one hour, have fifty lashes upon his naked back at the public whipping-post and ten years' imprisonment to hard labor." Dean having failed in his motion in arrest, was hung in the year 1808.¹

In the early days there was much more litigation than at present. There was less money, but there were more disputes. The machinery of business was less perfectly organized and land titles were unsettled. The character of the litigation, say thirty years ago or later, is thus described by an old practitioner :

"The business of an attorney of those earlier days was largely before justices of the peace, and was chiefly, and in all the courts, the collection of debts by employing the severe pressure upon debtors which the law then invited. Money being scarce, business was done mostly upon a credit, and to a considerable extent in barter. The older lawyers present will remember the obligations made payable in 'good merchantable hollow ware,' 'fulled cloth,' 'grain,' or 'neat cattle, bulls and stags excepted.' It was not an unusual device of country traders to make nominal changes in their partnerships from time to time or put forth other ostensible reasons for placing their books of account into the hands of the village lawyer for collection. The temptation of fees and income dependent upon the number of suits brought, which fees were expected to come out of the debtor in the form of costs, and the credit of being reputed a sharp collecting lawyer was a stimulus to him to push the law to its extremities of coercion. At the same time the creditor might be ready with instructions, 'Put him in jail. He will contrive some way to pay; or his friends won't suffer him to lie in jail; or, the town will see the debt paid rather than support his family as paupers.' In the case of a debtor who had credit, or means of credit, but no present money, the grand economy was to pursue the case to judgment, execution and commitment, when the debtor would give a jail bond and immediately break it. Then would come a new suit upon the jail bond, with judgment, execution, commitment, and a second jail bond, breach and suit, and so on indefinitely, to the increasing profit of the attorney. After a time the Legislature, envying his happy state, ruthlessly cut off this source of his gain, by prohibiting the taking of a second jail bond where the judgment was upon a jail bond — a provision now found in section 1,500 of the revised laws. Many a village lawyer in Vermont laid the foundation of a fortune for himself and family

¹Dean was hung on a gallows that stood on a little knoll just west of the late residence of Miss Mary Fletcher, on North Prospect street, on land then owned by Moses Fay. The procession came up Pearl street from the jail and turned north in a lane at what is now the west end of the lawn of Henry Loomis. The gallows was erected especially for Dean. At that time the neighborhood was a mass of second growth pine, and there were no roads in this vicinity. The sheriff and executioner was Daniel Staniford.



in these early conditions of practice, when it was not unusual for one to bring 500 or more suits yearly, chiefly before justices, and for small collections. The changes of fifty years in business, society and the law, have left the attorney of the present day little of this class of business, a change not to be regretted."

Since the settlement of the cases arising under the national bankrupt act of 1867, the dockets of the bar have been growing smaller. From a published report we find that in 1877-78 throughout the State there were 2,581 entries of civil causes, 181 jury trials, 755 decrees in chancery, and 209 judgments in the Supreme Court. In 1882-83 the business had diminished until there were only 1,391 entries of civil causes, 99 jury trials, 318 decrees in chancery, and 183 Supreme Court judgments. On the other hand, the suits tried in recent years have sometimes involved large property interests, heavy corporate litigation has increased, and attorneys of established reputation still have enough to do.

The lawyer's life is one of conflict, but his battles are those of peace; so his biography lacks incident, and the salient points of his career can be given in a few words. Sketches of the lives of many of the more distinguished who passed from earth previous to 1861 are already in print and will be liberally drawn from in some of the following memorials.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.¹

Samuel Hitchcock was born in Brimfield, Mass., in 1755. He was graduated from Harvard University in 1777, and was admitted to the bar before coming to Vermont, to which State he removed in 1786, and established himself in Burlington. He held the office of State's Attorney from 1787 to 1790 inclusive, and was town representative from 1789 to 1793 inclusive. He was a member of the convention of delegates of the people of the State of Vermont held at Bennington, January 10, 1791, to ratify the constitution of the United States. The charter of the University of Vermont, which was granted in 1791, is said to have been drawn by Mr. Hitchcock, the materials of it being largely furnished by another alumnus of Harvard, Rev. Samuel Williams, of Rutland. Mr. Hitchcock was one of the trustees of the university from the start and held the office until his death. He was attorney-general of the State from 1790 to 1793, and was appointed by the Legislature a presidential elector, and cast his vote in 1793 for George Washington and John Adams. In 1797 he was one of the committee who reported the second general revision of the laws of the State, which were adopted and printed in 1798. He was appointed by President Adams judge of the United States District Court, and held the office until the repeal of the judiciary act. He was married May 26, 1799, to Lucy C. Allen, second daughter of General Ethan Allen. This marriage is the first one recorded in the town records of Burlington. Judge Hitchcock died at Burling-

¹ Brief notices of the attorneys at present practicing in the county appear in the chapters containing the history of the respective towns where they reside.



ton November 30, 1813, aged fifty-eight years. He was a superior scholar, a prominent lawyer, and from the importance of the public trusts committed to him it is evident that he was a distinguished figure in the early history of the State.

Cornelius Peter Van Ness. — Cornelius P. Van Ness was of Dutch origin, the third son of Peter Van Ness, and was born in 1782, in Kinderhook, N. Y. He was fitted for college, but did not enter. He studied law in the office of his brother, Martin Van Buren being a fellow student. He was admitted to the bar in 1804 and began practice in his native town, and married the same year Miss Rhoda Savage, who is spoken of as a highly accomplished and beautiful lady. He remained in Kinderhook two years and then removed to St. Albans, Vt., but in 1809 he changed his residence to Burlington where, with occasional intermissions while in the public service, he continued to practice his profession for twenty years or more. The same year of his removal to Burlington he was appointed by President Madison to the office of United States district attorney for Vermont, at that time a very important position. Smuggling over the Canadian border was very extensively carried on and prosecutions for violations of the customs laws correspondingly frequent. In 1813 he was made collector of the port of Burlington. This office he held until the termination of the war, and then left it to fill the more important one of commissioner to act with two others to settle our national boundaries under the Treaty of Ghent. This agency he continued to hold for some four or five years with a salary of \$4,500 per annum, and by the ability displayed in this position he added largely to his reputation as a public man. Resuming his practice he became a leading politician controlling the government influence and patronage for the State. He was also active and influential in local affairs. He was elected town representative in 1818 and was re-elected in the three following years. He was a strong debater and natural parliamentary leader. He introduced and carried the bill to incorporate the Bank of Burlington, and on the fate of that bill depended the adoption of the banking system of Vermont. He became president of this bank and held the office until his appointment to the bench of the Supreme Court. He was made chief justice and held the office two years when he was elected governor. This office he held three years, having been twice re-elected without opposition. It was during his term as governor in 1825 that the reception was given to General Lafayette at the Van Ness mansion on Main street, in Burlington.

The culminating ambition of Governor Van Ness was a seat in the Senate of the United States. In this he failed. After a memorable and bitter contest he was beaten by a small majority, and Horatio Seymour elected. In 1829, under the Jackson administration, he was appointed minister to Spain, a post which he occupied for many years. Returning to Vermont in 1840 he found the State had settled down to a fixed opposition to Democratic rule, and there



seemed to be no rewards for political activity at home. In 1841 he took up his residence in New York city and for a year and a half in 1844 and 1845 he held the office of collector of the port of New York under President Tyler. In 1846 the death of his brother, General John P. Van Ness, of Washington, left him one of the heirs of a large estate, in the settlement and care of which his now declining years were mainly occupied. He died in December, 1852, and was buried in Washington.

Charles Adams was born in Arlington, Vt., March 12, 1785. He graduated from the University of Vermont at the age of nineteen, and was one of the three forming the first graduating class of that institution. He immediately entered the law office of Hon. William C. Harrington, in Burlington, and was admitted to the bar in due course. In 1814 he married Maria Waite, by whom he had four children, one of them, J. S. Adams, who afterwards became secretary of the State Board of Education and county clerk. For one or more terms he served as one of the Governor's Council. During the festivities attendant upon the visit of General Lafayette in 1825, Mr. Adams acted as aid to Governor Van Ness. He died January 12, 1861, aged seventy-six years; widely known throughout the State for his ability and public services for more than forty years, and esteemed by his fellow men for the purity of his character, and his generous and earnest public spirit. The *Vermont Reports* bear witness that his practice was large, and the character of it was thus touched upon in one of the resolutions introduced by Hon. George F. Edmunds at a meeting of the bar after Mr. Adams's death: "Resolved, That in his practice as a counselor and advocate of this bar we would record their sense of his integrity, prudence, learning, knowledge of men and affairs, and power of persuasion, and that when he died there was extinguished one of the few remaining lights of the 'old common law.'"

William A. Griswold was born in New Marlborough, Mass., September 15, 1755. He was about ten years old when his father removed to Bennington, Vt. He was graduated from Dartmouth College; studied law with Judge Jonathan Robinson; married, at the age of twenty-three, Miss Mary Follett, and opened an office at Danville. His practice extended to good proportions, and he was considerably employed in the District and Circuit Courts of the United States, to which the evasions and violations of the revenue laws, and the circumstances of the times attracted a large amount of business. He was appointed to the office of State's attorney in 1803, which he continued to hold with few interruptions until he removed to Burlington, in 1821. He was elected to the Legislature from Danville in 1807, the year in which the act passed establishing the State prison. This policy, which had been much canvassed and objected to in the State, and seriously opposed in the Legislature, Mr. Griswold warmly supported, urging the Legislature to abandon the branding-iron, pillory and whipping-post, and to substitute a kind of punishment which con-



templated the reformation and restitution to society of the criminal. He remained a member until 1811, five sessions consecutively, and was an influential legislator. In 1812 he was chosen a presidential elector, and voted for James Madison and the war. He re-entered the Legislature in 1813, to which he was annually elected to 1819. During the stormy years of the war he was an active and energetic member, and a leader of his party in the House. In 1815 he was elected speaker of the House, and was annually re-elected so long as he remained a member. President Monroe appointed him to the office of United States district attorney, which office he held until the close of Mr. Adams's administration in 1829. He was a member of the Council of Censors in 1828, and an elector of president in 1836, and voted for Harrison. He was elected to the Legislature from Burlington in 1841. After his removal to Burlington he formed a law partnership with his brother-in-law, Judge Follett, and pursued his profession so long as his health permitted. He died in 1845, aged seventy years. He was a disciple of the political school of Jefferson, a supporter of President Adams's administration, and an ardent friend and supporter of Henry Clay. In a biographical sketch of Mr. Griswold written by the late Gamaliel B. Sawyer, and which forms the basis of this notice, it is said of him: "He will be especially remembered as an excellent specimen of a species becoming rare, but we hope not quite extinct — an honest politician."

Timothy Follett was born at Bennington January 5, 1793. At the age of ten years he was left to the care of a widowed mother who, to educate her children, removed to Burlington. He was graduated from the University of Vermont in 1810. After a course of law lectures at the school of Judges Reeve and Gould, at Litchfield, Conn., he was admitted to the bar of the Chittenden County Court in February, 1814. The conventional record should be now that he plunged at once into a successful and lucrative practice. But he probably shared the common lot of young attorneys, for his son has written of him: "For two years a lean support was, with great difficulty and under a system of most rigid economy, obtained, when by a favorable change in professional business consequent upon the establishment of peace with Great Britain, a more lucrative field was opened." In 1819 he was appointed by Judges Brayton and Doolittle, of the Supreme Court, to the office of State's attorney, then vacant by the death of Sanford Gadcomb, and was elected to the same office by the Legislatures of 1820, '21, and '22. In 1823, elected judge of the County Court, his professional life continued until he was obliged to abandon it by reason of ill-health. In 1830, '31, and '32 he was town representative. From 1832 to 1841 he was engaged in the settlement of the large bankrupt estate of Horatio Gates & Co., of Montreal. In 1841 he became senior member of the firm of Follett & Bradley, who did an extensive mercantile business. Mr. Follett is best known and remembered as the chief projector of the Rutland and Burlington Railroad. He was elected president of the cor-



poration in 1845, and in December, 1849, a train of cars passed over the entire line from Boston to Burlington. He remained president and sole constructing agent until January, 1852, when he surrendered the trusts which the corporation had confided to his care. He died October 12, 1857.

Benjamin F. Bailey was born in Guildhall, Vt., in 1796. He was graduated at the University of Vermont in 1818, in the class of which the late Jacob Maeck was a member. Immediately after his graduation he was appointed tutor in the university. He studied law in Burlington in the office of Griswold & Follett, and was admitted to the bar in 1821. He was appointed State's attorney in the years 1823, '24, '25, and '26. For four years he was elected by the Legislature as one of the State commissioners of common schools. He was for some years and until his death in 1832, a partner with the late Hon. George P. Marsh under the firm name of Bailey & Marsh. At the time of his death he was the candidate of the Democratic party for Congress.

Heman Allen was the first lawyer in Milton. He came there about 1802, and pursued his profession until about 1828, when he moved to Burlington. He was a member of Congress from 1831 to 1839. He was for many years a member of the corporation of the University of Vermont. He died at Burlington in 1844.

Heman Allen, a son of Heber, and nephew to Ethan and Ira Allen, was distinguished from the Heman Allen last mentioned by the sobriquet of "Chili Allen." He became entitled to this mark of distinction from having been appointed minister to Chili in 1823 by President Monroe. He lived with his uncle, Ira Allen, when a boy. He was town clerk of Colchester from 1807 to 1817; sheriff of Chittenden county in 1808 and 1809; chief judge of the County Court from 1811 to 1814 inclusive, and for some time United States marshal for Vermont. Upon his return from Chili he resided in Burlington and Highgate, and died in the latter place in 1852. His remains lie in the Allen family lot at Green Mountain Cemetery, at Burlington.

Albert G. Whittemore settled in Milton in 1824, where he remained, enjoying an extensive practice until 1852. During that year he met his death by an accident while traveling in the West. He had four children—three sons and a daughter. Of the sons there survive Don J., chief engineer of the Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad, and Albert G., an attorney practicing in Burlington.

William Penn Briggs was born of Quaker parentage at Adams, Mass., in 1793. He removed to Richmond, Vt., in 1826, where he resided until 1841, and where he seems to have been merchant, farmer and lawyer at once. In 1829, 1832 and 1834 he was chosen judge of probate for the district of Chittenden. In 1841 he received from President Harrison the appointment of collector of customs for the district of Vermont, and removed to Burlington, where he resided until 1845, and then returned to Richmond. He died at Montpelier September 20, 1861. Judge Briggs is still remembered by the



oldest living attorneys as a very bright man, a racy and witty speaker, well versed in literature, and having an apt memory in quotation, which he used with effect in his jury cases.

Asahel Peck was born in Royalton, Mass., in September, 1803. He entered the sophomore class of the University of Vermont in 1827, but left after a year's study from lack of means of support. After leaving college he went to Canada and studied French about a year. He first studied law with his brother Nahum at Hinesburg, but finished his studies with Bailey & Marsh at Burlington. He was admitted to the bar in 1832, and began practice in Burlington. He formed a partnership with Archibald W. Hyde, collector of customs for the district of Vermont. Mr. Hyde lent the prestige of his name to the firm, and the junior partner did the business. In 1837 Governor Van Ness went as minister to Spain and turned over some of his cases to Mr. Peck, whose business grew to be extensive, as the dockets and the Supreme Court reports show. In 1851 he was elected judge of the Circuit Court over Milo Bennett, and continued to hold that office until the circuit system was abolished in 1857. When Chief Justice Redfield retired from the bench in 1860, Judge Peck came into the Supreme Court, and remained there until he was elected governor in 1874. As a judge of the Supreme Court he found his place, and there made his highest and most enduring reputation. He was simple hearted and perfectly upright. He was moreover a profound lawyer, and had the gift of clear expression, so that his written opinions are models of judicial style. In 1874, without any solicitation on his part, he was elected governor, and, on the day before he was to be voted for, resigned his seat on the bench. As governor he executed his trust to the great satisfaction of the people, and the fear of his veto prevented much slipshod and ill-advised legislation. After the expiration of his term as governor he was engaged in a few important cases, but spent most of his time in the retirement of his farm in Jericho, where he died in 1879. The judgment of the profession does not always correspond with that of the public in its estimate of a lawyer, but the following resolution, adopted at a meeting of the Chittenden County Bar, and introduced by Daniel Roberts, esq., voices the general sentiment of those who knew Judge Peck well: "Resolved, That by the recent death of Asahel Peck the bar of this county, of which he was first a member, the bar and bench of the State, and all its citizens, are called to mourn the loss of one who illustrated his life, in all its relations, by its pre-eminent excellence. As a practicing lawyer and judge, senator and governor, he was learned, painstaking, able, faithful, judicious, discreet, honest, just; and as a citizen he supplemented these qualities by simplicity of manner, purity of morals, kindness of heart, loyalty to country, to truth and the right. As such, though dead, he will ever live in the memory of those who knew him, as a cherished ideal and exemplar of the virtues which may and should adorn the profession of the lawyer."



Milo L. Bennett.—Litchfield county, Connecticut, has furnished a large immigration to Vermont. Mr. Bennett was born in Sharon, in that county, in 1789. He was graduated from Yale in 1811, in the same class with Judge Samuel S. Phelps, studied law in Judge Reeve's law-school in Litchfield, and began the practice of his profession in Manchester, Vt. He was for three years State's attorney for Bennington county, and for five years judge of probate. He became interested in timber lands in Maine and removed thither in 1836. Having been unsuccessful in his financial speculations, he returned to the State after an absence of two years and settled in Burlington. In 1838 he was elected to the Supreme Court, Judges Williams, Royce, Collamer and Redfield being his associates. He remained upon the bench for twenty years, retiring in 1859. In 1869 he was appointed by the Legislature as a commissioner, in association with Pierpoint, Isham and Andrew Tracy, to revise and compile the statutes of the State. In this work, which required about two years for its completion, Judge Bennett took the laboring oar. This compilation is known as the "General Statutes." In 1864 he wrote and published the book known as the *Vermont Justice*. Judge Bennett died in the 80th year of his age, July 7, 1868, at the residence of his son, Edmund H. Bennett, in Taunton, Mass. At a meeting of the bar of Chittenden county in 1868, a committee consisting of Daniel Roberts, L. B. Englesby and William G. Shaw reported, among other resolutions of respect to the memory of Judge Bennett, the following: "We honor his memory as a laborious, painstaking and honest lawyer and judge, whose labors for twenty years upon the bench, as illustrated in his recorded opinions, have added largely to the reputation of Vermont jurisprudence for learning, stability, independence and purity. We honor him for the purity of his private life and for his stern adherence to the principles of virtue and of public order." As Mr. Roberts said of Judge Bennett at this meeting, he "was not a brilliant man; he was not an orator, nor a genius; he lacked grace of manner and of speech; he had no great literary accomplishments, and yet the clearness and discrimination of his thought gave him a simple, perspicuous and accurate written style. He was an example of what industry, diligence, study, probity and a persistent will may make of a man of plain but strong native faculties."

Gamaliel B. Sawyer was the son of James Sawyer, an officer in the Revolutionary War, and was of a family distinguished in the military and naval service of the country. He was born March 25, 1801, was graduated at the University of Vermont in 1819, and admitted to the bar in 1822. He died July 11, 1868. Mr. Sawyer engaged but little, if any, in the active practice of his profession, but is known for his literary and scholarly ability and for his learning in the departments of history and politics. He was a writer of many fugitive articles in the press and in magazines. His style was notably spirited and strong. His historical sketches in the *Vermont Gazetteer* are among the



most entertaining and valuable in that work. He was a strong anti-slavery man and a hater of wrong and oppression of every sort.

Jacob Maeck.—The record of the life of Jacob Maeck can be made very simple and brief. He was an excellent lawyer, and made his mark as such. He was a man of pronounced character and eccentricity, about whom numberless anecdotes are told, and to whom many witty sayings are credited, which have become, in a sort, classics with the local bar. But he held no public office, and outside of his profession his life was in outward things uneventful. He was born in Shelburne February 14, 1798. His father was a physician of prominence in Shelburne, and his grandfather was a surgeon in the Hessian forces that surrendered at Saratoga. The family name has long been well known in the county.

When Mr. Maeck died he was one of the oldest of the alumni of the University of Vermont, graduating with honors in the class of 1818. His three companions in college were Hon. Benjamin F. Bailey, Rev. Nehemiah Dodge and Rev. Truman Foote. After graduation he studied law with Sanford Gadscomb, and was admitted to the bar of this county in 1820. He began practice in Essex, but soon went to Jericho, where he lived several years, until his removal in 1829 to Burlington, where he made his home ever afterwards. He was a partner with Hon. David A. Smalley from 1837 to 1841. He was the first counsel of the Vermont Central Railroad and a strong friend of Governor Paine during the construction of the road. He never was a place hunter and never held public office. He never was identified with any political party, and voted as he saw fit, independently. In later years he acted with the Democratic party. He was a confirmed bachelor and avoided the society of the fair sex. He was very small, slight and frail physically. When inquired of once what was the state of his health he said, "I don't know, for I never had any." In spite of his weakness of body, his keen, strong intellect and caustic speech gave him weight before both judge and jury. His death occurred November 4, 1873.

George P. Marsh.—The name of Marsh, in Vermont, has been long associated with distinguished scholarship. The most widely known of the name, as an author as well as a public servant, is the subject of this notice. He was born in Woodstock March 15, 1801, and died suddenly at Valambrosa, Italy, July 24, 1882. He was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1820 and for a year thereafter he was a tutor in that institution. He was early distinguished for his linguistic acquirements. He came to Burlington and in 1823 formed a law partnership with Benjamin F. Bailey under the firm name of Bailey & Marsh. In 1835 he was elected one of the Governor's Council. In 1842 he was elected to Congress, having for his colleagues in the Senate, Collamer and Foot, and in the House, Dillingham. He served in Congress for several years and in 1849 was appointed by President Tyler minister to Turkey. While in Turkey,



in 1852, he was charged with an important mission to Greece. Returning home in December, 1853, he served as railroad commissioner for Vermont. In March, 1861, he was appointed by Mr. Lincoln minister to Italy and never again returned home. He had the unusual fortune of being permitted to represent his country with distinction abroad through a long course of years. Mr. Marsh was a man of vast learning. While a lawyer in a small country town, his intellectual interests were as wide as the world. In 1838 he published *A Grammar of the Old Northern or Icelandic Language*. Among his other works are the following: *The Camel, His Organization, Habits and Uses, with Reference to his Introduction into the United States* (1856), *Lectures on the English Language* (1861), *Origin and History of the English Language, and of the Early Literature it Embodies* (1862). Some, or all of these lectures were originally delivered at the Lowell Institute, Boston. They passed through many editions and are recognized authority upon the subjects of which they treat. *Man and Nature*, published in 1864, was afterwards revised and improved, and appeared (1874) under the title, *The Earth as Modified by Human Action*. He has also published at different times a number of lectures, speeches and addresses. In 1828 he married Harriet, a daughter of Colonel Ozias Buel, by whom he had one son, who died in early manhood. His second wife was Miss Crane, daughter of Rev. S. A. Crane, of Burlington, a lady of rare accomplishments, and who is now living.

Charles Russell.—The death of Charles Russell, which took place October 31, 1875, removed from the bar a conspicuous figure, who in his personal presence and methods of business reflected a former generation of attorneys. He was of very large and heavy mould, was smoothly shaven, wore a copious and spotless ruffled shirt front, and made his charges for legal services correspond to the meager tariff of the period when innumerable writs and cumulative fees made profitable a business of limited importance. Judge Russell was born April 17, 1800; was admitted to the bar of Franklin county in 1826, and began practice in Burlington the same year. He was town clerk from 1829 to 1846, judge of probate from 1835 to 1847, and a representative from Burlington for the sessions of 1846 and 1847. In later years he was court auditor for Chittenden county, and from his reputation for legal erudition and even-handed impartiality in judging between suitors he was very frequently chosen as a referee and arbitrator.

David A. Smalley was born in Middlebury, Vt., April 6th, 1809. He studied law in the office of Smalley & Adams, in St. Albans. Benjamin H. Smalley, the senior member of the firm, was his uncle. He was admitted to the bar of Franklin county in April, 1831. Mr. Smalley began his practice in Jericho, and also held the office of postmaster there from 1832 to 1836. In 1836 he removed to Lowell, but remained there only a few months, seeking a wider field for ambition in Burlington, which became his permanent home.



He was an ardent admirer and adherent of Jackson and his policy, and was during his life an active and influential Democrat. In 1842 he received the compliment of an election, on the Democratic ticket, to the State Senate from Chittenden county, which was at that time overwhelmingly Whig in political preference. In 1847 he was elected chairman of the State Democratic Committee, and in each of the ten following years was re-elected to the same position. To the National Democratic Conventions of 1844, 1848, 1852 and 1856 he was a delegate, and in the last two years was chairman of the Vermont delegation. In the National Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, in 1856, he was made a member of the national committee, and by it was chosen to the chair. He was a school-fellow of Stephen A. Douglass, and through life his personal and political friend. He was also on terms of intimacy with Franklin Pierce, who, upon his accession to the presidency, tendered to Mr. Smalley successively the appointments of minister to Russia, Spain and Austria, and to the solicitorship of the treasury. All these honors were declined. He occupied, however, the office of collector of customs for Vermont, a position which would not interfere with the prosecution of his regular professional business at home. He was one of the originators of the Rutland and Burlington Railroad Company and also one of its directors and legal counselors. From 1856 to 1863 he owned all its stock and controlled the corporation. Meanwhile he continued to have the most remunerative law practice in the State. In 1856 he was chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and it is admitted that the election of James Buchanan was largely due to him. In 1857 he was appointed judge of the United States District Court, and from that time forward abstained from political management. As a judge, he was of remarkably quick legal apprehension, and was perfectly bold and fearless. In the War of the Rebellion he was a strong supporter of the Union cause. His spirit was illustrated in a charge to the grand jury in New York on the law of treason. This was in 1861, when certain merchants in New York were shipping arms and supplies to the seceded States, after the firing upon Sumter. He said: "What amounts to adhering and giving aid and comfort to our enemies? It is somewhat difficult in all cases to define; but certain it is that furnishing them with arms or munitions of war, vessels, or other means of transportation, or any materials which will aid the traitors in carrying out their traitorous purposes with the knowledge that they are intended for such purposes, does come within the provisions of the act." Coming from a judge of his political antecedents, the effect of this charge was electric, and President Lincoln thanked him for it. Judge Smalley died on the 10th of March, 1877, after a judicial service of twenty years.

John Sullivan Adams was born in 1820, and died in Jacksonville, Fla., April 23, 1876. He was the son of Charles Adams, a prominent lawyer of Burlington, a sketch of whose life appears above in this chapter. John Sullivan



Adams was graduated from the University of Vermont in the class of 1838. Among his classmates were John Gregory Smith and Calvin Pease. He studied law in the office of his father, and was admitted to the Chittenden County Bar in 1843. In 1849 Mr. Adams took the western fever, which attacks all American youth, and went to California. After an absence of two years he returned to Burlington and resumed his practice. In 1854 he was appointed clerk of Chittenden county, which office he held continuously until 1867, when he removed to Jacksonville, Fla. Mr. Adams is best remembered for his enthusiastic interest in the cause of education in Vermont. In 1856 the first State Board of Education was organized, and Mr. Adams was appointed its secretary. His labors in the position were very important, and the State owes him a lasting debt of gratitude for his unselfish services in the office which he held. He was a member of the corporation of the University of Vermont from 1861 to 1867. After his removal to Florida he held the offices of commissioner of immigration, collector of customs for the port of St. Johns, and postmaster. He established a newspaper called *The New South*, which he edited and published until his death. He was a fiery and effective public speaker, and his addresses were numerous upon both political and educational questions.

Jeremiah French.—Success at the bar usually comes very slowly. This was not the case with the subject of this sketch. He was born in Williston April 10, 1835. He received an academical training in his own town, and was for a time in the University of Vermont. He began to study law at the age of eighteen, and entered Harvard Law School in February, 1855, from which, after a full course, he graduated with honor in July, 1856, receiving one of the prizes awarded for a legal essay. He immediately began practice in Burlington in partnership with Hon. Levi Underwood. He had a special aptitude for his chosen profession, and very soon had a large county court practice. He had a constant struggle with disease, and died of consumption at the age of thirty-three, after a practice of but eleven years.

Luther L. Lawrence.—Mr. Lawrence received a common school education. He was a hard student and fitted himself for teaching. He came to Burlington in the year 1863, and taught for some time the Main street school. He studied law in the office of Hon. George F. Edmunds, and was admitted to the bar in 1867. He was for a time in partnership with Hon. W. L. Burnap, under the firm name of Lawrence & Burnap. He was register in bankruptcy during the existence of the United States bankrupt law. He was elected city attorney in 1876, and was re-elected in 1877. He was a member of the board of school commissioners from 1869 to 1879, and was very active and useful in the building up of our school system. He died January 8th, 1885, of consumption. He struggled with his disease through many weary months with characteristic grit. Having sought the climate of New Mexico the winter pre-



vious to his death, without relief, he spent his last days at the homestead at Westford. Mr. Lawrence was a man of great energy, an earnest student, and an excellent lawyer.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.¹

The Medical Department of the University of Vermont — The Mary Fletcher Hospital — The Mary Fletcher Hospital Training School for Nurses — Lake View Retreat — Health Department of the City of Burlington — The Burlington Medical and Surgical Club — Surgeons-General — Commissioners and Boards of Supervisors of the Insane — Boards of United States Examining Surgeons for Pensions — Biographical Sketches of Deceased Physicians of Burlington.

IN 1791, when the first census of Chittenden county was taken, the population was only 3,875, and a few physicians could minister to the necessities of so small a number. These, like the other first civilized settlers, were for the most part men of sturdy common sense, and of great industry and force. They emigrated chiefly from Connecticut and Massachusetts, and were obliged to practice the economy and endure the hardships incident to new settlements in a rough territory. Students who desired to acquire a knowledge of medicine and fill the places of these in the future, when the needs of the increasing population required their services, were accustomed to apprentice themselves to some physician of prominence in the near vicinity, and after receiving from him instruction and clinical experience in his practice for the required period of three years, were then subjected to an examination by the censors of the nearest county medical society, and if this was satisfactory were granted a diploma to practice medicine. The Legislature of the State, in their act of incorporation of the county medical societies, gave them this authority, for at this early period there were no organized medical schools in Vermont. The following is a copy of one of these diplomas :

“By the third Medical Society of the State of Vermont, as by law established: Mr. William Atwater, having presented himself to this Society for examination on the anatomy of the human body and the theory and practice of physic and surgery, and being approved by our censors, the Society willingly recommend him to the world as a judicious and safe practitioner in the different avocations of the medical profession. In testimony whereof we have hereunto prefixed the signature of our president and seal of the Society at the Medical Hall in Burlington, the 2d Tuesday of June, A. D. 1813.

“JOHN PERIGO, Secretary,

“JOHN POMEROY, President.”

In 1800 the census showed that the population of the county had increased to 9,395. With this rapid increase in this county, and a similar increase in the

¹ Prepared by Dr. H. H. Atwater.

other counties in the State, it became evident to thoughtful men that the opportunities for education in medicine were altogether too limited to supply the needs of the people, or certainly would be in the near future; and further, that the methods of education were defective to that extent that they did not give promise of furnishing the most complete knowledge and the highest talents to the physicians who were to supply these needs; that these attainments could not be acquired in the offices of single individuals; that centers of medical education should be formed, and thus organized effort be made with its larger and better appliances and greater opportunities for the securing of varied and higher abilities in the teachers, as well as the gathering together of abundant material, from which the students would then obtain all important clinical experience.

Even before this period the men who conceived the idea of a State university, and had a medical department included in the act of incorporation by the Legislature, of the University of Vermont, and secured its location at Burlington, wisely foresaw that such a department would be of advantage to the university itself and to the State; that it would be of permanent duration by reason of such connection; and that its location was the best in the State, being near the center of a district, where there was no medical school at that time for a distance in any direction of at least ninety miles. Thus the first medical school incorporated in Vermont was:

The Medical Department of the University of Vermont.—The first step taken by the University of Vermont towards the organization of the medical department was in 1804, at which time John Pomeroy, M. D., was appointed lecturer in anatomy and surgery, although it was authorized to establish such a department, under its charter granted by the Legislature of the State, November 3, 1791. But nothing was done under this appointment until 1809, when he was appointed professor of medicine, anatomy and surgery. He held this chair until 1817 and was then reappointed professor of surgery, and this appointment continued until his retirement in 1823.

From 1809 to 1822 medical students came to Dr. Pomeroy from different portions of the State to receive instruction at his office in Burlington, and clinical experience there and in his extensive practice outside. The number of his students became so great that he found it necessary to engage more commodious quarters than his office afforded, consequently a building on Water street was secured, and the first regular course of lectures upon anatomy and surgery ever given in Chittenden county was by him to a class of twelve students in the winter of 1814. Other physicians residing in the vicinity were occasionally induced to assist him and give instruction in obstetrics and practice, but he often found himself alone as instructor in several branches of medicine.

In 1821 the organization of the medical department was completed by the



Walter Carpenter

additional appointments of Nathan Ryno Smith, M. D., professor of anatomy and physiology; William Paddock, M. D., professor of botany and materia medica; and Arthur Livermore Porter, M. D., professor of chemistry and pharmacy. In 1822 Nathan Smith, M. D., was appointed lecturer in medicine and surgery, and in the fall of this year was given the first full and regular course of lectures in this department. Dr. Paddock retired in 1824, and Drs. Nathan Smith, Nathan R. Smith and Porter, in 1825. In 1823 James Kent Platt, M. D., was appointed professor of surgery and held the chair until his death the next year. In 1825 Henry S. Waterhouse, M. D., was appointed professor of surgery; William Sweetser, M. D., professor of the theory and practice of medicine; and John Bell, M. D., professor of anatomy and physiology. Dr. Bell retired the same year and was succeeded by William Anderson, M. D. Dr. Waterhouse retired in 1827, Dr. Anderson in 1828, and Dr. Sweetser in 1832. In 1829 Benjamin Lincoln, M. D., was appointed professor of anatomy and surgery and retired in 1834. In 1835 Edward Elisha Phelps, M. D., was appointed professor of anatomy and surgery; and Joseph Marsh, M. D., professor of the theory and practice of medicine. Dr. Phelps retired in 1837 and Dr. Marsh in 1841. In 1823 the first class of four members was graduated. In 1825 the largest class, numbering fifteen, was graduated. In 1829 a building was erected at the south end of college green for the sole use of the medical department, containing commodious lecture rooms and a chemical laboratory. In 1836 only one medical student was graduated, and this department was then suspended for want of students. During this early period of its existence one hundred and fourteen students in all had been graduated.

The reasons for this want of medical students and suspension are not difficult to explain. There had been established a medical school in connection with Dartmouth College, near the eastern border of Vermont, and two rival schools in Vermont, one at Castleton and the other at Woodstock. Those at Dartmouth and Woodstock naturally absorbed the material from the eastern portion of the State, and the one at Castleton from the southern, leaving only the limited and sparsely settled northwestern portion for the university. In addition to these obstacles the medical faculty received little or no aid from the parent university, for it maintained its own existence with extreme difficulty. But the faculty selected were well chosen and men of large ability, who were of great advantage to the university. Dr. Pomeroy, the first appointed, had extensive surgical experience, and a pioneer energy of character, as well as a special interest in the university and its medical department, because of his intimate relation to it as a professor and member of its corporation at different times, and of his local pride, as a citizen of much influence in Burlington and its vicinity. He rendered the institution zealous, active and persevering service, and important patronage during its birth and early struggles for existence.

Of some of the other medical professors, Rev. John Wheeler, D. D., speak-

ing of a period of embarrassment of the university in 1821, when its suspension was decided upon, in an address at its semi-centennial anniversary, says: "To Arthur L. Porter, a young professor of chemistry and pharmacy, more than to any other, it is indebted for its revival at this period. He was a young man of genial feelings, of great activity and an earnest and enthusiastic scholar. He had pursued the study of medicine at Dartmouth College, but finished his studies at Edinburgh." Again the address says: "During the years 1824 to 1826 the influence of the medical school both directly and indirectly, in keeping the academical department alive and in a convalescent state, was worthy of great praise. It did not meddle with the law of its life and seek to absorb the academical faculty into itself as the only living power, but it nourished and cherished the university for its own inherent excellence, looking to its final growth for remuneration.

"Great men, good men and earnest men were connected with it. Professor Porter was here, the one who would not suffer instruction in the academical department to stop, though permitted by the corporation and ordered by the faculty. Nathan Ryno Smith was here, giving early promise of what he has since become — one of the first practical surgeons in Maryland, and of high eminence as a professor of surgery. Also Nathan Smith, sr., a man of more surgical experience and of more genuine medical genius, perhaps, than any man of his day in New England. Last, but not least, there came Benjamin Lincoln, who laid down his life on the altar of medical science. He came in 1829 and was about thirty years of age. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College, in Maine. After coming here he was for one season demonstrator of anatomy in the medical college at Baltimore, and was urged to return there and accept a professor's chair. But he hoped to realize, he cared not on how small a scale, if it were but done, his idea of a medical school, in this university, without the hindrance of incrustated or organic remains from old formations. He pledged his life to it. In moral honesty and in fearless integrity he was an embodied conscience. It was apparent that the intellectual activity and the moral energy of the man would early wear out his physical powers. From being a model of delicate, elegant and manly beauty, he gradually bent under the rigid contraction of muscular rheumatism; and we held our breath and turned away our eyes in sorrow, as in 1834 we bid him our last farewell." Such men as these, with the able Professors Edward Elisha Phelps, Joseph Marsh and others, could not stem the tide of adverse circumstances, and the medical department suspended in 1836, as stated.

In the years 1840 and 1842 strenuous efforts were made by Dr. S. W. Thayer, then a resident of Northfield, Vt., to reorganize the department, but without success. In 1852, however, a proposition to do this was submitted to Dr. Thayer by Rev. Worthington Smith, president of the university, and others; coupled with the request that he should meet the members of the cor-

poration, to consider the matter. He did so, at several times, and as a result he was authorized to select a medical faculty for their approval. In 1853 the corporation approved the selections he had made, and the following gentlemen were elected: Samuel White Thayer, jr., M.D., professor of anatomy and physiology; Horatio Nelson, M.D., professor of surgery; Walter Carpenter, M.D., professor of materia medica and therapeutics; Orrin Smith, M.D., professor of obstetrics; Edward Kane, M.D., professor of the theory and practice of medicine, and Henry Erni, M.D., professor of chemistry and pharmacy. The first course of lectures after the reorganization was given in 1854. Dr. Nelson retired from the faculty the same year, after having given but one course of lectures; Drs. Erni and Kane in 1857, and Dr. Smith in 1858. For the year 1855 Dr. Thayer was professor of surgery, as well as of anatomy and physiology. In 1858 he was appointed professor of anatomy alone, and retired from this chair in 1872. In 1873 he was given the honorary title of professor emeritus of general and special anatomy. In 1880 he was appointed professor of hygiene, and held the chair until his death in 1882. In 1857 Dr. Carpenter was transferred from the chair of materia medica to that of the theory and practice of medicine, and held this position until his resignation in 1881. He held also the chair of materia medica in addition to that of the theory and practice of medicine from 1858 until 1872. In 1855 David Sloan Conant, M.D., was appointed professor of surgery, and held the chair until his death in 1866. In 1857 Joseph Perkins, M.D., was appointed professor of materia medica and therapeutics; Edward Hungerford, professor of chemistry and pharmacy, and Richard Cresson Stiles, M.D., professor of physiology and pathology. Dr. Perkins was transferred from the chair of materia medica and therapeutics to that of obstetrics in 1858, and retired in 1868. Edward Hungerford retired in 1860 and Dr. Stiles in 1865. In 1860 Henry Martyn Seeley, M.D., was appointed professor of chemistry and pharmacy, and retired in 1867. In 1865 John Ordronaux, M.D., was appointed professor of physiology and pathology. He held, in addition, the chair of medical jurisprudence from 1871 until 1873, when he retired, and was given the honorary title of professor emeritus of medical jurisprudence. In 1866 Alpheus Benning Crosby, M.D., was appointed professor of surgery, and retired in 1872. In 1867 Peter Collier, M.D., was appointed professor of chemistry, and retired in 1877. In 1868 Edward Swift Dunster, M.D., was appointed professor of obstetrics, and in 1871 was succeeded by Albert Freeman Africanus King, M.D. In 1872 Benjamin Howard, M.D., was appointed professor of surgery, and William Darling, M.D., professor of general and special anatomy. Dr. Howard held the chair until 1875, and Dr. Darling until his death, in 1884. In 1873 Henry Dwight Holton, M.D., was appointed professor of materia medica and general pathology, and Marshal Calkins, M.D., professor of physiology and microscopic anatomy. Dr. Calkins retired in 1878. In 1875 James Lawrence Little, M.D.,

was appointed professor of surgery, and held the chair until his death, in 1884. In 1878 Rudolph August Witthaus, M.D., was appointed professor of chemistry and toxicology, and Ashbel Parmelee Grinnell, M.D., professor of physiology and microscopic anatomy. In 1881 Dr. Grinnell was transferred to the chair of the theory and practice of medicine, and John Henry Jackson, M.D., appointed professor of physiology and microscopic anatomy. In 1885 Leroy Monroe Bingham, M.D., was appointed professor of surgery, but resigned in 1886; and William B. Towles, M.D., professor, *pro tempore*, of general and special anatomy.

In 1886 the faculty of the medical college is as follows: Matthew Henry Buckham, D.D., president; John Ordronaux, M.D., LL.D., emeritus professor of medical jurisprudence; Albert Freeman Africanus King, A.M., M.D., professor of obstetrics and diseases of women; Henry Dwight Holton, A.M., M.D., professor of materia medica and therapeutics; Ashbel Parmelee Grinnell, M.D., professor of the theory and practice of medicine, and dean of the faculty; Rudolph August Witthaus, A.M., M.D., professor of chemistry and toxicology; J. Henry Jackson, A. M., M. D., professor of physiology and microscopic anatomy; J. Williston Wright, A.M., M.D., professor of the principles and practice of surgery; William B. Towles, M.D., professor, *pro tempore*, of general and special anatomy. Professors of special subjects: Robert William Taylor, M.D., of diseases of the skin and venereal diseases; Stephen Martindale Roberts, A.M., M.D., of diseases of children; Adrian Theodore Woodward, M.D., of surgical diseases of women; Ambrose L. Ranney, A.M., M.D., of diseases of the mind and nervous system; William Oliver Moore, M.D., of diseases of the eye and ear; Wilder Luke Burnap, A.M., of medical jurisprudence; Henry Janes, M.D., of military surgery; J. Hayden Woodward, A. M., M. D., of diseases of the throat; A. M. Phelps, M.D., of orthopædic surgery and mechanical therapeutics; Henry Crain Tinkham, demonstrator of anatomy. Board of instructors of the annual winter course of instruction, preliminary to the regular public spring course: Hiram Hayden Atwater, A.M., M.D., in obstetrics and diseases of women and children, and president of the board; Ashbel Parmelee Grinnell, M.D., in the theory and practice of medicine; William Brown Lund, A.M., M.D., in materia medica and therapeutics, and secretary of the board; Andrew Jackson Willard, A.M., M.D., in chemistry and toxicology, and assistant to the chair of chemistry; John Brooks Wheeler, A.M., M.D., in the principles and practice of surgery, and assistant to the chair of surgery; Jo Hatch Linsley, M.D., in physiology and microscopic anatomy; Henry Crain Tinkham, M.D., in general anatomy.

There have been graduated from the medical department since its reorganization 1,034 students, and adding to this number the 114 graduates of the original organization, a total of 1,148 since the original opening of the school. The largest class ever graduated was 101, in 1884. If the reason given by the faculty for the

suspension of the school in 1836, "the want of students," was good, then the reason for its continuance is equally good, for the number of its students has almost invariably increased from year to year since its reorganization. Soon after its resuscitation its prosperity was so well assured that it became necessary to enlarge the medical college to accommodate the increasing number of students; consequently a subscription was circulated, and fairs held in Burlington for this purpose, and to provide a museum, plates, charts, and apparatus such as a growing institution needed. A considerable sum of money was raised, and the improvements made. Again in 1870 the sum of \$2,500 was contributed by the citizens of Burlington to enlarge and refit the college building. The two lecture rooms were enlarged to a seating capacity of about two hundred each. A two-story addition was constructed containing a room conveniently furnished for practical instruction in anatomy, also a laboratory for the students' use in chemical investigation. Water and gas were introduced, and the whole building thoroughly renovated. In 1884 it became evident that, although the old college building had been enlarged from time to time, an entirely new structure would be required to accommodate the constantly increasing number of students. At this juncture the late John P. Howard, Burlington's generous benefactor, made the school the munificent gift of a new and commodious college building. The erection of this was commenced in 1884, and entirely finished in readiness for the session of 1885. It is situated on Pearl street, at the north end of College Park, and is provided with an amphitheatre capable of comfortably seating three hundred and fifty students. The laboratories for practical chemistry and physiology, and the dissecting room for practical anatomy are ample in size, and supplied with every modern convenience for contributing to the comfort of the students, and facilitating their work. The room for the museum is spacious, well-lighted, and contains a large collection of carefully prepared specimens, illustrating both normal and pathological structures. The entire building is heated by steam, thoroughly ventilated, and in all its appointments well adapted to the work of a medical school.

The annual winter course of instruction begins on the first Thursday of November, and continues until the last of February. The instruction comprises a systematic course of lectures in the seven departments of medicine and surgery, viz., anatomy, physiology, chemistry, materia medica, surgery, obstetrics, and the practice of medicine. It includes practical work in the laboratory and dissecting room, and clinical instruction at the hospital. Three lectures, clinical or didactic, occupy the morning hours from nine to twelve, leaving the afternoon and evening of each day free for general study, dissection, and such special work as the student may select. The lecture-room, on the first floor of the college building, has been arranged expressly for this course, and is capable of seating a class of one hundred students. The regular public course of lectures begins on the first Thursday of March and continues twenty weeks, during

which time from five to six lectures are given daily in the various departments at the college, and medical and surgical clinics twice a week at the hospital. The plan of instruction comprises a complete course of scholastic lectures upon the seven essential branches of medical science. In addition to this for the last ten years the faculty have selected a number of gentlemen to lecture upon special subjects. Such parts of the regular course as are not taught in detail by the regular professors, thus receive special attention from gentlemen who are acknowledged authorities in their respective specialties, each one giving a short and practical course of lectures. This plan is highly appreciated by the students, since it enables them to obtain a more exact knowledge of important subjects than they can receive from a general lecture course. These lectures on special subjects are delivered during the regular session without extra expense. It is believed that with this addition to the regular curriculum, and the ample opportunities provided at the Mary Fletcher Hospital for clinical instruction in medicine and surgery, the advantages afforded by this college are unsurpassed by any medical institution outside of our large cities. Yet this medical school, with all its generous gifts of buildings and accessory appliances, its close proximity to a hospital admirably equipped for clinical teaching, its situation in Burlington, a city unsurpassed in the United States for grand and beautiful scenery of river, lake and mountains, and for pure and exhilarating air, and its large extent of territory from which to draw students, would never have attained its present high degree of success and usefulness had not wise and able men controlled and made the most of these agencies in their several capacities as organizers, governors and teachers.

The medical department of the University of Vermont is wholly indebted for its reorganization in 1853 to the late Dr. Samuel W. Thayer, with the aid of a few other friends of medical education whom he enlisted in its behalf. After repeated failures, and against many discouraging obstacles, among others the opposition of two medical schools in the State, he at last succeeded in his persistent efforts, and the school was the second time started upon a sure footing. He planned and organized it wisely, and afterwards gave to its welfare, as an active member of its faculty, the best energies of twenty years of his life. To Dr. Walter Carpenter it is also indebted greatly for its steady growth and success. He was a member of its faculty twenty-eight years, the longest term of service in its history. He devoted these many years of his vigorous manhood to promote its development, and by his cautious and prudent business management during its earlier years, often kept it off the shoals of bankruptcy. Of the other members of the faculty now deceased, Drs. Conant, Perkins, Stiles, Crosby, Darling, and Little, with terms of service ranging from six to twelve years, were connected with the college long enough to impress upon it their own marked individuality, and by their wide influence exerted zealously for its best interests, were enabled to extend its popularity and good reputation far



Mary M. Fletcher

and wide. They were already distinguished in the several branches which they taught when they were appointed professors here. Drs. Conant, Crosby and Little were brilliant and skillful operators, clear, instructive and ready lecturers, and equal to the most advanced achievements in surgery. Dr. Perkins was learned, and of long experience in obstetrics. Dr. Stiles was a man of deep research in physiology and pathology, and Dr. Darling confessedly stood in the front rank among the teachers of anatomy in this country. Of the present members of the faculty, suffice it to say that they have here and elsewhere proved their capability for the positions they hold, and give promise that in their hands the college will fully sustain its past reputation. Mention has been made of the clinical advantages possessed by the college. These are in part derived from the private patients of the physicians connected with the medical department and their professional friends, but mainly from :

The Mary Fletcher Hospital.—This noble institution for charitable purposes was founded by the late Miss Mary M. Fletcher. In 1876 this true-hearted Christian woman donated to the city of Burlington the munificent sum of \$200,000 for the building and endowment of a general hospital. The original corporators, nine in number, were designated by Miss Fletcher, and are named in the act of the Legislature passed on the 18th of November, 1876, as follows : Dr. Walter Carpenter, President Matthew H. Buckham, Rev. L. G. Ware, S. M. Pope, Hon. Torrey E. Wales, of Burlington, Senator Justin S. Morrill, of Strafford, Hon. John W. Stewart, of Middlebury, Hon. Paris Fletcher, of Bridport, and Dr. George L. Peaslee, of Maine. These gentlemen also constituted the original board of directors, with power to appoint their successors and control the funds and management of the institution. After mature deliberation and consultation with the benevolent donor of the fund, the directors appropriated \$25,000 of this for the purchase of the finest site that could be selected in Burlington, and \$50,000 for building purposes, leaving \$125,000 for the permanent endowment of the hospital. The construction of the building was begun in the spring of 1877, and the hospital was formally opened for the reception of patients, with impressive ceremonies, January 22, 1879.

The first organization of the board of directors was as follows : Dr. Walter Carpenter, president ; Rev. M. H. Buckham, vice-president ; Hon. Torrey E. Wales, treasurer ; Rev. L. G. Ware, secretary ; Walter Carpenter, S. M. Pope, and M. H. Buckham, executive committee. The medical and surgical staff at first consisted of Prof. Walter Carpenter, physician-in-chief ; Prof. A. F. A. King, Dr. O. F. Fassett, Prof. A. T. Woodward, consulting physicians ; Prof. A. P. Grinnell, Dr. J. H. Richardson, Dr. H. H. Atwater, attending physicians ; Prof. J. L. Little, surgeon-in-chief ; Prof. S. W. Thayer, Prof. H. D. Holton, Dr. S. J. Allen, consulting surgeons ; and Dr. J. O. Cramton, Dr. L. M. Bingham, Dr. W. B. Lund, attending surgeons. The house management was under the care of Dr. A. W. Warden, house surgeon ; John L. Livock, steward ; Mrs. E. M. Hopkins, matron, and Miss F. E. Dodds, assistant.

The grounds purchased for the location of the buildings are on Colchester avenue and immediately adjoin those of the university. They comprised at first about thirty-five acres of choice land with highly cultivated gardens, orchards, extensive lawns, and groves of various kinds of forest trees. The buildings are situated upon the highest portion of the grounds, and command in all directions scenery of great beauty and variety, as far as the eye can reach, such as is not surpassed anywhere in all its loveliness. The site too has extraordinary merit in its sanitary aspect. The winds from every quarter sweep freely over it, quickly dissipating noxious vapors, and the healthful sunlight has unobstructed access to all parts of the buildings. The situation is far enough from the city to secure perfect quiet, and yet ready of access. The buildings, at the elevation at which they stand, present a stately and imposing appearance, and the natural beauties of the spot, and the unequalled prospect to be obtained, render the locality one of ideal excellence. The access to the hospital is from Colchester avenue by a winding road, with a hedge of evergreen on one side and a row of shade trees upon the other. The architecture of the main building is very beautiful, with its stately portico, massive portals, generous windows, and tower surmounting all. It has a frontage of eighty feet, and is four stories in height, including the high basement. The distance from the foot of the entrance steps to the weather vane on the tower is eighty-four feet. The structure is built of red brick with a row of black brick above and below all the windows. At the right of the main building, and a little to the rear, and connected with it by a long wooden corridor is another brick building for the amphitheatre. This has a frontage of about thirty-eight feet and a depth of forty-six feet, has one lofty story, and corresponds architecturally with the main building. The amphitheatre has a capacity for seating two hundred persons, and has opening into it anæsthetizing and recovery rooms. There is also in a separate building a pathological room, capable of accommodating one hundred students, in which post-mortem examinations are made in their presence. Midway in the corridor there is an entrance door opening into another cross corridor, which leads to the male ward. This is a one-story brick building twenty-eight feet in width and seventy-six feet in length, and is in the rear of the main building and amphitheatre.

On the first floor of the administrative building are commodious rooms for the directors, superintendent, house physician, and visitors, and three ward rooms. On the second floor, reached by a broad flight of stairs, are seven rooms at the front and four at the back for patients, separated by a broad hall, extending the whole length of the building, with large windows at either extremity. Two of these rooms are fifteen by eighteen feet, and the rest nine by sixteen feet. Another room at the back is used as a kitchen for minor cooking purposes, to economize time and labor, and avoid the trouble of running up and down stairs. The list of apartments is completed by the linen room,

which is liberally provided with shelves and drawers for the storing of linen and bed-clothing. The patients' rooms are admirably adapted to their purpose. The utmost care has been paid to the important matter of ventilation; and while the whole building is heated by steam, each room also contains a fire-place and grate, thus giving an additional guaranty of purity of atmosphere, and affording a better opportunity for regulating the temperature. The furniture is the same in all of the rooms, and consists of a bureau of ash of choice design, finely polished, with a handsome mirror, a neat iron bedstead with an arrangement for a canopy in summer, if needed; an ashen washstand, a commode, and two or three chairs. The furniture is very pretty, and with the neat and handsome pine finish of the rooms, the clean white of the walls, the cheerful fire-places, and the roomy windows, with the accompaniment of abundance of sunlight, the rooms make the pleasantest possible quarters, and are as attractive as one could desire, invalid or not. On the third floor are five rooms, three of them for patients, furnished like the other rooms described, and having all their conveniences and appurtenances. The other two rooms are used for storage purposes. Ascending a short flight of stairs from this story, the observatory is reached. Here, eighty feet from the summit of the grounds, a glorious view is obtained, and one probably unequaled in all its features in the whole country. On a clear day Lake Champlain, replete with historic memories, can be seen for miles upon miles flashing in the sunlight, with villages and settlements dotting its Vermont shores, and with many islands as gems upon its bosom, while on the New York side are visible for a long distance its villages and farm-houses, its hills and valleys, with cultivated fields, and forests, and its Adirondack range of mountains.

To the east the horizon is bounded by the Green Mountains, with its lofty peaks, and nearer by lie the beautiful city of Burlington and the thriving village of Winooski, with the winding river Winooski running like a silver thread in the landscape. Words are inadequate to express the splendor of the scene, and in no spot could the poet or painter seek higher inspiration. The tower has glass on all sides, and is surmounted by a weather vane in the shape of a scroll, bearing the letters M. F. H. In the south ell, annexed to the main building at the left is the dining-room, an exceedingly cheerful apartment, lighted by five windows and measuring sixteen by eighteen feet. Opening from this is a spacious butler's pantry with a dumb waiter running to the kitchen below. At the right is the dispensary, a very important feature of the hospital. It is provided with all the fixtures and accessories for preparing and dispensing medicines, and is admirably situated for securing quiet and preventing interference and distraction of the apothecary's mind while he is preparing the prescriptions. The basement is principally above ground, and is about ten feet between joists, is well-lighted, airy and commodious, with the best of ventilation and sanitary arrangements. It is crossed by two corridors, one long one running east and

west, and a shorter one running north and south. At the front are five rooms, and at the rear four, for the steward, assistants and other employees of the hospital. In another room is an immense furnace and boiler, by which the building is heated. Another apartment is used for a store-room. At the rear and in the ell is the kitchen, separated from the rest of the basement by double doors some distance apart. This measures about sixteen by eighteen feet and is provided with ranges, sinks, a large refrigerator, spacious closets and pantries, and every possible convenience. In various parts of the building are a large number of bath-rooms and water-closets, so situated as to be of convenient access for patients and those connected with the institution. There are also upon the grounds suitable buildings for a laundry, ice-house, barns, stables and sheds. Since the purchase of the site the grounds have been greatly improved, and laid out into walks, drives, flower-beds, lawns and shady retreats, and various other devices have been added to make the surroundings as healthful and attractive as possible for the patients.

In 1884 Miss Fletcher died at the hospital, in the room set apart for her use during her lifetime, surrounded by the scenes of her benevolence. With an unselfish resolution that the institution that she founded should not suffer by this event, she bequeathed by will another \$200,000 for its use. In the aggregate, these are by far the largest sums ever donated to any single object, by any single individual, in the State of Vermont. With this fund the trustees contemplate making still further improvements, erecting more buildings, adding new departments, and otherwise enlarging the facilities of the charity under their care. About fifteen acres of land contiguous to the original grounds have been purchased, making nearly fifty acres of the whole, and sufficient to provide a large proportion of what is required for the sustenance of the patients, and of those who have the immediate care of them, leaving ample grounds for recreation, exercise, adornments and whatever may contribute to their comfort, pleasure, relaxation and speedy restoration to health and vigor. The whole effect of the generous liberality of this philanthropic woman is not confined to its direct bearings upon the welfare of an afflicted class of mankind, but its influence has extended to other persons and associations, to open their hearts, and enable them to see more clearly where good may be wisely bestowed. The founder herself set an example when she endowed a "free bed" in the hospital, in the name and behalf of the First Calvinistic Congregational Church of the city of Burlington, and donated \$5,000 for this purpose. This was her last benefaction during life, and on this account is peculiarly touching, and a more impressive example. Since the death of his daughter Julia, Senator Edmunds has donated to the hospital \$5,000 for the endowment of a room in her name, which he has also beautifully furnished and adorned. The endowment provides for the support and care continuously of one free woman patient. Mr. George Morton, a citizen of Burlington, has donated a like sum, for a like purpose, in

memory of his deceased daughter Kate, making three free beds already endowed in the institution. A few years since St. Paul's Church, of Burlington, at an annual parish meeting, adopted this resolution: "Resolved, That hereafter, the second Sunday in June of each year be designated in this church as 'Hospital Sunday;' that special collections be made upon that day for the sick poor, and that such collections be donated to the directors of the Mary Fletcher Hospital in this city, in trust for their use in said hospital, until otherwise ordered at an annual meeting of the parish." From that time, liberal donations have been made yearly by this church in accordance with the resolution. The Unitarian Church of this city also adopted a "Hospital Sunday," and contributed handsomely for this same purpose, until in lieu thereof it began to raise the sum of \$5,000 for the endowment of a free bed in the hospital, believing this form of its charity to be of a more permanent character. The raising of this amount is already nearly completed. At a recent State Congregational Convention, likewise, the following resolution was adopted: "To those in our churches whose hearts the Lord may incline to contribute for relieving the sick and suffering, we cordially commend the Mary Fletcher Hospital at Burlington, as well organized and prepared to use economically any gifts made to this object." Thus does the influence of the hospital and its generous-hearted founder extend itself in all directions.

The directors of the Mary Fletcher Hospital have published the following statement of the field of benevolence occupied by the hospital, and the principles on which it is conducted: "A hospital is essentially a charity. It is an institution whose main object is not the making of money, or the advancement of science, but rather the cure of the sick, the feeble, the injured. It aims to bring the benefits of the most advanced medical science, the most skillful nursing and the most favoring material and moral conditions to the relief of the suffering of all classes. It gives a well-appointed temporary home to those whose own homes lack appliances favorable to recovery, and it adds some appliances which the most luxurious homes cannot furnish. It is thus, we repeat, a public charity, a benefit to all in every class who may need its help. But it is an expensive charity, one of the most expensive known to modern civilization. The permanent investment in grounds, buildings, furniture, instruments, and all arrangements for securing the most perfect sanitary conditions, is necessarily large. The current expenses, even after allowing for the large amount of gratuitous service rendered, are seen to be very heavy when it is remembered that the diet must always be choice and often expensive; that the medicines and instruments must be the most effective known to the profession, whatever the cost may be; that the staff of nurses and attendants must be such that whenever, by day or night, any kind of service is required, it must always be at hand, wide-awake, not impaired by fatigue or confused by conflict of duty. Many times in the history of the hospital the directors have found that

the paid servants outnumbered the patients, without being able to see how any of this large staff could be dispensed with. There have been single patients who have required the entire service of a nurse day and night. In many cases the medicines and special diet of a patient have cost the hospital more per week than the largest sum paid by those who are regarded as paying patients. Now it is obvious that with the space and funds at the command of the hospital, it cannot offer its advantages gratuitously to all without discrimination. Nor should this be expected. A hospital does not exist for the purpose of supplanting the regular medical practitioner, or of providing medical service gratuitously for those who are able to pay for it. In the minds of many people a hospital implies unlimited resources which the directors can dispense without stint. As a matter of fact no institutions are more liable to financial straits, because of the natural tendency of hospital directors to extend to suffering humanity a larger charity than their means will permit. The revenues of the Mary Fletcher Hospital, though administered with the strictest economy, are every year taxed to their utmost by the legitimate claims of charity; for charity, more or less, every patient receives. It has never been proposed by the directors, it would not be consistent with the liberal views of the founder, that any should be required to pay the full cost of the services rendered. Those who pay most receive fully half they get as a gratuity. But all the sums paid by those who are able to pay anything increase the power of the hospital to extend its benefits to those who are able to pay nothing. It is upon these principles that patients are received. Those who are poor, homeless, friendless, are understood to have the first claim. Such applicants, when they are fit subjects for hospital treatment, and when there are vacant beds, are never refused. But in order that the largest possible number of such cases may be received, all others are expected to pay on a scale accommodated to their means. We have found that most persons are glad to pay all that could be expected of them. Friends often contribute to the support of those less fortunate than themselves. Employers, recognizing the value to themselves of such an institution in their neighborhood, in cases of accident or serious sickness, willingly pay in part, or in full, for the care of their employees. We trust the time is coming when the railroad corporations, the manufacturing firms, the churches, all who have large numbers of persons in their care to whom they owe charity in times of distress, will endow beds available for their use in cases of need. And we confidently expect that as the needs of the hospital outgrow its means, other liberal hands will enlarge its resources, so that its doors may always be wide enough to admit all the suffering poor of our State, 'without money and without price.'"

Of the original directors of the hospital, Paris Fletcher has died and Dr. George H. Peaslee has resigned. The place of Mr. Fletcher was filled by the appointment of Rev. Henry P. Hickok, and upon his death, by the appoint-

ment of Volney Giles Barbour, a member of the board at the present time. The vacancy caused by the resignation of Dr. Peaslee has not yet been filled. The board of directors hold an annual meeting on the first Wednesday of December in each year, and a regular monthly meeting on the first Monday of each month. All nominations to offices in the hospital are subject to the approval of the directors. Four attending physicians and four attending surgeons are appointed annually from the physicians of Burlington and vicinity, by the directors. The medical faculty of the University of Vermont nominate four consulting physicians, and four consulting surgeons; and the attending physicians and surgeons the same number; and from the aggregate number the directors appoint annually four consulting physicians and four consulting surgeons. The attending and consulting physicians and surgeons constitute the medical board, to whom is committed the administration of the hospital in all matters relating to the care and treatment of the patients. Each attending physician and surgeon is on duty three months continuously in each year, and visits the hospital at least three times a week, or oftener if necessary. The annual meeting of the medical board is held on the first Wednesday in January, at which time a president, vice-president, secretary and medical committee of three are chosen by ballot. The directors appoint annually a graduate in medicine to be superintendent, who resides at the hospital. It is his duty to enforce all the regulations and orders of the directors, and act as their executive officer, with authority over his assistants and all employees of the hospital, and he is responsible for the good order and discipline of the hospital. The directors appoint annually an assistant physician. He must be in good health, must furnish satisfactory evidence of good character, and must be either a graduate in medicine or eligible for graduation within six months of the time appointed. The directors at their annual meeting choose a board of visitors consisting of twelve persons not otherwise connected with the hospital or the medical college, who are residents of Vermont, and one-half of whom are physicians and one-half laymen. This board causes the hospital to be visited by a committee of their number as often as its best interests require, and this committee has access to all parts of the hospital and to all its books and property. The medical and surgical staff of the hospital the present year, 1886, is as follows: Attending physicians, Drs. A. P. Grinnell, J. H. Richardson, L. F. Burdick and H. A. Crandall; attending surgeons, Drs. L. M. Bingham, W. B. Lund and J. B. Wheeler. Consulting physicians, Drs. Walter Carpenter, O. F. Fassett, H. D. Holton and H. H. Atwater; consulting surgeons, Drs. Henry Janes, J. Henry Jackson and H. S. Brown. The organization of the medical board is: President, Walter Carpenter; vice-president, J. H. Richardson; secretary, W. B. Lund; and medical committee, Walter Carpenter, H. H. Atwater and J. Henry Jackson. The board of visitors is constituted of the following persons: Mrs. M. C. Wheeler, Mrs. M. B. H. Emerson, Mrs. C. R. Hayward, Dr.

J. M. Clarke, G. W. Wales, G. G. Benedict and E. B. Taft, of Burlington; Dr. A. B. Somers, of Jericho; Dr. S. S. Clark, of St. Albans; Dr. B. F. Sutton, of Middlebury; Dr. O. W. Peck, of Winooski, and Dr. C. S. Caverly, of Rutland. Dr. A. J. Willard is superintendent; Dr. J. W. Berry, assistant physician; Miss L. Jennie Washburn, head nurse, with a corps of trained assistant nurses, and Ira P. Russell, steward.

In founding the hospital Miss Fletcher, herself a lifelong invalid, in this appropriate manner gave expression to her profound sympathy with human suffering, and her uppermost thought was to provide means for the relief of those who like herself were afflicted with disease, and who unlike herself were not possessed with the means to secure this for themselves; but in endowing it this was not all she looked forward to. She had in mind as well the advancement of medical science, that the principal object she had in view might thus be more fully realized and the sufferers receive the most skillful care and treatment. This is evident from the fact that with her approval the directors built such a commodious and well-equipped amphitheatre and autopsy room, with all their accessories, and so well adapted for the clinical instruction of medical students in medicine and surgery. It was also a part of her plan from the beginning, and another reason for her endowment, that there should be connected with the hospital a training school for nurses, and thus be provided the most intelligent and competent nurses for the patients of the hospital and the community at large. Knowing this and desirous of furthering her wishes the directors, after several conferences with the physicians of Burlington, and correspondence with other similar schools already in successful operation in 1882, organized:

The Mary Fletcher Hospital Training School for Nurses.— This school was formally opened in the amphitheatre of the hospital with interesting public exercises on Tuesday, May 2, 1882. Thus was added one more to the institutions of Vermont of an educational and charitable character. The object of the school is, primarily, to educate and train women for intelligent and effective service as nurses to the sick and helpless, and by so doing to select and provide a class of skilled nurses, whether for establishments or private families; and secondarily, to extend and cultivate this needful knowledge among women generally. It is to be understood that the pupils are not in any sense to be fitted here to take the place of the educated physician, but solely to become his enlightened and ready auxiliary. The requisites for admission to the school are that pupils must be between twenty and forty years of age; must bring certificates of sound health and good moral character; must possess a proficiency in reading, penmanship, simple arithmetic and grammatical expression of the English language satisfactory to the managing committee, and must pay in advance a fee of ten dollars for the session. The course of instruction is given during the month of May in each year, and consists of lectures, reci-

tations, demonstrations and practical teaching at the bedside upon all medical and surgical topics necessary to fit the pupils for the proper care as nurses of the sick and helpless. A limited number of pupils are selected to render assistance in the hospital, and such persons receive, besides the remission of their tuition fee, lodging and board in the hospital during their term of service. At the close of each session the pupils are examined in all the branches taught, and a record of their proficiency kept for reference. Candidates for graduation are examined at the termination of attendance upon two sessions of the school, and two years' practical experience, including the two sessions, and receive a diploma if all the requirements for graduation are fulfilled. Any woman who desires to get the benefit of the instruction given in the school, without intending to follow the vocation of a nurse, may attend the course by paying the usual fee; and such persons are not required to pass the examination. The managing committee of the training school act as an employment bureau for the benefit of nurses approved by them and of those who may desire the services of competent nurses.

The corps of instructors is as follows: Dr. A. J. Willard, on emergencies and inspection of discharges from the body; Dr. H. H. Atwater, on care of lying-in women and of infants; Dr. A. P. Grinnell, on anatomy and physiology; Dr. W. B. Lund, on hygiene, administration of remedies and care of the helpless; Dr. L. M. Bingham, on surgical nursing, dressing, cupping, leeching, etc.; and Miss L. Jennie Washburn hears recitations and gives practical instruction at the bedside. All the lecturers are members of the medical and surgical staff of the hospital. The managing committee are Drs. Walter Carpenter, A. J. Willard and H. H. Atwater. The number of pupils, during the five years of the existence of the school, has averaged twenty; fifteen of these have been graduated the last three years. Although the school has been in operation only five years, its success is already established, and it promises to be of decided benefit in improving the qualifications of nurses.

Lake View Retreat.—This institution is located at Burlington, just north of the beautiful and historic Battery Park. The grounds comprise about ten acres, and lie between North avenue, a charming drive leading out of the city, and the shore of Lake Champlain. They are made up of lawns, groves, gardens and orchards, and are traversed by pleasant driveways and walks. The house, which was partially constructed by the late Sion E. Howard, and intended for his own elegant private residence, was purchased, completed and entirely remodeled for its present use by Dr. John M. Clarke, its proprietor and manager.

It is situated upon the highest portion of the grounds, fronts upon North avenue, is set back from the street, and has in the foreground a large, handsome lawn, dotted with ornamental shade trees and clumps of flowering shrubs. It is a substantial brick building, three stories in height and a basement. The rooms are large, high, well lighted and nearly all admit the sunlight directly.



They all command beautiful and picturesque views of lake, river and mountain scenery; those looking east, of Winooski River and its valley and the range of Green Mountains beyond; those looking south and west, of the city of Burlington, Lake Champlain, with its lovely Burlington and Shelburne Bays, and the range of Adirondack Mountains across the lake; and those looking north, of the lake again gemmed with many islands. In fact, the location cannot be surpassed for beauty and variety of landscape in all directions.

The institution was opened for the reception of patients October 1, 1882. It is intended for private patients, and is the only institution of the kind in Vermont. It is for the treatment of nervous and mental diseases, inebriety and the opium habit. The family plan is carried out in the care and treatment of the patients to the greatest limit possible. They are made to feel at home all over the house and grounds, and considered as members of the family, eating at the same tables and participating in their social enjoyments when health and strength permit, and are allowed a great amount of personal liberty. The house has capacity for the comfortable accommodation of twelve patients, and is provided with all modern conveniences, including the most approved sanitary arrangements.

Dr. Clarke, previous to opening this institution, had many years' experience in a large establishment for the treatment of this class of cases, and employs only trained attendants. The small number of patients afford him abundant time for the study and treatment of each case. It is not to be inferred that the institution is designed for Vermont only, for the patients now under treatment are from widely separate parts of the country, and suitable cases will continue to be received from any section.

Health Department of the City of Burlington.—This is the only health department in the State. A health officer is appointed annually by the City Council, whose powers are given by a clause in the city charter, as follows: "The health officer shall have all the powers by law invested in selectmen of towns for the preservation of health and the abatement of nuisances, and the removal of other causes injuriously affecting health; and shall have power in times of epidemic or of threatened existence of general diseases of any kind, to adopt and enforce summarily such sanitary measures and regulations as he shall deem fit. And any person who shall disobey any lawful order of such health officer, shall be punished by fine, such as shall be provided by the City Council for such cases."

The following physicians of Burlington have been appointed health officers for the years named: Dr. S. W. Thayer, 1865-66; Dr. H. H. Atwater, 1867; Dr. W. B. Lund, 1869; Dr. H. A. Crandall, 1870-71; Dr. H. H. Langdon, 1872; Dr. A. P. Grinnell, 1873-74; Dr. C. P. Thayer, 1875-76; Dr. C. P. Burns, 1877; Dr. H. H. Atwater, 1878-79-80-81-82; Dr. J. B. Wheeler, 1883-84, and Dr. J. H. Linsley, 1885-86. The Board of Aldermen also appoint annually a committee on health, consisting of three of their own number.

There is connected with the health department a registration system, under which all births and deaths in the city of Burlington are reported and recorded in the city clerk's office, and contagious or infectious diseases are required to be reported to the health officer by physicians and others. This system is under the management of the health officer, who is empowered likewise to grant burial and removal permits.

The Burlington Medical and Surgical Club.—This club was organized December 2, 1872. It is an association of the regular physicians of Burlington and its vicinity for professional and social improvement. The original members were: Drs. H. H. Langdon, H. Crandall, Matthew Cole, W. B. Lund, H. A. Crandall, E. S. Peck, Walter Carpenter, A. P. Grinnell and J. E. Montmarquet. The first officers were: Dr. H. H. Langdon, president; Dr. W. B. Lund, vice-president, and Dr. E. S. Peck, secretary and treasurer.

Regular monthly meetings are held at the Van Ness House the second Tuesday of each month, excepting during the months of July, August and September, when the members usually have an excursion on the lake or railroad, with their wives and invited guests. The annual meeting is in November.

The officers for the year 1886 are: Dr. J. B. Wheeler, president; Dr. A. P. Grinnell, vice-president; Dr. H. C. Tinkham, secretary and treasurer; and Drs. G. C. Briggs, W. B. Lund and D. C. Hawley, committee of reference. The whole number of members at present is twenty-five, of whom four reside in Winooski, two in Essex, one in Shelburne and one in Richmond.

Surgeons-General.—In 1864 the State Legislature created the office of surgeon-general, with the rank of brigadier-general, and Dr. S. W. Thayer, of Burlington, appointed by Governor Smith, was the first to hold the office. He was commissioned November 22, 1864, and again October 24, 1866. Dr. B. W. Carpenter, of Burlington, was commissioned surgeon-general in the fall of 1867, and held the position until the fall of 1870. Dr. Leroy M. Bingham, of Burlington, was commissioned surgeon-general October 8, 1880. He was commissioned again October 6, 1882, and held the position four years. The above are the physicians of Chittenden county who have held the office since it was created up to the present time.

Commissioners and Boards of Supervisors of the Insane.—In 1845 an act was passed by the Legislature providing that there shall be annually appointed by the Legislature a commissioner of the insane, whose duty it shall be monthly, or oftener if need be, to visit the Vermont Asylum for the Insane, with the trustees or alone, to examine into the condition of the institution, the receipts and expenditures, the management of the patients and the general welfare of the asylum, and to make report thereon to the Legislature. Under this act the following physicians of Chittenden county have been appointed: Dr. S. W. Thayer, of Burlington, for the year 1858; Dr. A. C. Welch, of Williston, for the years 1868, '69 and '70, and Dr. H. H. Atwater, of Burling-



ton, for 1875 and '76. In 1878 this act was repealed, and instead one passed providing for the appointment of a board of supervisors of the insane, consisting of three persons, two of whom shall be physicians, with enlarged duties and powers. Dr. J. C. Cramton, of Winooski, was a member of this board for the years 1879 and '80, and Dr. L. C. Butler, of Essex, for 1883, '84, '85 and '86. All of the insane of the State are under the supervision of this board.

Boards of United States Examining Surgeons for Pensions. — By the provisions of "an act granting pensions," passed by Congress July 14, 1862, the commissioner of pensions is authorized to appoint examining surgeons for pensions, whose duties are to examine applicants for original pensions, for increase, restoration or renewal of pensions, and claimants as dependent relatives, when so ordered by the commissioner of pensions.

Under this act Dr. H. H. Atwater, of Burlington, was appointed October 28, 1862, the first examining surgeon in Chittenden county. In 1870 Dr. H. H. Langdon, of Burlington, who had been appointed single examining surgeon three or four years previously, and Dr. Atwater were constituted a board of examining surgeons. In 1872 Dr. E. S. Peck, of Burlington, was appointed an additional member of the board. In 1875, upon the removal of Dr. Peck from the State, Dr. W. B. Lund, of Burlington, was appointed to fill the vacancy. In 1881 Dr. S. W. Thayer, of Burlington, was appointed to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Dr. Langdon. In 1882 Dr. L. M. Bingham, of Burlington, was appointed to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Dr. Thayer. In 1885 Dr. A. P. Grinnell, of Burlington, and Dr. L. C. Butler, of Essex, were appointed to fill the places of Drs. Lund and Bingham, and the present organization is: Dr. A. P. Grinnell, president; Dr. L. C. Butler, secretary, and Dr. H. H. Atwater, treasurer. The board meets at the City Hall in Burlington every Wednesday at 10 A. M.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

Dr. John Pomeroy was born in Middleboro, Mass., April 9, 1764. He was the eldest of three children, and from the limited means of his parents, and an affliction which deprived his father of the ordinary exercise of his rational powers, he was left almost wholly dependent upon his own resources for an education, and had no other advantages but such as the common schools of that day and the occasional assistance the clergyman of the parish afforded. At the age of sixteen he enlisted as a soldier in the army of the Revolution in the three months' service, and served as such principally at West Point. After his early campaign as a soldier he was variously employed in agricultural labor, devoting all his spare time to the acquisition of knowledge, until he became a student in the office of Dr. Bradish, in Cummington, Mass., where he pursued with ardor the study of the profession to which he had long directed his thoughts. The opportunities for acquiring a medical education at that

place were of course quite limited, but with such a preceptor, were well calculated to train the student to independence of thought, practical views and fearless devotion to duty.

After accomplishing his professional education, Dr. Pomeroy fell in with the tide of emigration which at that time set to the Lamoille and Onion River valleys in Vermont, and established himself at Cambridge. On the 9th of January, 1789, he married Miss Mary Porter, of Cummington, late of Abington, Mass. Although he had a very extensive practice, he soon found that he had not made the most advantageous location, and in the summer of 1792 he removed to Burlington, where with his wife and three children he resided until the winter in a log cabin, when he removed to a house on Water street, on the site of which, in 1797, he built the first brick house in the town. In this house he resided until his death, which occurred on the 19th of February, 1844, at the age of nearly eighty years.

He was a man of robust constitution and great energy of character, but a long and laborious practice in a new country at length produced its effects in a nervous prostration, which, for five years previous to his decease, made him a patient and confined him to his house. In the death of his eldest son, Dr. Cassius F. Pomeroy, who died in the spring of 1813, full of hope and promise, just as he entered upon the practice of his profession after a winter spent at the medical school of Philadelphia, he experienced a shock, the trace of which years did not efface. He was for many years a member of the corporation of the University of Vermont, an institution which he was among the most active and liberal in fostering. He was also for several years professor of anatomy and surgery in the university, and as such delivered several courses of lectures. He was one of the founders and a member of the State and Chittenden County Medical Societies, and at various times held their highest offices. He was also an honorary member of the New York State Medical Society. He was always attached to his profession, and thought, conversed and wrote much about it. His manuscript lectures, dissertations, cases and theories would make volumes, probably well worth publishing if pruned and arranged by the hand of a discriminating and patient member of the profession. Although he wrote a fine hand and had the command of good language, his writings lack that logical arrangement so essential in interesting us in the presentation of thoughts, however original or important.

Few men have lived to accomplish a more laborious or successful course of practice as a physician and surgeon than Dr. Pomeroy. For upwards of fifty years, commencing in a new country, he was actively and extensively engaged in his professional duties, and for the greater portion of the time was the leading physician and only surgeon in the northern part of the State. A history of his surgical cases alone would form a volume which, while it would surprise by its number and variety, would no less interest by its exhibition of decision,

skill, ingenuity and simplicity in the mode of treatment. His practice was characterized by simplicity, boldness and originality. On visiting a patient who was represented to be dying, he found that the man had ceased to breathe and was apparently lifeless. Surmising the true state of the case, he at once, to the consternation of the attendants, with a lancet or scalpel opened the trachea and inserted a tube. In a few minutes, after a convulsive struggle, the patient breathed through the orifice, and so continued till the obstruction was removed, and lived to thank the surgeon for cutting his throat.

Dr. Pomeroy was exceedingly tender of his patients, deeming it his duty as a man and physician to relieve pain in all cases not inconsistent with the remedy. He was equally regardless of popular prejudice and the dogmas of the schools; was a man of ardent temperament, a Christian of strong devotional feelings and liberal sentiments, a lover of nature, of truth and of peace. He had three children, Cassius Francis, Rosamond Porter and John Norton. It is upon traditionary evidence said that the great-grandfather of Dr. Pomeroy came from France.

Dr. Cassius Francis Pomeroy was the eldest of three children of Dr. John and Mary Pomeroy. He was born in Cambridge, Vt., September 17, 1789, and died in Burlington March 22, 1813. In the spring of 1792 the family removed from Cambridge to Burlington, and for the summer and fall occupied a log cabin on the north side of Pearl street.

There was nothing remarkable in the early life of Dr. Cassius Pomeroy. His education commenced by the teachings of his mother, and thence through the ordinary forms and appliances of the district school in a new country. He was fitted for college partly under the instruction of Rev. Asa Lyon, of Grand Isle, who had a high reputation as a classical scholar and teacher, and was admitted to the University of Vermont in 1802, at the age of thirteen years. He was the first pupil who commenced a course of preparation for admission into this college. He was graduated with honor in 1806. His father was so attached and devoted to his profession that he early fixed upon his eldest son to take his place and carry out his views and theories. The son acceded as well from choice as a sense of duty, and soon after the termination of his college course began and prosecuted the study of medicine and surgery. The large practice of his father, and his association with the other students in the office in dissection and attendance upon his father's public lectures, greatly promoted his progress. He gave good promise of eminence in his first essays in practice, and successfully performed several capital operations in surgery. Deeming his education incomplete, however, without further opportunities afforded by the best medical schools in the country, he spent the fall and winter of 1812-13 in Philadelphia in attendance on the lectures of Dr. Rush, Casper Wistar and others, with great profit to himself and with tokens of the respect of his teachers.



He returned about March 1 to enter into practice with his father, who was then overwhelmed with calls from the citizens and soldiers stationed here, suffering from that terrible scourge *peripneumonia notha*. Being in rather delicate health, the change of climate, excessive fatigue and exposure, were too severe for him, and in about three weeks after his return he fell a victim to the disease, which for the greater part of that time he had so fearlessly combated in others. His death was esteemed a great public loss, and it cast its dark and long shade over his father's remaining years.

Dr. Truman Powell was born May 30, 1776, and died February 23, 1841. He practiced in Essex a few years and afterwards in Burlington, where he had a large practice for many years. He was one of the earliest physicians of this town, being a cotemporary with Dr. John Pomeroy. He was a man of large stature and powerful physique, with great energy of character.

Dr. William Atwater was born in Cheshire, Conn., May 9, 1789. He was the son of Ambrose and Sarah (Tryon) Atwater, and was the youngest of a family of eleven children. His father removed with his family from Connecticut, first to Shelburne, and then to Burlington, Vt., about the year 1797, where he resided until his death at the advanced age of nearly ninety-two years. He was one of the most active founders of St. Paul's Church in Burlington, and presented to the society a valuable set of silver plate for the communion service, which they still use. In 1805 the subject of the present sketch became a student in the University of Vermont, receiving the following certificate of admission:

“BURLINGTONIAE, Augusti die Vicesimo, Anno Domini 1805.

“In universitatem viridis montis, classe recentium Guilielmus Atwater: alumnus admittatur.

“DANIEL C. SANDERS, Praeses.”

He was graduated August 16, 1809, and at once began the study of medicine in the office of Dr. John Pomeroy, who was then in the prime of life, and doing an extensive practice in this and the adjoining towns. Dr. Atwater continued as a student with him the required period of three years, and was then examined before the third Medical Society of Vermont, and was granted a diploma by the officers of the society entitling him to practice medicine and surgery. After receiving his diploma he remained for a time in the office of Dr. Pomeroy, practicing with him, and enjoying in a high degree his confidence and the benefits of his large practice. In 1816 he was elected surgeon of the squadron of cavalry in the second brigade and third division of the militia of the State of Vermont, and commissioned by Governor Jonas Galusha, and held the office until 1820. Dr. Atwater remained in Burlington practicing medicine until about the year 1818, when he removed to St. Lawrence county, N. Y., where he was married to Delia Wetmore June 20, 1820. He practiced in that county until 1829, when he returned with his family to Burlington, and resided here until his death, July 27, 1853. During his long professional career of forty years he had the confidence of the people with whom he lived, and especially



during his last residence in Burlington, a period of twenty-four years, he received the patronage of the people of this town and those adjoining to as great an extent as could be desired. The honorary degree of M.D. was conferred upon him by the University of Vermont in 1844. As a man Dr. Atwater was modest and unassuming in his manners, and scrupulously honest in all his dealings. As a physician he was uniformly courteous and honorable in his profession; never striving to be a rival, and always on friendly terms with his professional brethren. He was a safe and judicious practitioner, beloved by his patients for his affectionate attention, and manifest sincere desire for their recovery, attentive equally to the poor and the rich, answering the calls of all, regardless of the pecuniary reward or his own convenience or comfort. He was eminently fitted by his Christian character and professional skill to be a family physician in the best sense of the term. Fathers and mothers freely gave him their confidence, and entrusted to him their most delicate family secrets, without fear of ridicule or exposure. At the time of his death he left one daughter and five sons, one only of whom, Dr. H. H. Atwater, still resides in Burlington. Two of his brothers, Phineas and Thomas, were long residents of this town. His eldest sister was the wife of Captain Thadeus Tuttle, also a resident here for many years.

Dr. Thomas Chamberlain was born in Topsham, Vt., September 23, 1792, and began the practice of his profession in Fairfield, Vt., about 1820. In 1825 he removed to Burlington and resided here until his death, November 29, 1854. In 1822 he was married to Orissa Willmarth Barlow, who died March 24, 1825. They had one child, Orissa Barlow Chamberlain. In 1828 he was married again to Nancy Hyde Corning, who died September 4, 1854. They had one child, Cornelia Van Ness Chamberlain. Dr. Chamberlain had a good practice in Burlington until he retired about 1840.

Dr. Robert Moody was born in Londonderry, Ireland, in 1801. He was educated and graduated at the University of Edinburgh. In 1824 he came to this country, and practiced medicine successfully in Burlington until his death, October 17, 1841.

Dr. Benjamin Lincoln was born in Dennysville, Me., in 1802. He was the son of Hon. Theodore Lincoln, and grandson of Major-General Benjamin Lincoln of the American Revolution. He was graduated at Bowdoin College in 1823. He studied medicine with Dr. Lemuel Shattuck, of Boston, and entered upon the practice of his profession in 1827. In 1828 he delivered a course of lectures on anatomy and physiology at the University of Vermont with such *éclat* that he was elected professor of anatomy and surgery the next year, which chair he held with increasing satisfaction until the last year of his life. Although in feeble health, he continued his medical practice in Burlington and vicinity with marked success, and rapidly advanced in professional reputation. On the retirement of Dr. John Dean Wells in 1830, he supplied

his place as lecturer on anatomy and surgery at Bowdoin College for that season, and the next year succeeded him as lecturer in the University of Maryland. Dr. Lincoln returned to the paternal roof in Dennysville, Me., and there died February 26, 1835. Although the events of Dr. Lincoln's life were few, yet his talents, benevolence, activity, and professional attainments, joined with an unwavering devotion to science, gave him a hold upon the public mind where he lived, which was permanent and of an elevated character.

Dr. Joseph Marsh practiced in Burlington a few years and died in 1846, at the early age of about thirty years. He received his education and degree of M. D. at Dartmouth College in 1830. He was professor of the theory and practice of medicine in the medical department of the University of Vermont, from 1835 until 1841. He was a man of fine culture and brilliant talents, and would doubtless have taken high rank in his profession had he lived to mature age.

Dr. Bernard F. Heineberg was born November 24, 1809, at Breckel, in the province of Westphalia, Prussia. After sixteen years' training in the preparatory schools, and in the Universities of Bonn and Göttingen, he received the degree of M. D., from the latter university. He came to Burlington to reside July 4, 1834, and was in active practice here about twenty years. The honorary degree of M. D. was conferred upon him by the University of Vermont, in 1835. He died in Burlington, July 2, 1878. The medical and surgical practice of Dr. Heineberg was characterized by quick decision and boldness.

Dr. Horace Hatch was born in Tunbridge, Vt., May 13, 1788. He was graduated and received his degree of A. B. in 1814, and that of M. D. in 1817, at Dartmouth College. He practiced medicine at Norwich, Vt., twenty years, when he removed to Burlington and practiced here twenty-four years, retiring from active practice in 1854. In 1864 he went to New York city, where he lived with his son-in-law, Hon. L. E. Chittenden, until his death, October 17, 1872. He was a well-educated and skillful physician, a gentleman of culture and refinement, and a kind-hearted Christian man.

Dr. Leonard Marsh was born in Queechee, Vt., in 1800, and died in Burlington, in 1870. He was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1827, studied medicine in New York city with Dr. Valentine Mott, and took his degree of M. D. at the same college in 1832. He practiced in Hartford, Vt., until 1840 when he came to Burlington to reside. He retired from active practice in 1855, when he was appointed professor of the Greek and Latin languages in the University of Vermont, and held this chair until 1857, when he was appointed professor of vegetable and animal physiology in the same university, and occupied this position until his death.

He was a man of great reading and research, not only in his own profession and cognate subjects, but also in general literature. He kept himself thoroughly acquainted with the most advanced progress in medicine, but did



not acquire a very extensive practice, partly owing to impaired health and partly to his modest and retiring disposition, studious habits and aversion to pushing himself forward among his competitors. Yet he was highly respected by his associates in practice, and his counsel sought after by them.

Dr. Matthew Cole was born in Richmond December 24, 1801, and died October 1, 1879, at the Mary Fletcher Hospital in Burlington. His grandfather and father were physicians. He first practiced with his father in Richmond a few years, then he practiced in Huntington, then in Williston, and the latter part of his life in Burlington.

He exhibited great energy and fortitude of character under many sore trials. Twice during his lifetime his homes were burned over his head, but phoenix-like he rose from the ashes, and undaunted began anew the battle of life. He had an almost sublime devotion to his profession, and faith in the infallibility of medicine for the cure of disease.

Dr. J. M. Knox was born in Tunbridge, Vt., March 18, 1820, and died in Richmond, Vt., in 1875. He was graduated at the University of Vermont in 1849, and received his degree of M. D. at Castleton Medical College, in 1851. He practiced in Richmond for a few years and afterward in Burlington until his last sickness. He was a man of fine education, sound judgment, unpretentious manners and gentlemanly deportment.

Dr. H. H. Langdon was born in 1827, and died in 1881. He received his degree of M. D. from Castleton Medical College in 1851. He practiced in Shelburne, Vt., in New York State, and lastly in Burlington. He was surgeon of the Seventh Vermont Regiment in the War of the Rebellion, health officer of the city of Burlington at one time, and member of the United States Board of Examining Surgeons for Pensions at the time of his death.

Dr. Samuel White Thayer was born in Braintree, Vt., May 21, 1817, and died in Burlington, Vt., November 14, 1882. He was the eldest son of Dr. Samuel W. and Ruth (Packard) Thayer. He resided in his native town, attending in his boyhood the common schools until the year 1832, when, with the rest of his family, he removed to Thetford, Vt., and there went through the course of education prescribed by its excellent academy. He began the study of medicine in 1835 in his father's office, attending lectures at the Dartmouth and Woodstock medical schools, and in 1838 received from the latter the degree of M. D. From 1837 until 1841 he was demonstrator of anatomy at the Woodstock school. After practicing medicine at Woodstock for two years he removed to Northfield, Vt., at the solicitation of Governor Paine, where by his friendly and influential patronage, coupled with his own industry and merit, he at once established himself in practice. The critical and thorough knowledge of anatomy acquired as demonstrator of anatomy in a medical school for a term of years, with the opportunities for practice in cases of railroad injuries, secured for him by Governor Paine, who was then engaged





Saml. M. Thompson.



in building the Vermont Central Railroad, admirably fitted him for the department of surgery, in which ever afterwards during his life he was distinguished throughout the State. Yet he did not at all confine himself to this branch of medicine, but received and retained the confidence of his fellow practitioners, and of the people generally, in all branches.

In 1854 he removed to Burlington. It was here that he did his largest and best life-work. Three or four years before going to Burlington to reside, Dr. Thayer was planning and earnestly striving to reorganize the medical department of the University of Vermont, which had been dormant for many years, and his success, after persistent effort against many discouraging obstacles, was doubtless a prominent motive for his change of residence. In this new undertaking Dr. Thayer and Dr. Walter Carpenter were associated together to promote its welfare and enlarge the boundaries of medical learning; the one planning and organizing wisely, the other keeping it off the shoals by cautious and prudent business management; and they both lived to see it take rank with the most flourishing medical schools in the land outside of the largest cities. It owes a large debt of gratitude to Dr. Thayer for its second birth, and to both for its growth and present prosperity.

In 1861 at the commencement of the War of the Rebellion Governor Erastus Fairbanks appointed Dr. Thayer chairman of the State Board of Medical Examiners, established for the purpose of securing for the Vermont troops competent medical officers. In 1864 the office of surgeon-general was created, and Dr. Thayer first held the office by appointment of Governor Smith. The duties being new, brought into requisition again his superior qualifications for organization, and exemplified his customary industry and energy. He established and brought into systematic working order the three military hospitals located at Burlington, Brattleboro and Montpelier. He not only did well these patriotic duties at home, but went to the front and performed efficient service in the field hospitals. He also received from the general government the appointment of assistant surgeon of the United States army, and was brevetted at the close of the war. He was the first health officer of the city of Burlington, and here also he was the skillful organizer of a new department. He devoted much time to the study of sanitary science, and lectured upon this subject at the medical college the last two years of his life. He earnestly endeavored to induce the Legislature of Vermont to establish a State Board of Health, but did not live long enough to succeed. In 1858 he was commissioner of the insane of the State. In 1870 he was appointed medical director of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and resided temporarily in Minnesota nearly three years, after which he returned to Burlington. He was at one time or another president of the State Medical Society, and Burlington Medical and Surgical Club. He was also honorary member of several societies of other States, and the recipient of the degree of A. M. from Dartmouth College, and of LL. D.



from the University of Vermont. At the time of his death he was a member of the Board of United States Examining Surgeons for Pensions, and consulting surgeon of the Mary Fletcher Hospital.

In social life Dr. Thayer was an especial favorite, always genial in manner and entertaining in conversation, with an ample fund of pleasing anecdotes and general information. His home was one of unbounded hospitality. He was generous to the extreme; in some cases, doubtless, without proper discrimination. His gratuitous practice was large; services to the clergy of all denominations, many of whom had larger surplus revenue than he; to the servant girls who expended upon dress, finery and frivolities what was his just due; to the deserving poor and to the dead-beat—all appeared to fare about alike at his hands. It would have been better for him and many of his objects of charity if he had mingled justice in larger proportion with his generosity, but this, if reckoned a fault in his character, can easily be forgiven. Thus has been given barely more than the warp and woof of a conscientious, busy and useful life. The filling in, the beautiful coloring, the completeness, is left to be supplied from the inner consciousness of those who personally knew him.

Other physicians who have practiced in Burlington successfully and with credit, and are now deceased, have been as follows: Drs. Horace Hall, A. P. Barber, Nathan Ward, A. S. Pitkin, George W. Ward and N. H. Ballou.

Surgeons of the War of the Rebellion. — Newton H. Ballou, of Burlington, aged forty-five years, surgeon Second Regiment; mustered in, June 11, 1861; resigned, December 18, 1862.

Arthur F. Burdick, of Underhill, aged thirty-three years, assistant surgeon Fifth Regiment; mustered in, September 22, 1862; resigned, May 26, 1863.

Walter B. Carpenter, of Burlington, aged twenty-five, assistant surgeon Second Vermont Volunteers; mustered in, June 11, 1861; surgeon, June 21, 1862; resigned, November 4, 1864.

Cornelius A. Chapin, of Williston, aged twenty-one, assistant surgeon Sixth Regiment; mustered in, July 8, 1863; died, September 14, 1863, at New York city, of disease.

Alwyn H. Chesmore, of Huntington, aged twenty-five, assistant surgeon Fifth Regiment; mustered in, September 25, 1862; surgeon, March 1, 1863; mustered out of service, September 15, 1864.

Dan L. C. Colburn, of Burlington, aged thirty, assistant surgeon Fifth Regiment; mustered in, August 18, 1863; mustered out of service, June 29, 1865.

Granville P. Conn, of Richmond, aged thirty-one, assistant surgeon Twelfth Regiment; mustered in, September 19, 1862; mustered out of service, July 14, 1863.

Edwin M. Curtis, of Burlington, aged twenty-one, hospital steward Fourth Regiment; mustered in, September 21, 1861; assistant surgeon Sixth Vermont

Volunteers, January 29, 1863; surgeon, August 15, 1864; mustered out of service, July 13, 1865.

Henry H. Langdon, of Burlington, aged thirty-five, assistant surgeon Seventh Regiment; mustered in, October 3, 1862; resigned, March 27, 1863.

Edward B. Nims, of Burlington, aged twenty-six, assistant surgeon First Cavalry; mustered in, May 9, 1864; mustered out of service, August 9, 1865.

Azro M. Plant, of Burlington, aged twenty-seven, assistant surgeon Fourteenth Regiment; mustered in, January 29, 1863; mustered out of service, July 30, 1865.

Edwin W. Trueworthy, of Burlington, aged twenty-four, assistant surgeon Seventh Regiment; mustered in, June 17, 1865; surgeon, October 1, 1865; mustered out of service, March 14, 1866.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PRESS OF CHITTENDEN COUNTY.¹

Fewer Newspapers than Formerly — Political Energy the Condition — Permanence — The Earlier Journals were of a Literary Type — Sketches of Early Papers, Including the *Sentinel* — The Burlington *Free Press* and *Times* — Influence of the *Telegraph* — The Burlington *Clipper* — The Burlington *Independent* — The *Autograph* and *Remarker* — Value of State News in Early Days — Curious Editorials — Interesting Advertisements — Humor — Early Customs and Manners — Political History of the Press.

GLANCING over the history of the press of Chittenden county, one is struck with two somewhat remarkable facts: First, that there has been a gradual diminution in the number of newspapers and other journals published in the county from the earlier part of the present century until now; and, secondly, that the journals which have longest survived have been those with a determinate political basis. The first of these facts is certainly remarkable as a mere statement; the second is remarkable because it might be supposed that independence in journalism, especially before party lines were as clearly and strongly drawn as they are to-day, would be the broader and surer foundation for a newspaper's prosperity in a community where readers were at best so few.

We find that at the expiration of the first quarter of the present century the journalistic enterprise of Chittenden county was at its height — so far as that enterprise may be gauged by the number of journals which were published at the time. In the second quarter of the century — between 1825 and 1850 — there appear to have been in existence no less than nine journals — news, literary and miscellaneous — as compared with four at the present time. Most of these nine journals, to be sure, were exceedingly short-lived. Some of them

¹ Prepared by Mr. James Buckham, of Burlington.



never lived to have a second anniversary. Some struggled along for a few years, and then, scarcely noticed by the public, ceased publication.

A majority of these earlier journals were of a distinctively literary type — a style of periodical that prevailed quite extensively in this country at the time. It was before the day of that omnivorous, news-gorging, electric wonder, the modern newspaper; and editors had more time, as well as more necessity, for miscellaneous and literary work. Take even the so-called newspaper at this early time, and you will find it largely composed of editorials and literary and miscellaneous matter — very little news of any sort, general or local, and what there is, quite apt to be “belated,” uncertain, lacking in detail, and very often treated as a matter of secondary importance. It is not surprising, then, that the purely literary journal should have sprung up and made a desperate attempt to flourish in the somewhat barren soil afforded by the stern, practical life of New England three-quarters of a century ago.

Of the nine journals which enjoyed a longer or shorter lease of life in Chittenden county, during the twenty-five years between 1825 and 1850, four at least seem to have been either of a purely literary character or devoted to some special subject. Nor would the contents of their more practical contemporaries fairly entitle them to be called newspapers at the present day. The latter contained a good deal of readable miscellany, a mass of editorial matter, written in the diffuse and turgid style of the day, a collection of curiously-worded advertisements, and a little news—most of it so old as quite to belie the title.

To name all the journals which have been published in Chittenden county up to the present day implies at least quite a long list of more or less impressive titles, most of which, to be sure, are only titles, as a large majority of the journalistic ventures in this section of Vermont have been so short-lived as to have hardly left a record of themselves. So far as can be ascertained, however, the following is a complete list of all the public prints which have been issued in Chittenden county up to the present year (1886), with a brief history of the most important:

The Burlington Mercury, the oldest periodical in Chittenden county and one of the oldest in the State, was established by Donnelly & Hill in 1797, and continued by them until 1799, when its publication was ceased. The *Mercury* was a small sheet issued weekly, with a literary and miscellaneous table of contents. It was published at Burlington.

The Sentinel, or *Centinel*, as it was at first spelled, was established in 1801 by John K. Baker. The office of publication was at Burlington and the first number was published on Thursday, March 19, 1801. This journal is the third oldest newspaper in Vermont, the *Vermont Gazette* and the *Rutland Herald* being its only predecessors. It still survives, under the name of the *Rhode Island Democrat*, at Providence, R. I., whither it was removed in June, 1872, by its last proprietor and editor, Albion N. Merchant. It was started as a Dem-



ocratic paper and has always remained Democratic in politics. Between the date of its establishment and 1830, although the politics and general character of the paper remained the same, it enjoyed frequent changes of proprietorship, and a kaleidoscopic play upon the original name which, at least, redeemed it from the charge of monotony. It was started by Mr. Baker as the *Vermont Centinel*. In 1840 Mr. Baker relinquished the proprietorship of the paper to Josiah King, but remained in charge of the *Centinel* as its editor. In 1805 Mr. King resigned the entire charge of the paper to Mr. Baker, who printed it thereafter "for the proprietors" until early in the following year, 1806, when the paper was purchased by Daniel Greenleaf & Co., reorganized a few weeks later as Greenleaf & Mills, the members of the firm being Daniel Greenleaf and Samuel Mills. Under this management the *Centinel* was enlarged and improved. Mr. Mills bought out Mr. Greenleaf in 1806 and became sole proprietor of the paper. In 1806 Mr. Mills, being dissatisfied with the title *Vermont Centinel*, adopted by Mr. Baker, changed the name of the paper to *Northern Centinel*. This, however, did not exactly satisfy him, and two years later he dropped the "Northern," and the paper started out on its new volume with the dignified and conservative name of *The Centinel*. In January, 1814, Mr. Mills resumed the name *Northern Sentinel*, but modernized the spelling as above and embodied the title in a curiously figured heading. At the close of the same volume the plain heading reappears. In 1818 Mr. Mills sold out his interest in the *Sentinel* to his brothers, Ephraim and Thomas Mills, who published the paper for eighteen years, again changing the name in 1830 to the *Burlington Sentinel*, and then sold it to Nahum Stone. The paper remained in Mr. Stone's hands for two years and was then sold to Sylvanus Parsons, who, after publishing it for one year, sold to Azro Bishop. The several proprietors of the *Sentinel* now followed each other in rapid succession. Mr. Bishop, after two years, sold the *Sentinel* to Dana Winslow, its editor under his management. Three years subsequently Winslow sold it to George Howard Paul, who became involved in pecuniary embarrassments and resigned the paper with other property to an assignee. It was at the assignee's sale, in 1851, that the well-known poet and wit, John G. Saxe, purchased the *Sentinel*. It continued in his hands with considerably more brilliant editorial than business management until 1855, when it was purchased by Douglass A. Danforth. In 1859 Mr. Danforth disposed of a half interest in the paper to E. Marvin Smalley, and it was published by the firm of Danforth & Smalley until March, 1861. Mr. Smalley's interest was then purchased by William Henry Hoyt, and shortly after Mr. Danforth also sold his share to Mr. Hoyt. In October, 1861, William Hoyt associated with him C. A. Hoyt, and the paper was published for a short time under the firm name of W. H. & C. A. Hoyt & Co. William Eaton was the next proprietor of the *Sentinel*, and under his efficient management it was discontinued in 1868. For three years it lay dormant, but ap-



peared again in 1871 under the management of Henry C. Fay. Mr. Fay sold the paper the succeeding year to its present owner, Albion N. Merchant, of Champlain, N. Y., who, after publishing the paper for a short time in Burlington, removed it to Providence, R. I., retaining the name of Burlington *Sentinel*. Subsequently Mr. Merchant enlarged the paper and changed its name to the Rhode Island *Democrat*, under which title it is still (1886) published.

The *Sentinel* was a weekly paper except for some four years during the period of its publication by Mr. Paul and Mr. Saxe, who ambitiously attempted to sustain a daily edition. Their attempts failed, however, pecuniarily, and were abandoned.

Next in order of establishment to the *Sentinel* was the *Burlington Gazette*, a small weekly paper, published by Hinckley & Fish. This paper lived less than three years — from September 9, 1814, until February, 1817.

The Repertory, published by Jeduthan Spooner, was a weekly which survived only a few issues. The first number appeared October 1, 1821.

The first number of the *Burlington Free Press* — from the day of its establishment the leading newspaper in Chittenden county — was issued June 15, 1827. The *Free Press* was first published and edited by Luman Foote, a leading and influential citizen of Burlington. The principal cause of its establishment was the desire among the majority of the people of Burlington and vicinity for a local organ which should more nearly represent their political sentiments. There was also at the time of the establishment of the *Free Press*, a general dissatisfaction with the management of the *Sentinel*, which found expression in an urgent demand for a new local newspaper. Under such favorable auspices the *Free Press* rapidly extended its circulation and its influence, not only in Burlington and the county, but throughout the northern part of the State. The editorial ability and consistency of the *Free Press*, and the uniformly readable character of its contents, gave it great influence and popularity throughout the section in which it circulated, and it soon gained a reputation, which it has sustained ever since, as one of the most influential of Vermont newspapers.

The Burlington *Free Press* was originally started as a weekly, and was continued as such for the first twenty-one years of its existence. In 1848, however, an event occurred which, besides its intrinsic importance to the community, resulted in the issue of a daily edition of the *Free Press*, thus greatly adding to the influence and value of that journal. This event was the opening of telegraphic communication between Burlington and the large cities of the seaboard, by way of Troy. It was a great day for Burlington when the first messages of greeting and congratulation passed over the wire. The weekly *Free Press* of Friday, February 4, 1848, appears with the cut of a courier at full speed, bearing the announcement of news extraordinary, the significance of which is thus set forth by the editor :



FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE TELEGRAPH IN BURLINGTON.—This afternoon, February 2d, the Magnetic Telegraph was “taken in and done for” as far north as Burlington. Messages were sent without any apparent straining of the wires, to Vergennes, Middlebury, Orwell, Whitehall, Rutland, Manchester, Bennington, Troy, New York, Buffalo, and Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Dodge, our excellent operator, held the reins of his celestial steed as though he was “used to thunder;” while the little hammer rattled off its magnetic alphabet like anything but a beginner. Prof. Benedict, the superintendent, and Messrs. Cornell, J. H. Peck and Rice, were all in attendance to witness the result, thus far, of their labors for the company and the public, which have certainly answered every reasonable expectation or hope. Burlington has “wheeled into line,” and gives respectful notice to all other well-magnetized communities that they can “fire away.” We can *Dodge* the sharpest shooters among them all.

Among the communications already received and replied to, is the following profane one to ourself, from our inveterate friend, Governor Barber, dated “*Middlebury this minute.*”

“Governor Barber’s compliments; you feel mightily tickled with your new telegraph at Burlington. “*To Brigadier-General Hail Columbia Clark, esq., Editor, etc.*”

If our friend Lieutenant-Governor Yankee Doodle Barber supposes we are particularly “tickled” in Burlington, he has not studied us attentively. We handle lightning with appropriate gravity; “it goes off,” as a gentleman from Ripton sensibly remarked, “so all-fired quick, somebody may get hurt!”

We give below the pleasant and gentlemanly greeting sent by the executive of Burlington to her sister towns on the line, together with such replies and other news as have been received at the time of our going to press.

“The Selectmen of Burlington, in behalf of the citizens of their town, send greeting to the citizens of Vergennes, Middlebury, Orwell, Whitehall, Castleton, Rutland, Manchester, Bennington and Troy; and congratulate them severally on the establishment of the means of instantaneous communication between us; a miracle in any other age than this. May it be not only the faithful agent of our wants, but the promoter and bearer of our good wishes and our sympathies.

“JOHN N. POMEROY,

“SAMUEL NICHOLS,

“HENRY B. STACY,

“Selectmen.”

“*To Burlington:*

“The compliments of your next door neighbor.

BENNINGTON.”

“*From the city of Troy to city of Burlington, greeting:* We do sincerely congratulate you on having become thus early, one of those favored communities united by the life blood of speedy communication; and as sincerely congratulate ourselves on being able to salute face to face, the Queen City of Champlain.”

In accordance with a previous prospectus, the weekly *Free Press* announces, in its issue of Friday, March 24, 1848: “We shall commence, to-morrow, the publication of a Daily paper, in conformity with the intentions set forth in the Prospectus we issued some weeks since. As therein proposed, the Daily FREE PRESS will be issued *every evening*. Our citizens will therefore possess the advantage (should it prove to be one) of a daily morning (the *Daily Sentinel*) and evening paper, an arrangement which will certainly tend to keep them up with the march of events, both at home and abroad.”

The first number of the *Daily Free Press* is a four-page sheet, each page 12 by 15 inches. The first page is devoted to selected miscellaneous matter, and contains a poem by Park Benjamin, entitled, “Press On”; a story, “The Lost Glove,” by Mrs. Jane C. Campbell; an article giving the depths of the principal American lakes, and some readable paragraphs. The second page is completely taken up with editorials and news. In introducing the new daily



to its friends, Editor Clarke says: "Those . . . who are firm disciples of progress, and who recognize in the rapid march of improvement a *necessity* for the multiplication of the vehicles by means of which intelligence and knowledge are more universally disseminated, will be likely to welcome our enterprise; while those more prudent and wary navigators who understand the practical wisdom of 'keeping near the shore' until they have learned to swim, will be apt to see an appropriateness in the coincidence of the birth of our little sheet and the first of April. To both classes we have only to say that it will be our aim to demonstrate the convenience and usefulness, if we fail to establish the necessity, of the step we have taken; its *success*, we hardly need to add, depends very greatly upon them."

Time has proven, in this instance at least, that the first of April is not a bad day upon which to establish a newspaper.

Following the editorials there is a telegraphic account of about a third of a column, and a few small items of local and vicinity news. The third and fourth pages are completely taken up with advertisements; which shows both the business and journalistic enterprise of Burlington in 1848.

Previous to this important point in its history, the *Free Press* had undergone some changes in its ownership and management. Mr. Foote had conducted the paper alone until February, 1828, when he associated with him Henry B. Stacy, who had managed the business and superintended the mechanical production of the paper since its establishment. Messrs. Foote and Stacy edited and published the *Free Press* in partnership until January, 1833, when Mr. Foote retired, and Mr. Stacy became sole editor and proprietor. In July, 1846, Mr. Stacy in turn closed his connection with the paper, selling it to De Witt C. Clarke, a "born journalist" and a man of remarkable capacity and talents. It was shortly after Mr. Clarke became the owner and editor of the *Free Press* that the telegraphic connection between Troy and Burlington, to which we have referred, was formed. Perceiving the opportunity which this event afforded for the publication of a daily bulletin of intelligence in the rapidly growing town of Burlington, Mr. Clarke, as has been shown, supplemented the weekly edition of the *Free Press*—which still retained its large circulation in the county outside of Burlington—with a daily edition.

Mr. Clarke successfully conducted the daily and weekly editions of the *Free Press* until April, 1853, when he sold both to Messrs. George W. and George G. Benedict, of Burlington. Under their management the *Free Press* rapidly extended its circulation and influence, and became well known throughout northern New England as one of the most reliable and ably conducted of the Republican newspapers of that section. Both the weekly and daily editions were enlarged, and the publication matter was increased in quantity and improved in quality. In 1868 the growing prosperity and large business interests of the *Free Press* seemed to call for the organization of a stock company, thus afford-



ing a broader basis for the future development of the paper. Accordingly, in 1868, the paper was transferred to a company of stockholders known as the Free Press Association, the Messrs. Benedict, however, retaining a large proportion of the stock. In 1869 the publishers began to issue the daily *Free Press* in both morning and evening editions.

In July, 1869, the daily *Free Press* absorbed the daily *Times* of Burlington, and has since been published as the daily *Free Press and Times*—the only daily newspaper issued in Burlington or in Chittenden county. The evening edition of the *Free Press and Times* was discontinued in July, 1882. The daily and weekly are now edited by Hon. G. G. Benedict, of Burlington. The *Free Press* is acknowledged to be one of the most influential Republican newspapers in New England.

The Iris and Burlington Literary Gazette was one of the ventures in the field of purely literary journalism to which reference has been made. It was an octavo sheet, published semi-monthly. Its contents never represented a startling degree of literary talent, and, though it was quite well patronized by its contributors, the general public allowed it to die in about twenty months. It was published by Worth & Foster, and edited by them at first; subsequently by Zadock Thompson, of Burlington, the author of *Thompson's Vermont*.

The Green Mountain Repository was another literary publication, smaller in size than the *Iris*, and comparatively shorter-lived. This magazine was also edited by Zadock Thompson, and was published by Chauncey Goodrich, of Burlington. It existed one year.

The Green Mountain Boy was a small, comet-like publication, which appeared in December, 1834, and disappeared in March, 1835. It was published by Richards & Co.

A journal in the interests of the French-Canadian population of Chittenden county was started at Burlington in 1839, but only survived a few issues. It was called *La Canadien Patriot*.

Almost the only journal published outside of Burlington at this time was the *Milton Herald*, which was commenced in Milton in 1848 and lived a little over four years.

A Democratic sheet, called *The True Democrat*, was started in 1848 by Nathan Haswell, but soon ceased to enunciate the lofty principles upon which it was founded. It lived less than one year.

The Liberty Gazette first appeared in July, 1846, under the editorship and control of C. C. Briggs. It was bought by L. E. Chittenden and E. A. Stansbury in 1848, and published by them under the name of the *Free Soil Courier and Liberty Gazette* until 1852, when it was suspended for lack of support. Its name indicates the nature of the doctrines which it advocated.

The Liberty Herald, a paper of the same general character as the *Liberty Gazette*, was commenced in 1846, but existed only a portion of that year.



The Burlington Courier was a journal of some ability which had a fair circulation in Burlington for the six years of its existence. It was started by E. A. Stansbury in June, 1848, and conducted by him until the summer of 1852, when it was bought by Guy C. Sampson. Soon after the *Courier* was purchased by C. C. Briggs, by whom it was edited and published until its discontinuance in 1854.

The first strictly agricultural paper published in the county was the *Vermont Agriculturist*, commenced at Burlington in 1848 by De Witt C. Clarke and Caspar T. Hopkins. It never had a large patronage and lived only two years.

The Commercial Register was a monthly business record, published by Nichols & Warren. It was started in 1851 and suspended at the close of its second volume.

A temperance paper called *The Crystal Fount* was started by James Frame in 1852, but only one issue was printed.

When De Witt C. Clarke sold his interest in the Burlington *Free Press*, in 1853, he by no means withdrew from the field of journalism in Chittenden county. A few years later, in May, 1858, we find his name at the head of a fresh newspaper enterprise in Burlington — the *Burlington Times*, a daily and weekly Republican newspaper, started in friendly rivalry to the *Free Press*, the daily edition of the latter being an evening issue, while the daily *Times* was a morning paper. The *Times* was from the first an able paper, but lacked the necessary funds to enable it to compete successfully with the *Free Press*. Mr. Clarke, after editing the paper for two years, sold it to Messrs. Bigelow and Ward. In 1861 Mr. Ward retired from the partnership, and George H. Bigelow assumed the business control of the *Times*, associating with him in editorial control his brother Lucius. The fortunes of the *Times*, however, were on the decline, and in 1869 the paper was bought by the Free Press Association and united with the *Free Press*.

In 1868 a weekly newspaper called the *Vermont Watchman* was started in Burlington by Captain John Lonergan, but became involved in debt, and was discontinued after three issues.

In 1871 A. N. Merchant came to Burlington from Champlain, N. Y., and began his brief but brilliant career in the field of Chittenden county journalism by publishing as his first venture a weekly newspaper, Democratic in politics, called the *Independent*. This paper proving unsuccessful, Mr. Merchant purchased the *Sentinel*; changed its name to the *Burlington Democrat*, and after publishing it for a short time from the old rickety building which used to stand on the corner of Main and Church streets, Burlington, removed the paper to Providence, R. I., as previously stated.

A monthly literary and family journal called *Home Hours* was started in Burlington by Benedict & Co., in 1872, but was published only a short time. It was succeeded, in 1873, by a similar venture on the part of A. N. Merchant, which, however, was equally short-lived.



Two scientific journals were established at Burlington about this time by J. M. Courier: The *Vermont Medical Journal*, a bi-monthly, which was issued only a short time in 1873, and the *Archives of Science*, a quarterly, established in 1874, and soon discontinued.

The Burlington Clipper, one of the most wide-awake and readable of Vermont weeklies, was established in Burlington March 26, 1874, by C. S. Kinsley. It was conducted by Mr. Kinsley alone until the latter part of the year 1885, when J. S. Harris, of St. Johnsbury (formerly editor of the *St. Johnsbury Index*), became associated with him in the ownership and editorial control of the paper. The *Clipper* has recently been removed to new and attractive quarters in the old *Times* building, and is increasing in prosperity under the enterprising management of Messrs. Kinsley & Harris.

A monthly paper called *The Witness* was published for about two years at Winooski, the first number appearing in 1875. *The Witness* was strongly temperance in its principles and utterances, and by some worthy people was considered "cranky." It was edited by Rev. Mr. Atwater, and published by Wilson Bros.

The Vermont National was an ill-starred venture, published by the "National Publishing Company," at Burlington. It was started in 1875, and only a few issues were printed.

The Burlington Review, a weekly, was started by H. W. Love at Burlington, in 1878. Mr. Love soon after started a branch paper at Rutland, and the tail speedily wagged the dog to death.

Another ephemeral publication was the *Sunday Crucible*, the first and only Sunday paper ever published in Chittenden county. It was established at Burlington by R. E. Chase & Co. in May 1879, and was in rather unsavory repute from the outset. After a fitful existence of not quite a year, during which time its name was changed to *The National*, it joined the great majority of Chittenden county newspaper ventures, which had been—in somewhat ghastly phrase—"run into the ground."

The Chittenden Reporter, a weekly newspaper, was started at Jericho in 1882, by A. D. Bradford. It has been enlarged and improved since its establishment, and has now a growing circulation in the section of the county where it is published.

The Burlington Independent, the local organ of the Democratic party in Burlington, was started in 1885 by C. J. Alger, a Burlington lawyer, who is sole editor and proprietor. *The Independent* is edited with ability, especially in respect to comment upon local events, and is coming to take its place as one of the leading Democratic papers of the State. It is published weekly in Burlington, and circulates in that city, and quite extensively among the Democratic party in the county.

In some respects the most remarkable publication in Chittenden county re-



mains yet to be noticed. Although *The Vermont Autograph and Remarker* never saw type or press, it was, nevertheless, a publication of no small importance and interest. A limited number of copies, printed with pen and ink, were issued and circulated from time to time by James Johns, of Huntington. This curious, half-public, half-private record of men and events, is filled with valuable historical and biographical matter, and such copies of it as now exist are naturally held in great esteem by their fortunate possessors. An extract or two will show that Mr. Johns was a man of opinions, and also that he knew how to express them.

The editor of the *Autograph and Remarker* thus delivers himself upon the subject of conventionality in dress: "There are certain matters concerning which a man ought to be considered as having a right to choose and act for himself independent of others. Among these is custom and fashion in what we wear about us. It is not necessary to our safety or our comfort that a man should conform himself to a prevailing fashion or custom worn or observed on certain occasions, and he ought not to be proscribed or ridiculed for differing in these things from the common run of things in those matters. All that the community need require of us in this matter is neatness, order and cleanliness."

Mr. Johns evidently had a strong undercurrent of Tory sympathy in his heart, for all his living under a Republican form of government; for he says, in another place: "It is true that in a republican government founded on the will of the will of the people, a majority of votes cast is made to decide in elections held, and on the adoption of a measure proposed where the question is put in a legislative body. The reason of which is, as we know, that men differ so much in their opinions and interests that they can scarcely ever be brought unanimously to agree on what is proper to be done, or who ought to be chosen to office; and government is too important a matter to be set aside for want of unanimous assent. In all general matters of course where society is interested in its safety and protection from common danger and unnecessary wanton annoyance, it is just and right that the popular will should rule and have proper weight, though, at the same time, the multitude are too apt sometimes to be actuated by foolish, unjust prejudice against things more obnoxious to their local or chance interests than really harmful to them on the whole, which is the case with the mobs and riots that sometimes arise in the cities. Further than this consideration of common safety and order, I do not think that popular drift ought to be allowed so much influence."

Mr. Johns discourses thus warmly of "Single Blessedness" in reply to certain disparaging remarks of the editor of the *Free Press* in connection with a "bachelors' levee" held in Burlington:

"We must confess it does try our patience and our feelings, entirely aside from the circumstances of our being one of the number implicated, to hear and read the sweeping, ungenerous and unjust slants against that class of men who are pursuing the even tenor of their lives, free from the entangle-



ments of matrimony, and lavishing on them that pity which is much more due to married men in many cases. It is mean as it is absurd for any one to indulge in such ribaldry, just as if there were not and could not be only good reasons why a man is not, and ought not to be married, as everyone possessed of common sense knows there is, and since this fact cannot but be apparent to every one, among others to publishers of newspapers like him of the Burlington *Free Press*, who in introducing a notice of the Bachelors' Levee took occasion to dub them a 'miserable set.' We would like to know what honor either their papers, or matrimony itself can derive from an imputation that every man, fit or not, ought to have a wife, just for the name of it? We advise him and the matrimonial champions of Burlington to hold a meeting of the husbands and wives there (the last bringing broomsticks with them) and see how many may wear the breeches."

The early history of journalism in Chittenden county, as probably in every community at that time, is in itself a curious and interesting study. The newspaper of that day differed, as may well be supposed, most materially from the newspaper of to-day. All the factors which then entered into the make-up of a newspaper were unlike what they are at the present time. The *news* was not the paramount feature of journalism; nor was the absolute freshness of intelligence its most desirable feature, as now. News was still news until it became so old that the community ceased to be interested in it. As a circulator of local intelligence, the early newspaper could not for an instant compare with even the least voluble gossip of an age little given to gossiping. Its chief object seems to have been to mould opinion and cultivate a taste for useful reading. And, when we look at it critically, is not this a higher and better standard than that of the modern newspaper?

One of the most interesting peculiarities of the early newspaper was the way in which it gathered its news. Before the day of the telegraph, of course, everything but local intelligence had to come "by post" or messenger. Thus we frequently find the editor rejoicing in the opportune arrival of a copy of some foreign or metropolitan journal, dated from a week to a month previous, and received always, it may be observed, "at the moment of going to press." Or, possibly, he gets a newsy letter from some correspondent or friend, which he proceeds to print in full with all its obscure privacies and exuberant comment.

The editor of the Burlington *Sentinel* was once at this critical juncture of "going to press," when there arrived, as he says, "a New York paper dated the 31st ult.," from which he gleaned considerable interesting and timely matter, including some foreign news which had been thirty-four days crossing the ocean!

Even after the telegraph had united Burlington, and with it Chittenden county, with the world's life-current of thought and events, the newspaper of the day seems to have been still hampered by the slow conveyance of news. When the revolutionary movement in France deposed Louis Philippe, and all Europe stood aghast at the tremendous power of a great people rising in their might, the peaceful serenity of Chittenden county was not stirred for more than a fortnight after the event. The first intelligence of it was conveyed by a small extra, issued from the *Free Press* office, which introduced the news by stating



that "The *Cambria* arrived this morning, sailed from Liverpool on the 27th ult., bringing two weeks' later intelligence from Europe."

Sometimes, too, even the telegraph failed to bring anything which satisfied the Burlington journalist's high idea of what a "well-magnetized" community should enjoy. "The news by telegraph this morning," says the *Free Press*, shortly after telegraphic communication had been made with Troy, "is of no sort of importance—embracing nothing but the Troy market and a few miscellaneous items of no general interest."

In the collecting of local news the editors of thirty and forty years ago seem to have exercised a policy of rigid exclusiveness, besides a disposition to admit to their columns only that which time had thoroughly tested and endorsed. Small talk, which is so agreeable to the newspaper reader of to-day, was utterly beneath the contempt of the editor of the dignified local weekly which moulded the opinions of our fathers. As to matters of actual and even startling importance in the community—fires, robberies, celebrations, weddings and the like—the editors of our local papers in those days seem to have pursued the original and unrevised policy of Mohammed with a superior consistency. They amiably allowed mountains to come to them, when their space permitted, but displayed no anxiety about going in search of mountains themselves. This policy, unfortunately, renders the newspaper of forty years ago a very imperfect chronicler of local events, and hardly a thorough and impartial guide to the historian.

It is rather amusing (as well as vexatious sometimes) to secure the date of some important local event, and then turn to the columns of the newspaper and find it embalmed in a few sententious sentences, which state at enormous length the fact that such an event occurred, but stop there with the tacit admission that the editor was too lazy or too indifferent to look up the particulars. In compensation, however, the investigator will find the rest of the column filled with valuable editorial matter.

The diffuse style of editorial, to which allusion has been made, and which was "all the fashion" in those days, answered admirably well for certain subjects, particularly those of a light and general character, allowing play to the fancy, and giving opportunity for a happy and felicitous use of words. A glance at the early files of the *Sentinel* and the *Free Press*, for instance, shows some examples of this description of writing—more essays than editorials—which are really models in their way. For instance, here is a charming editorial on

VALENTINE'S DAY. — Charles Lamb had serious doubts, so he says, whether old Bishop Valentine, the patron of the fourteenth day of the shortest month in the year, and "the venerable archflamen of Hymen," was a mortal who was accustomed to wear a tippet and rochet, apron and decent lawn sleeves. At any rate, if he were actually a mitred father in the calendar, his spirit, he maintained with great force, on each returning festival, "came attended with thousands and ten thousands of little loves," and the air was

"Brush'd with the kiss of nestling wings."

“Singing cupids,” quoth the gentle Elia, “are thy choristers and precentors, oh Bishop, and instead of the crozier, the mystical arrow is borne before thee!!”

We are very gently reminded that this is the day when those delicate missives usually called valentines, which are written, engraved, printed or painted in the most fanciful and suggestive manner, and nicely enclosed in curiously wrought envelopes, equally tender and tasteful in their devices, are slyly deposited in the all-swallowing and capacious orifice of every village Post-office, to *the advantage* at least of such government officials as expect such deposits to be followed by *valuable* considerations, and to the *amusement* of all who read or write matters so purely ephemeral.

This year the Editor was not forgotten! Our own sensibility has been called into active requisition by the receipt of the following beautiful original Valentine, which we opened in the privacy of our sanctum with careful finger, so as not to break or mar its emblematic seal, and read while nothing was audible save the beating of the editorial heart.¹

The paper on which the kindness of the writer was made manifest, is, on its color, as snowy as the fingers that wrote it. The writing was neatly executed with a quill that was plucked from the wing of Jove's favorite bird, that in his soarings never stops until he reaches the sun! The perfume of the Valentine, if we mistake not, was a very late importation from Araby the Blest!

On a day when universal Yankeedom is commemorating this festival by paying homage to the divinity whose irreversible throne rests on the fancy and affections, we trust we may be pardoned for returning, in a suitable manner, our acknowledgement for the ray of literary sunshine which unexpectedly gleamed upon us.

“With these apologetic remarks,” as the lawyers say, “we submit” the following

VALENTINE.

To * * *

Thou'rt like a star; for when my way was cheerless and forlorn,
And all was blackness like the sky before a coming storm,
Thy beaming smile and words of love, thy heart of kindness free,
Illum'd my path, then cheered my soul, and bade its sorrows flee.

Thou'rt like a star — when sad and lone I wander forth to view
The lamps of night, beneath their rays my spirit's nerved anew,
And thus I love to gaze on thee, and then I think thou'st power
To mix the cup of joy for me, ev'n in life's darkest hour.

Thou'rt like a star — when my eye is upward turned to gaze
Upon those orbs, I mark with awe their clear celestial blaze,
And then thou seem'st so good, so high, so beautifully bright,
I almost feel as if it were an angel met my sight.

Thou'rt like a star — perchance the proud and haughty pass me by,
And curl the lip; — but not to them is bowed my spirit high;
No, not to them, e'en should they wear earth's proudest diadem,
But I would bow before thee now, and kiss thy garment's hem.

And here is one with the piscatorial art for its subject — a theme which, curiously enough, editors of every day have found particularly congenial:

Our friends of the Brattleboro *Eagle* have gone into “convulsions” of piscatorial delight over a “sockdolager” of a Pike, caught by Mr. Pettis of that town, in West River a few days ago, and “served up” (and we underwrite for its having been *well* served up) by Captain Lord, last Saturday. If the Captain *did* crimp that fish, as he knows how, it furnished one of the *coena divinum* spoken of in the Koran!

The *Eagle* says that the pike are “not indigenous to (in?) our waters,” and proceeds to trace their *pedigree* from “Long Jim” Wilson of N. H., Judge Chipman of Richmond, President Olin, and other

¹ Here “the following beautiful original valentine” should have been inserted, according to the editor's first intention — which either repented him or else slipped his mind.



distinguished *sarans* and *bon vivants*, who, upwards of a quarter of a century ago, translated the progenitors of this ferocious fish from our Lake to Otter Creek, "above Middlebury Falls," whence they were lifted over the mountain into Plymouth ponds. whence they escaped into the Connecticut and its accessible tributants by means of a miniature deluge that arose from a miscellaneous "breaking loose" of one of the Plymouth ponds "a few years ago." The Brattleboro branch of the ancient family of the "escoes" is, therefore, *very* respectably *descended*, and the excellent Representative in Congress from the First District, as well as Mr. Pettis, one of his constituents, can bear witness that they are a noble fish to "kill." Exploits have been performed by the first named *amateur* and a *grouty* friend of his, in the great eddy below Bellows Falls, on temporary and *dissolvable* rafts, floating ice, and other frail and treacherous moorings, which would make 'old Izaak Walton or Sir Humphrey Davy stare, if not *smile*. If Mr. Pettis understands his duty, he forwarded the pectoral fin of his largest victim to Washington, to remind his representative that "there are a few more left," such as he will find it useless to "bob for" from the Potomac bridge!

A most interesting study is afforded by the advertisements which appear in some of the older Chittenden county newspapers. People had a quaint and *naïve* way of making known their wares and their wants in those days, which irresistibly provokes a smile from the reader of the present time. Here is a collection of advertisements, taken at random from early files of the Burlington *Sentinel* and the Burlington *Free Press* :

1. A polite notice from a jeweler :

NOTICE.—Our Friends and Customers who call to compare their Watches by our Regulator are respectfully desired to walk in and *close the door* while doing the same.

2. A would-be facetious trader informs the public—

BY TELEGRAPH, just received Fresh Oranges and Lemons.

3. An accommodating druggist announces that,

The doctor will be always on hand and good advice will be given *gratis*.

4. That our fathers were aware of the excellence of tobacco as a preventive for moths and a soother of earache, and used occasionally to buy a pound or two of the vile weed for these purposes, appears from the proclamation of a local trader in Burlington that he has

Just received 40 bbls. Chewing Tobacco, 50 bbls. Smoking do., 500 bladders Scotch Snuff, 300 jars Macoboy snuff.

5. The kind of music in which the people of those days "twinkled their heels" is indicated by the advertisement of the leader of a band, who

Is prepared to furnish good music for Ball Parties, &c. on reasonable terms. His band consists of a Clarinet, Post Horn, 1st. and 2nd. violins and Ophedeclyde.

6. That people were no less careless than now-a-days about their domestic pets, would appear from the following proclamation :

Came into the enclosure of the subscriber about the 4th. inst. a White Pig. The owner will pay charges and take it away.

7. Anæsthetics were a novelty in Vermont thirty years ago. A Burlington druggist advertises :

CHLOROFORM—A supply of this new and celebrated preparation, manufactured by W. B. Little of Boston, just received and for sale.

8. Attempt at humor in a Burlington price current :

PROVISIONS—Buckwheat flour is plenty, and as a natural consequence pancakes have been *going down* for several days, and are now reported "flat." We noticed, however, at the meeting of "the board" this morning, a very general disposition to "operate" in the article, and some heavy lots were taken on individual account, parties appeared to regard them as a good *investment*.



9. The following announcement shows the varied methods of cajolment practiced by editors at that time :

A few barrels of excellent soft soap for sale ; inquire of the printer.

10. Duns were as frequent and as important in those days as now, and the warnings connected therewith were still more imperative :

NOTICE.—Those indebted to the subscriber, are requested to make immediate payment, and save both parties trouble.

11. In the *Northern Sentinel* for Friday, July 20, 1827, appears the announcement for the old line of Lake Champlain steamboats, consisting at that time of the *Phœnix* and *Congress*.

The *Phœnix*, J. R. Harrington master, will commence her regular trips, by leaving Whitehall every Tuesday and Saturday at 2 o'clock p. m., and St. Johns every Monday and Friday at 8 o'clock a. m. The *Congress*, G. Lathrop master, will be engaged in towing rafts until about the 20th of May, after which she will join the *Phœnix* in a regular line, due notice of which will hereafter be given.

The prices of passage, etc., are given, and then the following regulations :

Children from two to ten years of age, half price ; under two years, quarter price. No passenger will be taken on board or put on shore, however short the distance, for less than 75 cents. For each dog or other animal, not exceeding the size of a sheep, one dollar ; they are to be tied on deck, forward of the capstan. Horses, Gigs, Waggons, etc., from Plattsburgh to Burlington the same as last year.

12. When a wife deserted her husband in 1818, she was served as follows : A notice taken from the *Northern Sentinel* of Friday, December 11, 1818 :

ELOPEMENT.

Whereas, Thankful, my wife, has conducted in an unbecoming manner and has left my bed and board : — this is therefore to forbid all persons, harboring or trusting her on my account, as I will not pay any debt or debts of her contracting after this date.

13. It seems rather strange to see a lottery advertised under the auspices of one of the New England States, but at this early date lotteries under the sanction of the State of Vermont were legal ; as witness the following announcement :

VERMONT LOTTERY.

First class new series for the benefit of a road from Rutland to Woodstock, 8760 prizes, amounting to \$60,900 whole tickets, \$3, quarters, 75 cents. In selling by certificate a package of ten tickets is warranted to draw four prizes of the lowest denomination (\$4) which are deducted from the price of the tickets, and a certificate of their numbers is given, agreeing to pay all they draw over what is deducted from the price of the tickets.

14. People not infrequently used the advertising columns of the newspapers at this time as a medium through which to publicly settle their personal quarrels. The following instance of dissension in the camp is a case in point :

It can be seen by an article published in the *News Journals* at Burlington, that H. C. Nash of Winooski Falls, Vt., belonging to the tribe of Rechabites of Tent No. 9 at that village, and heretofore acting as recording scribe of that Tent, has finally resigned his office. It is well known that Mr. Nash did publish an article accusing N. Richardson of drinking intoxicating liquor, which was (as has recently been stated) "a downright falsehood," and still another article has quite recently made its public appearance, purporting to emanate from Rechabite Tent No. 9, from Winooski, and signed by another soft pated *Jackass* ; — soft pated for the reason that the members of that tent can procure the name of no other individual than such, to subscribe, *in any capacity*, to an article wherein the more enlightened and respectable portion of the community can see set forth malicious and downright falsehood. By reference to their article, sec. 3rd, it can be seen that they have "requested" me to meet with them ; and still further (which I add on my own responsibility) some of them urged and even promised me to use all their influence for promoting me to the highest office afforded by their Tent ! But their urg-



ings and solicitations were in vain ; for the idea of associating with them was too repulsive to entertain, and would be to any respectable man, until they pay more regard to their own moral character, aside from getting *drunk*.

N. B. Let it be distinctly understood that reference is had in the above particularly to the Rechabites of Tent No. 9, and to no other ; for it is well known that there are societies under the name "Rechabites," whose members sustain the highest respectability. N. Richardson.

From the above example it will be seen that the early newspapers of Chittenden county afforded much unique and curious reading in their advertising columns alone, which their readers must have appreciated to a certain extent, at least. Furthermore, the early newspapers of Chittenden county were, as a rule, liberally supplied with advertisements, and their publishers must have realized no small profit, as well as amusement, from this department.

Humor at this time was mostly an imported product. Occasionally an original witticism appears in a Vermont newspaper, but it was generally of local application and doubtful quality. Much of the quoted humor, however, has a flavor and aptness which shows that editors — and presumably their readers — appreciated and enjoyed the ludicrous side of life as genuinely as we do to-day. A few examples by way of illustration, the first being taken from one of the very earliest issues of the old *Centinel*, and the quaint spelling retained :

1. How to raise a devyle ? Contradycte your' wyffe.

Which shows that the marriage relation had its terrors even to our sturdy ancestors. An attempt at an original pun is made in the following :

2. A schoolmaster in Vermont lately recommended to his pupils a very fine edition of *Comb on the Head*.

The writer alluded to is probably Combe, a favorite text in the schools thirty years ago. The same editor who coined this witticism remarks, in another place :

3. We see that pantaletts are now beautifully and politely termed *shin-curtains*.

And here is another equally refined production :

4. "I won't cover your heels, I'll be *darned* if I do," as the ragged stocking said to the novel-reading lady.

It never rains but it pours ; so the fun at the expense of the fair sex continues :

5. It is currently reported and generally believed of the whole female sex, that they do not scruple to *HOOK* each others' dresses.

Here is something that is probably quoted. It is good enough for a *bon-mot* :

6. The weather-cock, after all, points to the highest moral truth, for it shows man that it is a "vane" thing to a "spire."

Here is one of the original versions of the antique coffee joke :

7. "Why do you set your cup of coffee upon the chair, Mr. Jones ?" said our worthy landlady, this morning at breakfast. "It's so weak, madam," replied Mr. Jones, demurely, "I thought I would let it rest."

It is also an interesting feature of this study of early journalism, to note something of the customs and manners — the everyday life of the people of that time. The older files of the newspapers of Chittenden county are full of



interesting matter of this kind, but we have space for only one or two characteristic examples. The first relates to the science of inoculation for small-pox, at the time when it had first been introduced into this country, and shows something of the old-fashioned neighborliness and lack of conventionality among our worthy ancestors. The article in question is taken from an old copy of the *Vermont Centinel*, dated May 4, 1810, and relates to "a new mode of inoculating Kine Pock," which is "extending in practice with the happiest results."

When a child has been infected, instead of a physician coming, when the pock is mature, to take away the matter, and frighten the babe into tears and terror by his lancet, quills, &c., the parents announce by a board fixed outside the door, that on such a day children in perfect health may be inoculated without expense, and with ripe living matter, provided they are brought by their mothers between the hours of 10 o'clock in the morning and 4 in the afternoon. The mother of the infant from whence the matter is to be taken is furnished only with a common sewing needle, the point of which she dips in the ripe vesicle, on the arm of her child, and then immediately with it she makes a slight puncture in the arm of that which is brought to receive the infection. No blood is drawn. If the children are asleep they are neither of them suffered to be disturbed. This mode of infection, with living matter, never fails, no inflammation ensues, and the whole of the operation is performed by the mothers only.

Everybody who has read colonial history and biography knows that at that time the country, in its sparsely settled condition, was considerably infested with footpads and outlaws, who made the infrequent journeys of travelers hazardous and dangerous. That Chittenden county was by no means free from these pests of society appears from the following graphic account of a

HORRID ROBBERY!!!

(From the *Centinel*.)

Since we published a short account of the robbery committed upon Joseph True, in last week's paper, we have received the following authentic, and we think correct, statement of facts, which was received from Mr. True and others, and communicated to us from the most respectable sources.

On the night on which this outrage was committed, Mr. True was traveling in Wheelock in a cutter, and designed to reach Mile tavern that night, so that he might with a weary horse arrive home at Derby the next night. As he was passing down the hill three-fourths of a mile north of Bradley's tavern, he was first alarmed by the discharge of a pistol aimed at his head from the back part of his sleigh, which did no other injury than to blow off his hat. True immediately seized a loaded pistol which he had in the hind seat of his cutter, and probably discharged it. He was soon disarmed of his pistol, then seized the seat to defend himself, against which a pistol was discharged, and the ball passed half through the board and then glanced off (!) Afterwards he seized his whip, and while in the act of defence received a blow over the head with a dagger or some sharp weapon which cut a considerable wound on his forehead, and another on his left hand. Here the recollection of the party injured ceased. On examination of Mr. True, when his senses returned, it appears that in addition to the above injuries, he received a severe blow on the back-side of his head and a violent thrust through the left side with a dagger, which passed through all his clothes and made a small wound about an inch long, little more than skin deep. It was a great misfortune that True did not regain his senses until 10 or 11 o'clock the next day, but was found at the door of Mr. Hawkins about day break besmeared with blood. His sleigh exhibited marks of a great discharge of blood, as well as the ground where the robbery was committed, and for some distance on the side of the highway northerly of the unfortunate spot. The amount of the money taken from him was about 1,400 dollars in the whole, consisting of bills and specie.

The foregoing examples give a general idea of the character and contents of the early Chittenden county newspapers. The method of their mechanical



production was far more crude and primitive, as compared with the facilities of the modern newspaper printing-office, than their literary style and contents, compared with the contents of the modern newspaper. It was not until 1783 that the first printing press was brought into Western Vermont, by Anthony Haswell, who issued the first number of the *Vermont Gazette* from Bennington on June 3, 1783. This press of Mr. Haswell was a hand press, a cumbrous, crude, slow-working affair; but there was no material improvement in printing presses in Vermont for almost fifty years afterward. The earliest newspapers and periodicals of Chittenden county were all printed on the same kind of press—the old “Ben Franklin” style, with flat bed and horizontal platen, so familiar from cuts in the heads of old newspapers and in printers’ catalogues. Every impression taken necessitated first the inking of the type by a hand roller, then the laying of the sheet to be printed over the type, care being taken that it was even and “square,” then the taking of the impression by pulling down the handle of the press, which lowered the platen on the type, then the raising of the platen and removing the sheet adhering strongly to the ink with the hand. This process, of course, took a great deal of time, and was exceedingly laborious and vexing; yet a single operator, or perhaps two, would work off the whole edition of a newspaper in little more than half a day. It must be borne in mind that subscribers in those days were few and far between, and a list of 500 was considered an enormous circulation for a local journal.

The *Mercury* and the early issues of the *Centinel* were set in the old English style of types and spelling, and make a very quaint and curious appearance to-day. Editors were accustomed in those days—as to some extent now in country offices—to do a good deal of the mechanical, as well as the brain work, connected with their journals. Anthony Haswell, the proprietor of the *Vermont Gazette*, composed, we are told, with such facility that most of his printed matter was that of thoughts set up by himself in type, as they flowed from his mind, without having them first committed to paper.

Editors are proverbially poor—but in the early times of which we are writing they must have been even less burdened with wealth than they are supposed to be to-day. Their subscription rates were exceedingly low, and their subscribers remarkably few. Even the Chittenden county dailies were only four dollars a year, and they were well worth the money. Advertising rates were correspondingly low, as may be judged from the proportion of this class of literature to other matter in the daily and weekly journals. When an editor came to grief—was burned out, or suffered some other calamity for which he was not directly responsible—instead of borrowing money, or getting somebody to start a subscription paper, he applied to the Legislature for a lottery license, which was invariably granted, and the restored printer went on his way rejoicing with a scheme containing many blanks and few prizes. The lottery was a favorite method of exercising benevolence with our fathers, who

never liked to cast their bread upon the waters without making some provision, however slight, to insure its possible return.

In conclusion something should be said more particularly about the politics of the leading Chittenden county newspapers, from the beginning up to the present day ; since a newspaper's politics are, as a rule, the reason of its existence.

The earliest newspapers of Chittenden county were for the most part pronounced and firm adherents either of the Federalist party or of the anti-Federalist or Republican party. State sovereignty, then imperfectly defined, was the prevailing idea in the minds of the anti-Federalists, and they took every opportunity to oppose any extended delegation of authority from the States of the Union. They contended that the power of the State should be supreme, and charged the Federalists with monarchical tendencies. When the Bill of Rights became incorporated in the constitution the anti-Federalists withdrew all opposition to that instrument, and changed the name of their party to Republicans. The tendencies of the two parties at this time are well indicated by the epithets they bestowed on each other. The Republicans called the Federalists "monarchists" and "the British party." The Federalists called the Republicans "democrats" — favoring the rule of the mob. During the Ninth Congress, which assembled on the 2d of December, 1805, the Republicans dropped their name and adopted that of Democrats, thus relieving the present student of American politics of the confusion likely to arise from the synonymous use of these now far from synonymous political terms.

The Whig party had its origin in 1823-24, when the question of revision of the tariff with a view to the protection of home industry came up before Congress. The attack and support of the bill took much of a sectional aspect, Virginia, the two Carolinas, Georgia and some other States being unanimous against it. With this sectional aspect a tariff for protection began to assume a political aspect, being taken under the care of the party which was afterwards denominated "National Republicans," or Whigs. The presidential election of 1852 was the last campaign in which the Whig party appeared in national politics, when its candidate, General Winfield Scott, was defeated by the Democratic candidate, General Franklin Pierce. About 1852, when the question of slavery in the Territories, and its extension or abolition in the States, was agitated and causing sectional differences in the country, many Whigs and Democrats forsook their parties and took sides on the questions of the day. The political strife was aggravated by the large number of alien naturalized citizens constantly added to the ranks of voters, who took sides with the Democrats and against the Whigs. In 1854 the Kansas-Nebraska controversy on the territorial government bill resulted in a division of the Whig party in the North, and it was then that the present Republican party was born, it being composed of all the Whigs at the North who were squarely and uncompromis-

ingly opposed to slavery. The other division of the Whig party became what was known as the "Know-Nothing" or American party, a secret organization or order, which attempted to gain control of the politics of the country. After the failure of this party the Republican and Democratic parties alone were left in the field—the former the champion of the old Whig doctrine of the protection of American industries, and opposed to the institution of slavery in the United States. This was the political aspect from 1854 up to the time of the War of the Rebellion.

The Burlington *Sentinel* was at first established as an independent paper, but as party politics became more and more the real and paramount issues of the day, and party lines began to separate men more widely than any other lines, the *Sentinel* ranged itself on the side of the Democratic (then called Republican) party, as against the Federalists. It adhered strictly thereafter to Democratic doctrines, and when the split in the Whig party came, arrayed itself against the Republican wing. It always remained true to Democratic principles, and after it was removed to Rhode Island became one of the leading Democratic papers of that State.

It was probably this tendency of the *Sentinel*, evidenced as early as 1827, which caused the establishment of the *Free Press* by the staunch Whigs, afterwards the Republicans, of Chittenden county. From the the first the *Free Press* took the lead among the Republican newspapers of Chittenden county, a position which it has maintained with remarkable consistency and ability up to the present time. The *Free Press* supported John Quincy Adams for president in 1828, Henry Clay in 1832, William Henry Harrison in 1836 and '40, Henry Clay in 1844, Zachary Taylor in 1848, Winfield Scott in 1852, John C. Fremont in 1856, Abraham Lincoln in 1860 and '64, Ulysses S. Grant in 1868 and '72, Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876, James A. Garfield in 1880, and James G. Blaine in 1884.

The Burlington *Times*, which was not started until 1858, was an able and influential Republican journal while it existed. The Bigelow Brothers, who conducted it from 1861 until it was bought by the Free Press Association in 1869, have always been prominent newspaper men in Vermont, Lucius Bigelow—until recently editor of the Rutland *Herald*—being one of the strongest editorial writers in the State.

The Burlington *Democrat*—the short-lived successor of the *Sentinel*—was very strongly Democrat in its political utterances, but never gained the influence and respect enjoyed by the *Sentinel* under the management of the Messrs. Hoyt.

The Burlington *Clipper* is a Republican newspaper with a tendency toward the independent or "mugwump" wing of the party. Its influence is chiefly felt in State politics.

The Chittenden *Reporter* is Republican, but "na bigoted." It confines itself chiefly to local politics and news.

The Burlington *Independent* is a Democrat paper of the strictest and most uncompromising sort. It is chiefly, as has been noticed, the organ of the local Democracy of Burlington, and pays most of its attention to the local interests of the party.

With very few exceptions, the newspapers and other periodicals of Chittenden county have been edited with remarkable ability and judgment. Compared with their contemporaries, they certainly have been and are creditable to the people of the county, and may well be included among the best representatives of Vermont journalism, both of the earlier period and the present day.

CHAPTER XIV.

FREEMASONRY AND ODD FELLOWSHIP.¹

Introduction of Freemasonry into Chittenden County—Washington Lodge No. 7—Friendship Lodge—McDonough Lodge—Seneca Lodge—North Star Lodge—Patriot Lodge—Webster Lodge—Burlington Lodge No. 100—Army Lodges—Grand Lodge—N. B. Haswell's Manifesto—Royal Arch Masons—Royal and Select Masters—Knights Templar—The Scottish Rite—Other Organizations—Growth of Odd Fellowship in the County—Green Mountain Lodge—Winooski Lodge—Hamilton Lodge—Fayette Uniformed Encampment.

FREEMASONRY was introduced into Chittenden county with the organization of Washington Lodge No. 7, which was chartered Oct. 13, 1795, at Burlington, under authority of "The Grand Lodge of Most Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons for the State of Vermont."

The Grand Lodge, "independent and governed solely by its own laws," was organized at Rutland in the State of Vermont at a convention held for that purpose duly called October 10, 11, 13, and 14, A. D. 1794, in accordance with an adjournment from a convention held in Manchester, Vermont, August 6 and 7, 1794.

Washington Lodge.—The petition for Washington Lodge was read in General Lodge October 13, 1795, and below is a literal copy :

To the Right Worshipful Grand Master and Officers of the Grand Lodge in Vermont :

Observing with the greatest anxiety the decline of Masonry in this part of our State, we feel ourselves alarmed at the loss of one of our most inestimable blessings. From a laudable ambition to retrieve our lost benefits and privileges, and revive the noble and benevolent Order of Antient Free Masons we are induced to prefer our petition for a charter of a lodge by the name of Washington No. —, to set at Burlington in the county of Chittenden. From the knowledge you possess of our local situation, the number of bretheren within this vicinity, and the very great inconvenience attending our visiting the most neighboring lodge—we avoid any comments on the propriety of our request, but respectfully hope it may be granted agreeable to the general wish of the subscribing bretheren—we have only to make this additional request that our worthy brother Ebenezer Marvin be appointed

¹The article on Freemasonry was prepared by W. H. S. Whitcomb; that on Odd Fellowship by C. A. Castle.

master Lemuel Bottum S. W. and Solomon Miller J. W. for the time being—and when our prayer is granted we shall ever feel a spirit of emulation to vie with our neighboring bretheren in the true knowledge of antient Masonry and make an additional compensation for the attention of our grand master and officers of the Grand Lodge to our petition; by our vigilance and assiduity in reviving and adding respectability to the craft. We are with the greatest respect and brotherly love your most obedient servants, Ebenezer Marvin—master Mason. John White—master Mason. Solomon Miller—master Mason. Stephen Keyes—master Mason. Benjamin Marvin—fellow craft. Levi Allen—master mark Mason. Amos Morrill—master Mason. Samuei Mix—master Mason. Lemuel Bottom—master Mason. Joseph Griswold—master Mason. Gideon King—master Mason. Linus Atwater—master Mason. Stephel Pearl—master Mason. Elnathan Keyes—prentice.

The petition was signed by fourteen, but as only twelve were master Masons the charter was issued to them. The names of the twelve appear in the charter, which reads as follows :

The Grand Lodge of the most ancient and honorable society of Free and Accepted Masons in the State of Vermont: To all the fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Whereas petition has been presented to us by Ebenezer Marvin, John White, Solomon Miller, Stephen Keyes, Levi Allen, Amos Morrill, Samuel Mix, Lemuel Bottom, Joseph Griswold, Gideon King, Linus Atwater, and Stephen Pearl, all Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, praying that they with such others as may by them be judged proper, be erected and constituted a regular lodge of Free and Accepted Masons under the name of Washington Lodge; with full power to enter apprentices, pass fellow crafts, and raise master Masons. Which petition appearing to us as tending to the advancement of ancient masonry and the general good of the craft, it has been agreed that the prayer thereof be granted. Now therefore know ye, that we, by virtue of the authority vested in us by grand constitution, and reposing special confidence in the prudence, fidelity and skill in Masonry of our beloved brethren above named, to wit Ebenezer Marvin, John White, Solomon Miller, Stephen Keyes, Levi Allen, Amos Morrill, Samuel Mix, Lemuel Bottom, Joseph Griswold, Gideon King, Linus Atwater, and Stephen Pearl a regular lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, under the name, title and designation of Washington Lodge. Therefore by granting unto them and their successors, full power to convene and meet as Masons in the town of Burlington in the county of Chittenden, to receive and enter apprentices, pass fellow crafts and raise master Masons, upon the payment of such reasonable compensation as may hereafter be determined by the Grand Lodge, conformably to the laws of the Grand Lodge, also to make choice of master, wardens and other office bearers annually, or otherwise as they shall see cause,—to receive and collect funds for the relief of poor and decayed brethren, their widows and children, and in general, to transact all matters relating to Masonry which may to them appear to be for the good of the craft according to the ancient usages and customs of Masons. And we do hereby require the said constituted brethren, by their master and wardens for the time being or their proxies, to attend the Grand Lodge at the stated annual meeting and at such other special grand communications as may be appointed, to keep a fair regular record of all their proceedings proper to be written, and lay the same before the Grand Lodge when there-to required, and also to pay such customs and dues for the benefit of the Grand Lodge as shall from time to time be constitutionally required. And we do hereby declare the precedency of the said lodge in this Grand Lodge and elsewhere, to be number seven in this grand communication. And we require all ancient Masons, especially those holding of this Grand Lodge, to acknowledge and receive them and their successors as regularly constituted Free and Accepted Masons, and treat them accordingly. And we do accordingly appoint our truly and well beloved brother Ebenezer Marvin, Esquire, as first master, and our beloved brother Lemuel Bottom as senior, and our brother Solomon Miller as junior warden. This charter to continue and be in force till revoked. Witness our Most Worshipful Grand Master Noah Smith, Esq. and others our grand officers, under the seal of the Grand Lodge affixed at Windsor this 13 day of October Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five and of Masonry 5795.

Noah Smith, G. M.; Enoch Woodbridge, D. G. M.; John Chipman, G. S. W.; Jotham White, G. J. W.; William Cooley, G. S. D.; Roswell Hopkins, G. J. D.; Nathaniel Brush, G. T.; David Fay, G. sec'y.

Officers to 1834.—Master: 1796–97, Ebenezer Marvin; 1798, David Russell; 1799, James Sawyer; 1800–02, David Russell; 1803, Joshua Isham;

1804-05, no record; 1806-07, George Robinson; 1808, David Russell; 1809-18, George Robinson; 1819-20, no record; 1821, Lemuel Page; 1822-27, Nathan B. Haswell; 1828, no record; 1829-34, Nathan B. Haswell.

Senior Warden: 1796-97, Lemuel Bottom; 1798, John Pomeroy; 1799, Martin Chittenden; 1800, Medad Lyman; 1801, Solomon Miller; 1802-11, no record; 1812-13, James Dean; 1814-18, no record; 1819, Lemuel Page; 1820-22, no record; 1823, Henry Thomas; 1824-26, no record; 1827, Truman Seymour; 1828, Nathan B. Haswell; 1829, James L. Sawyer; 1830-34, David Russell.

Junior Warden: 1796-97, Solomon Miller; 1798, Horace Loomis; 1799, Solomon Miller; 1800-01, no record; 1802, E. T. Englesby; 1803-04, no record; 1805, John Storrs; 1806-13, no record; 1814-16, Lemuel Page; 1817-18, no record; 1819, E. B. Hastings; 1820-22, no record; 1823, James Dean; 1824, no record; 1825, James L. Sawyer; 1826-28, no record; 1829-33, S. Catlin; 1834, Richard Fitzgerald.

After this date Washington Lodge was dormant until February 4, 1846, when it resumed labor, Nathan B. Haswell acting as master, Joshua Doane as senior warden, and Dan Lyon as secretary. The first election after resuming was held June 3, 1846.

Officers to Date.—Master: 1846-53, Nathan B. Haswell; 1854-56, John S. Webster; 1857-59, L. B. Englesby; 1860-61, William G. Shaw; 1862, L. B. Englesby; 1863-67, C. W. Woodhouse; 1868-69, Edward A. Jewett; 1870, Homer M. Phelps; 1871-74, C. W. Woodhouse; 1875-78, C. W. Wingate; 1879, William Brinsmaid; 1880-82, C. W. Wingate; 1883-86, M. W. Johnson.

Senior Warden: 1846-49, John S. Webster; 1850-52, Joshua Doane; 1853, Eli Stearns; 1854-56, L. B. Englesby; 1857, William G. Shaw; 1858, William H. Root; 1859, W. G. Shaw; 1860, W. H. Root; 1861-62, C. W. Woodhouse; 1863-64, Louis Follett; 1865, A. F. Styles; 1866-67, E. A. Jewett; 1868-69, H. M. Phelps; 1870, A. C. Tuttle; 1871-72, William Brinsmaid; 1873-74, C. W. Wingate; 1875-78, A. S. Drew; 1879-80, A. B. Cogswell; 1881, M. W. Johnson; 1882-83, L. F. Englesby; 1884-86, John A. Clapp.

Junior Warden: 1846-49, Joshua Doane; 1850, George M. Hall; 1851-52, Eli Stearns; 1853, L. B. Englesby; 1854-56, W. G. Shaw; 1857, W. H. Root; 1858-59, George W. Beckwith; 1860, C. W. Woodhouse; 1861, Robert S. Styles; 1862, J. W. Roby; 1863-64, A. F. Styles; 1865-67, H. M. Phelps; 1868-69, P. D. Ballou; 1870, William Brinsmaid; 1871, J. H. Brooks; 1872, C. W. Wingate; 1873-78, William Brinsmaid; 1879-80, M. W. Johnson; 1881, L. F. Englesby; 1882-83, John A. Clapp; 1884-86, H. C. Humphrey.

Washington Lodge has had the honor of enrolling many of the leading citizens of Burlington among its members. It has always held a high place in

the good will and esteem of the citizens. It began a series of public addresses in 1800, the first of which, written and delivered by the president of the University of Vermont, was subsequently published, and can be found in the university library with others of later dates.

Friendship Lodge.—In the year 1800 petitions were presented to the Grand Lodge by Masons residing in the towns of Charlotte and Hinesburg, asking for lodges to be located one in each town; these petitions were subsequently withdrawn.

In 1801 the brethren residing in and near Charlotte sent their petition to the Grand Lodge, which met at Newbury, October 9, 1801. Appended is an exact copy:

To the Right Worshipfull Grand Lodge of the State of Vermont:

We, your petitioners, do hereby show; that we are all Free and Accepted Masons regularly initiated, and likewise that some of us now are and all have been members of a regularly constituted lodge.

Feeling anxious for the honour and prosperity of Masonry we are willing to exert ourselves to the utmost to promote and defuse the genuine principals of the noble art of Masonry, but dwelling remote from any lodge we are unable to attend so frequently as is necessary for our own benefit and for the honour of Masonry.

We, your petitioners have therefore agreed to form a next lodge by the name of Friendship Lodge and in consequence of this resolution we pray the Grand Lodge to grant us a warrant of constitution to empower us to assemble as a regular lodge in Charlotte in the county of Chittenden to discharge the duties of Masonry in a regular and constituted manner according to the original forms of the order and the laws of the Grand Lodge.

And we nominate and do recommend Brother Medad Lyman to be the first master, and Brother William B. Marsh to be the first senior warden and Brother Ezra Meech to be the first junior warden of the said lodge. Should the prayer of this petition be granted we promise strict conformity to all the constitutional laws and regulations of the Grand Lodge as in duty we are bound to do.

Charlotte, September 10th, 5801.

Fellow Crafts.—William J. Williams, Gideon Prindle, Timothy Read, Stephen Holister, Medad Lyman, 2d, Jonathan Lyman, Jonathan Breckenridge.

Master Masons.—Samuel Darrow, John Cobb, Curtis Lake, Joseph Hurlbut, jr., John Cunningham, Isaac Webb, Martin Lawrence, Russell Catlin, Morris Smith, Caleb Barton, Medad Lyman (Master), William B. Marsh (S. W.), Doctor Bostwick, Ezra Meech (Jr. W.), Ithiel Stone, Nathaniel Newell, Homer Towner.

This petition was granted the same day and a charter issued to Medad Lyman, master; William B. Marsh, senior warden; Ezra Meech, junior warden, and others.

The printed record of the Grand Lodge shows¹ that the charter was ordered October 9, 1801, and it also shows² that its members subsequently petitioned for the privilege of holding one-half of their communications in the town of Hinesburg, and Grand Master Chipman instituted the lodge at Hinesburg February 11, 1803.³

The following list includes the names of all the masters from the date of the dispensation to 1833:

1801, Medad Lyman; 1802, William B. Marsh; 1803 to 1814 inclusive, Samuel Rich; 1815, William Hurlburt; 1816, John Strong; 1817, William Hurlburt; 1818, Joseph Hurlburt; 1819, John M. Eldredge; 1820, Rev. Joel

¹Gr. Lodge Records, 1801, p. 87.

²P. 93, 1802.

³P. 93, 1802.

Clapp; 1821, John Strong; 1822, no returns; 1823, M. Hinsdale; 1824 to 1833 inclusive, Lemon Judson.

The lodge ceased work from 1833, and in 1847 the Grand Lodge declared it extinct. In 1851 it was reorganized and a charter was obtained, numbered 24, and dated January 15, 1852, issued to Samuel Fletcher, Harry Newell, Orrin Read, Timothy S. Haskins, William M. Judson, Loring Pease, Myron Read, Caleb E. Barton, Solomon Pease, Henry S. Morse, Isaac Smith, George Saxton, Ezra Holt, John Strong, William R. Williams, Midas Prindle, Hinman Beers, Burke Leavenworth, David C. Gillette, Garrard Burritt, Aaron B. Webb.

The charter was signed by M. W. Philip C. Tucker, grand master; R. W. Samuel S. Butler, dep. grand master; R. W. Joshua Doane, gr. senior warden; R. W. Coit Parkhurst, gr. junior warden; R. W. Dan Lyon, gr. treasurer; R. W. John B. Hollenbeck, gr. secretary.¹

The following is a list of officers to date:

Master: 1851-54, A. B. Webb; 1855-56, C. E. Barton; 1857, A. B. Webb; 1858-61, Luther D. Stone; 1862-65, H. C. Leavenworth; 1866-73, J. H. Thorp; 1874, H. C. Leavenworth; 1875-76, H. N. Newell; 1877-78, J. H. Thorp; 1879, Martin F. Allen; 1880-83, W. H. H. Varney; 1884-85, Harley D. Edgerton; 1886, A. B. Stearns.

Senior warden: 1851-53, C. E. Barton; 1854-56, A. C. Palmer; 1857, Luther D. Stone; 1858, H. C. Leavenworth; 1859, Harry Newell; 1860-64, S. Humphrey; 1865, H. H. Beach; 1866, A. J. Burritt; 1867-70, H. N. Newell; 1871, Joseph Barton; 1872-73, W. H. H. Varney; 1874-76, Edgar Edgerton; 1877-78, Dean Hosford; 1879, Joseph Barton; 1880-83, H. D. Edgerton; 1884-85, A. B. Stearns; 1886, O. P. Ray.

Junior warden: 1851-53, Burke Leavenworth; 1854, H. C. Leavenworth; 1855-56, Luther D. Stone; 1857, A. C. Palmer; 1858, Harry Newell; 1859, S. Humphrey, jr.; 1860, T. J. Hoskins; 1861, N. J. Allen; 1862, C. L. Comstock; 1863-64, A. J. Burritt; 1865, J. H. Thorp; 1866, M. F. Allen; 1867, Joseph Barton; 1868-70, M. F. Allen; 1871, W. H. H. Varney; 1872, Geo. Edgerton; 1873;² 1874-76, J. W. Bradley; 1877-78, Homer Irish; 1879, W. H. H. Varney; 1880-83, George W. James; 1884-85, O. P. Read; 1886, F. R. Stoddard.

McDonough Lodge No. 56 was chartered in 1821 in Essex, and held its communications there. It was instituted December 27, 1821, by George Robinson, deputy grand master.³

Masters from 1821 to 1834: 1821, Erastus D. Hubbell; 1822, Samuel Page; 1823, Billy B. Butler; 1824, Roswell Butler; 1825, Eben Chittenden; 1826, Eben Chittenden; 1827, Billy B. Butler; 1828, John Halbert; 1829, John Halbert; 1830, Eli Stockwell; 1831, Eli Stockwell; 1832, Daniel Littlefield; 1833, Daniel Littlefield; 1834, Daniel Littlefield.

¹ Brothers Dan. Lyon and John B. Hollenbeck are living at this writing.

² Deceased.

³ See Reprint Grand Lodge Proceedings, p. 267.

It ceased work in 1834 and was dormant until 1846, when it was represented in Grand Lodge by Ira A. Collamer, proxy for Daniel Littlefield, worshipful master; being unrepresented in 1847 and 1848, it was declared extinct in 1849.

In 1851 an effort was made to reorganize, which resulted in the following petition to Grand Master Philip C. Tucker:

To the Most Worshipful Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of the State of Vermont:

We, the undersigned, being master Masons of good standing, and having the prosperity of the craft at heart, are anxious to exert our best endeavors to promote and diffuse the genuine principles of Free Masonry; and for the convenience of our respective dwellings, and other good reasons, we are desirous of forming a new lodge, to be named MacDonough Lodge.

We therefore, with the approbation of the district deputy grand master, and the lodge nearest our residence, respectfully pray for a dispensation empowering us to meet as a regular lodge at Essex in the county of Chittenden on the second Thursday of every month, and there to discharge the duties of ancient York Masonry in a constitutional manner according to the forms of the order and the laws of the Grand Lodge. And we have nominated and do recommend Brother Jesse Carpenter to be the first master, Brother Samuel Page to be the first senior warden and Brother Samuel Henry Boynton to be the first junior warden of the lodge.

The prayer of this petition being granted, we promise strict obedience to the commands of the grand master and the laws and regulations of the Grand Lodge.

Dated at Essex this 25th day of February, A.L. 5851.

Jesse Carpenter, Daniel Tyler, Amasa Bellows, Samuel Page, S. H. Boynton, Simon Tubbs, Benjamin Wiggins, John Sinclair, Nathl Bouker.

This petition was recommended by Washington Lodge No. 3, by North Star Lodge No. 12, and by Deputy John S. Webster, of District No. 5, and a dispensation was issued as follows:

To all whom it may Concern, Greeting:

Whereas, a petition has been presented to me by sundry brethren, to wit: Brother Jesse Carpenter, Daniel Tyler, Amasa Bellows, Samuel Page, S. H. Boynton, Simon Tubbs, Benjamin Wiggins, John Sinclair and Nathaniel Bouker, residing in the town of Essex and its vicinity, in the county of Chittenden and State of Vermont, praying to be congregated into a regular lodge at Essex aforesaid, and promising to render obedience to the ancient usages and landmarks of the fraternity and the laws of the Grand Lodge; and whereas said petitioners have been recommended to me as master Masons in good standing by the recommendations of Washington Lodge No. 3, and of North Star Lodge No. 12, within Masonic district No. 5 (in which said town of Essex is situated, said lodges being the two nearest lodges to said town of Essex), for the establishment of the objects of said petition:

And whereas our worthy brother, John S. Webster, district deputy grand master for said Masonic district No. 5, hath approved the said petition and duly certified the same in his official capacity of district deputy grand master aforesaid, agreeably to the rules of Masonry and the requirements of the Grand Lodge; therefore, I, Philip C. Tucker, grand master of the M. W. Grand Lodge of the State of Vermont, reposing full confidence in the recommendations and approval aforesaid, and in the Masonic integrity and ability of the petitioners, do, by virtue of the authority in me vested, hereby grant this Dispensation, empowering and authorizing our trusty and well-beloved Brethren aforesaid, to form and open a lodge, after the form and manner of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, and therein to admit and make Freemasons according to the ancient customs of York Masons and not otherwise.

This Dispensation is to continue in full force until the next annual communication of our Grand Lodge on the second Wednesday of January, A.L. 5852, unless sooner revoked by me. And I do hereby appoint Brother Jesse Carpenter to be the first master, Brother Samuel Page to be the first senior warden, and Brother Samuel Henry Boynton to be the first junior warden of the said new lodge, and the said new lodge shall, during the existence of this Dispensation, be known and distinguished by the name of MacDonough Lodge. And it shall be the duty of the three first officers named as aforesaid, and they are hereby required, to return this Dispensation, with a correct transcript of all proceedings

had under the authority of the same, together with an attested copy of their by-laws to our Grand Lodge aforesaid at the expiration of the time herein specified, for examination and for such further action in the premises as shall then be deemed wise and proper.

Given under my hand and private seal at Vergennes in the county of Addison this 26th day of March, A.L. 5851.
 PHILIP C. TUCKER, Grand Master.

The lodge records show the first communication to have been held under this authority April 10, 1851. A charter was voted January 15, 1852, to McDonough Lodge, to be numbered 24.

Officers since 1851. — Master: 1851-53, Jesse Carpenter; 1854, S. B. Bliss; 1855, L. C. Butler; 1856-60, Amasa Bellows; 1861, S. B. Bliss; 1862-65, Charles Hilton; 1866-70, L. C. Butler; 1871, Byron A. Stevens; 1872, L. C. Butler; 1873, B. A. Stevens; 1874-78, L. C. Butler; 1879-81, C. S. Palmer; 1882, E. W. Hurlbut; 1883-86, W. S. Nay.

Senior Warden: 1851-53, Samuel Page; 1854, L. C. Butler; 1855, Amasa Bellows; 1856, L. C. Butler; 1857, D. P. Squires; 1858-59, Tyler Chase; 1860, Daniel Tyler; 1861, Charles Hilton; 1862-64, Daniel Tyler; 1865-67, Henry Hurlburt; 1868-70, Byron A. Stevens; 1871, Ira F. Joyner; 1872, Henry C. Lavigne; 1873, C. S. Palmer; 1874, Adrian L. Lee; 1875-79, John A. Percival; 1880-81, E. W. Hurlbut; 1882, W. S. Nay; 1883-86, T. W. Thorp.

Junior Warden: 1851-52, Samuel H. Boynton; 1853, Samuel B. Bliss; 1854, Daniel Tyler; 1855, J. W. Emery; 1856, D. P. Squires; 1857, Tyler Chase; 1858, Simon Tubbs; 1859, Daniel Tyler; 1860-61, W. H. Whitcomb; 1862-63, W. E. Huntley; 1864, J. Ellis; 1865, Henry Parker; 1866, Joseph B. Grow; 1868, H. M. Fields; 1869-70, Ira F. Joyner; 1871, Lucien B. Howe; 1872, J. A. Percival; 1873, Dan Giddings; 1874, Albert Nott; 1875-79, Warner B. Nichols; 1880, Martin H. Packard; 1881-82, W. B. Nichols; 1883-86, M. H. Packard.

McDonough Lodge held its communications in Essex until 1883, when it removed to Jericho, where it is now in its usual prosperous condition.

The following incident, furnished by Dr. L. C. Butler, shows something of the anti-Masonic spirit of the years 1826-36. In June, 1831, one Amos Bliss, jr., took the first and second steps of labor with Brother Daniel Dunlop for "holding friendship with Masonry," which he declared to be "contrary to the Gospel of Christ," and brought the matter before the Congregational Church, of which both were members. On the 22d of July the trial took place before the church and was the occasion of no little interest and excitement. The Morgan book was introduced and extracts from it were read to prove that Brother Dunlop had "transgressed the rules of the Gospel."

One Joseph Otis, of Bristol, a seceding Mason was then introduced, sworn, and he testified that what had been read was "in substance true though not in the same words." That he was a Mason fourteen years; was expelled from the lodge before he seceded; was excommunicated from the church for laboring

on the Sabbath ; “ was not bound by oath to secrete a Mason when guilty of murder or treason.”

One Otis Bean, of Weybridge, also testified under oath that Masons were not required by their oath to do anything really wrong, but that *he did*; that “ Masons were bound *not* to do certain immoral acts with reference to wives, daughters and mothers, but it does not give them any *license* to commit such acts against anybody.”

One other seceder was examined, but he declined to say whether he believed in a state of future rewards and punishments, and his evidence was disregarded. The trial occupied a whole day; the men who were engaged in it have all passed away, the last survivor being Amos Bliss, of Burlington.

On the 28th of the same month the trial came to its conclusion by a vote in which “ twelve voted to sustain the charge, and sixteen that it be not sustained; or, as the record reads: twelve voted that it was contrary to Scripture and sixteen that it was not.” “ So Brother Dunlop was cleared from the charge brought against him.”

The writer remembers this trial very distinctly, especially the vim with which it was prosecuted, and the feeling of mortification and chagrin at the result. The trial was heralded as the death-blow to Masonry, but the blow reached only those who were active and virulent in the prosecution. It was, however, the death-blow of anti-Masonry in that church, and it was the only attempt in the county, I think, to bring a Mason before a church tribunal.

Seneca Lodge.—The brethren in Milton petitioned for a lodge in 1821, and in 1822 were duly chartered as No. 57.

Masters to 1833.—1822, John M. Dewey; 1823, '24, '25, no returns; 1826, Nathan Burnell; 1827, no returns; 1828, Warren Hoxie; 1829, no returns; 1830-33, John M. Dewey. It then became dormant.

Seneca Lodge was represented in the reorganization of the Grand Lodge in 1846, by Edmund Wellington, senior warden, but not in 1847, 1848, or 1849, and it was ordered to report in 1850 and be represented. (See pages 49 and 50, Pro. Gr. Lodge, 1849.) Not reporting or being represented in 1850, it was declared extinct in the latter year.

It was revived and re-chartered as No. 40, in 1857 to the following names: L. J. Dixon, H. P. Seeger, Sylvester Ward, Benjamin Fairchild, W. W. Powell, H. H. Woods, Joseph Coon, Ethan Austin, E. T. Holbrook, L. D. Ashley, Lawson Morse.

Officers from 1857.—Master: 1857-58, Lucius J. Dixon; 1859-60, H. L. Hoxie; 1861, A. N. Austin; 1862, H. O. Bartlett; 1863-65, N. W. Fairchild; 1866, Eli T. Holbrook; 1867, L. J. Dixon; 1868, H. L. Hoxie; 1869-74, E. T. Holbrook; 1875-76, Moses R. Dogan; 1877-78, E. T. Holbrook; 1879-83, H. O. Bartlett; 1884-85, C. S. Ashley.

Senior Warden: 1857, William W. Powell; 1858, George C. Mosher;



1859-60, A. N. Austin; 1861, H. O. Bartlett; 1862, N. W. Fairchild; 1863, H. L. Hoxie; 1864-65, E. T. Holbrook; 1866, Ira H. Tillison; 1867, H. O. Bartlett; 1868, Ira H. Tillison; 1869-70, Orvis W. Bullock; 1871, A. B. Miner; 1872, Martin Pierce; 1873-74, Lansing Snow; 1875-81, Aaron B. Story; 1882, C. S. Ashley; 1883-84, W. W. W. Thompson; 1885, P. J. Costello.

Junior Warden: 1857, George C. Mosher; 1858, A. N. Austin; 1859-60, H. O. Bartlett; 1861, N. W. Fairchild; 1862, Ephraim Mills; 1863, E. T. Holbrook; 1864-65, Ira H. Tillison; 1866, Daniel F. Quinn; 1867, W. W. W. Thompson; 1868-70, A. B. Miner; 1871, H. O. Clark; 1872, Lansing Snow; 1873-74, M. R. Dogan; 1875-82, W. W. W. Thompson; 1883-85, H. Robinson.

North Star Lodge.—The brethren in Williston sent in a petition for a charter for a lodge in 1823, signed by Martin Chittenden and others, to be called Chittenden Lodge, which was granted except as to name, which was changed to North Star. (See page 277 reprint and numbered 58.)

Masters to 1834.—1823-24, no returns; 1825 to 1828 inclusive, John Brown, jr.; 1829 to 1834 inclusive, John Bates.

The lodge then became dormant, but revived with the Grand Lodge and was re-numbered, taking rank as No. 12. This lodge "never surrendered." It was represented in Grand Lodge, 1846, by John Bates, W. M., and David A. Murray, J. W.

North Star Lodge No. 12.—By the burning of the hotel in Williston in 1856, known as Eagle Hall, where this lodge held its meetings, the records, charter and books were destroyed. It held its last meeting in the town of Williston, July 3, 1856, and subsequently removed to Richmond, holding its first meeting there September 4, 1856. It now owns the Masonic block in Richmond.

Officers since 1846.—Master: 1847-51, John Bates; 1852-60, David A. Murray; 1861-65, William K. Taft; 1866-69, Ira W. Sayles; 1870-71, Byron Brewster; 1872-79, Ira W. Sayles; 1880-82, William D. Hall; 1883-85, George W. Sayles; 1886, Salmon Green.

Senior Warden: 1847-51, D. A. Murray; 1852-54, Moses W. Hall; 1855-56, John Brown, jr.; 1857-60, William K. Taft; 1861-64, George W. Bromley; 1865, Ira W. Sayles; 1866-67, Lyman Stimson; 1868, A. J. Crane; 1869, B. Brewster; 1870, J. P. Barnum; 1871-75, William D. Hall; 1876-78, Salmon Green; 1879, Lyman Stimson; 1880-82, George W. Sayles; 1883, R. C. Bromley; 1884, G. D. Ellis; 1885-86, F. E. Briggs.

Junior Warden: 1847, M. N. Hall; 1848, H. Hall; 1849, Moses W. Hall; 1850, Moses H. Hall; 1851, Moses W. Hall; 1852-54, Leonard H. Pine; 1855-57, John Wright; 1858-59, A. H. Grovenor; 1860, George W. Bromley; 1861-64, Joseph Johnson; 1865, Lyman Stimson; 1866-67, Byron

Brewster; 1868, William D. Hall; 1869, J. P. Barnum; 1870, J. T. Humphrey; 1871-74, R. C. Bromley; 1875, Salmon Green; 1876-78, Samuel H. Clark; 1879, George W. Sayles; 1880-82, W. N. Murray; 1883, G. D. Ellis; 1884, F. E. Briggs; 1885-86, M. L. Powers.

Patriot Lodge. — The Masons of Hinesburg were accommodated by Friendship Lodge No. 24, of Charlotte, holding its communications alternately at Hinesburg, but finally it was deemed for the best interests of the craft in both towns that the Masons of Hinesburg have a lodge of their own. A petition was accordingly sent to Grand Lodge and a dispensation issued in 1825, and the lodge began work regularly as Patriot Lodge No. 63.

Officers from 1825. — Master: 1825-26, Mitchell Hinsdill; 1827, Brigham C. Wright; 1828, Mitchell Hinsdill; 1829-30, Erastus Bostwick; 1831, John M. Eldridge; 1832, no returns; 1833,¹ Mitchell Hinsdill.

Senior Warden: 1829-30, Daniel Patrick, jr.; 1833, Isaac Sherwood.

Junior Warden: 1826, John M. Eldridge; 1829-30, Orrin Murray; 1833, John Wheelock.

The last record that the lodge has previous to 1847 is March 29, 1831. The lodge then became dormant and no further records can be found in the Grand Lodge. In 1846 it was represented by Isaac Sherwood, master, and Orrin Murray, senior warden. The lodge was reported in 1847 and 1848 by the following officers: 1847, Daniel Patrick, master; John Wheelock, senior warden; Orrin Murray, junior warden; and by the same officers in 1848. In 1849 they were unrepresented, and the Grand Lodge voted Patriot Lodge extinct. It was reorganized and a new charter issued under date of January 11, 1854, to Patriot Lodge No. 33. The charter members were Orrin Murray, Marvin Leonard, John Wheelock, John S. Patrick, David Frazer, Daniel Patrick, Bateman Stearns, Oscar C. Burritt, Royal Bell, Joel Turrill and John Brinsden. The lodge since then has been prosperous and is in a healthy condition at the present writing.

Officers since 1854. — Master: 1854, Daniel Patrick; 1855-58, Orrin Murray; 1859, John F. Miles; 1860, Orrin Murray; 1861, John F. Miles; 1862, H. O. Smith; 1863, Orrin Murray; 1864, John F. Miles; 1865-68, George F. Skiff; 1869-70, O. D. Baldwin; 1871-74, George F. Skiff; 1875-81, E. B. Whittaker; 1882-84, W. N. Hill; 1885, W. R. Patrick.

Senior Warden: 1854-56, John S. Patrick; 1857, E. A. Leavenworth; 1858-59, Elmer Beecher; 1860, H. C. Flanagan; 1861, H. A. Beecher; 1862, George F. Skiff; 1863-64, James Degree; 1865-68, Ray F. Livermore; 1869-70; John Edwin, jr.; 1871-74, E. B. Whittaker; 1875-76, R. M. Livermore; 1877-84, W. R. Patrick; 1885, D. K. Patrick.

Junior Warden: 1854, Orrin Murray; 1855-56, John F. Miles; 1857, Elmer Beecher; 1858-59, H. C. Flanagan; 1860, L. E. Livermore; 1861,

¹ From Grand Lodge Records.

H. O. Smith; 1862, James Degree; 1863, S. P. Green; 1864, J. W. Miles; 1865-68, L. E. Livermore; 1869, John H. Allen; 1870, E. B. Whittaker; 1871, E. Sanctuary; 1872-74, R. M. Livermore; 1875-76, Charles K. Murray; 1877-81; W. N. Hill; 1882-84; D. K. Patrick; 1885, G. D. Leonard.

This closes the enumeration of all the lodges in the county that had an existence prior to the anti-Masonic excitement of 1826-36, and are reported by original and subsequent numbering to date.

Webster Lodge.—In 1864 the Masons of Winooski sent in their petition to the Grand Lodge, and a charter was issued in 1864 under the name of Webster Lodge No. 61.

Officers since 1864.—Master: 1864, —; 1865-68, C. F. Storrs; 1869-74, Ormond Cole; 1875-85, William L. Greenleaf.

Senior Warden: 1864, C. F. Storrs; 1865, John McGregor; 1866-67, P. P. Wilkins; 1868, George Follett; 1869-71, George M. Duncan; 1872-74, William L. Greenleaf; 1875-76, E. E. Greenleaf; 1877, Samuel Bigwood; 1878-79, John Moren; 1880-82, L. B. Leavitt; 1883, O. W. Peck; 1884-85, E. E. Greenleaf.

Junior Warden: 1864, B. W. Haynes; 1865, P. P. Wilkins; 1866-68, Ormond Cole; 1869, E. E. Greenleaf; 1870-71, M. M. Goodwin; 1872-73, E. W. Taft; 1874, E. E. Greenleaf; 1875-76, Frank Jubell; 1877, George Walker; 1878-79, S. S. Watson; 1880-82, Charles D. Flint; 1883, M. A. Chase; 1884-85, A. O. Hood.

Burlington Lodge F. & A. M. No. 100.—A dispensation was issued to Burlington Lodge of Burlington by M. W. Grand Master Park Davis, July 17, 1872, on the petition of the following named (thirty-six) master Masons: George Simpson, George H. Whitman, M. B. Kinney, John T. Bagley, Henry M. Parker, George D. Wright, Cyrus P. Currier, Abner K. Cole, Charles M. Robinson, Asa B. Witherell, Ellis P. Williams, Charles E. Miner, William W. Henry, Warren Gibbs, Albert E. Richardson, George W. Hopkins, Peter R. Rowley, Eli B. Johnson, Elihu B. Taft, Milton R. Tyler, Homer M. Phelps, James Martin, Albert Killam, David Fay, George H. Kinsley, L. F. Truman, Edward Walker, J. S. Spaulding, E. O. Wires, C. H. Lewis, S. Walker, W. A. Tyler, H. N. Drury, D. F. Foster, C. C. Carleton, Alexander Tatro.

At the next annual communication of the Grand Lodge (on June 11, 1873) a charter was issued to the same petitioners. The following is a list of the officers to date:

Master: 1872-81, Homer M. Phelps; 1882, Elihu B. Taft, 1883-84, Geo. H. Kinsley; 1885-86, George C. Mayo.

Senior warden: 1872-77, Abner K. Cole; 1878-81, Cyrus P. Currier; 1882, George H. Kinsley; 1883, J. W. Goodell; 1884, George C. Mayo; 1885-86, David N. Nicholson.

Junior warden: 1872-76, Milton R. Tyler; 1877, Robert S. Wright; 1878-

81, Elihu B. Taft; 1882, J. W. Goodell; 1883, George C. Mayo; 1884, David N. Nicholson; 1885-86, Lowell C. Grant.

*Army Lodges.*¹—Many petitions were sent in to the Grand Lodge of Vermont for dispensations for army lodges, but none was granted. The subject received attention and was under discussion for two years (see pages 86 and 87, Proc. 1862, and pages 31, 32, and 33, Proc. 1863). Many Masons in Chittenden county favored the plan of army lodges as a measure of justice to the soldier Masons deprived of the social advantages of private life, arguing that they were entitled to Masonic fellowship, and that if not supplied by the Grand Lodge of Vermont they would become members of the army lodges of other States.

GRAND LODGE F. AND A. M., VERMONT.

Fifth Masonic District.—Vermont was organized into fourteen Masonic districts October, 1804, Chittenden county being the fifth district; the following have served as district deputy grand masters from that date:

David Russell, 1804 to 1810; George Robinson, 1811, 1812; Samuel Rich, 1813; George Robinson, 1814 to 1816 inclusive; Samuel Hurlburt, 1817, 1818; 1819, no appointment recorded; George Robinson, 1820, 1821; Rev. Joel Clapp, 1822; Nathan B. Haswell, 1823 to 1826 inclusive; James L. Sawyer, 1827; Lemam Judson, 1828, 1829; John M. Dewey, 1830; John Brown, 1831 to 1835 inclusive; John Bates, 1836.

No work was done and consequently no appointments of deputy were made by the Grand Lodge between 1836 and 1846. In 1846 the Grand Lodge resumed its former active life and the appointments of deputies were as follows:

John S. Webster, 1846 to 1852 inclusive; David A. Murray, 1853 to 1863 inclusive; Louis Follett, 1864; C. W. Woodhouse, 1865, 1866; H. C. Leavenworth, 1867; Ira W. Sayles, 1868 to 1870 inclusive; John H. Thorp, 1871, 1872; E. A. Jewett, 1873; Ormond Cole, 1874, 1875; Homer M. Phelps, 1876 to 1878 inclusive; C. W. Wingate, 1879 to 1882 inclusive; E. B. Whitaker, 1883 to 1886.

The anti-Masonic excitement in Vermont was so general and aggressive that the Masonic lodges ceased work generally about 1834, and the Grand Lodge did not convene (except by officers enough to make a record) from 1836 to 1846. Officers were elected in 1836 holding over ten years. In 1846 the Grand Lodge convened on the 14th day of January, in answer to a call by N. B. Haswell, dated December 28, 1845, and among other business done at that time, a resolution was adopted allowing subordinate lodges to be represented, and when a forfeiture of charter had taken place they might be restored (see page 12, Proc. 1846), and requesting all the lodges in the State to send representatives to the next annual communication. In 1846 Washington, Mc-

Donough, Seneca, North Star and Patriot Lodges were represented in Grand Lodge. In 1847 Washington No. 7, North Star No. 58 and Patriot No. 63 were represented and reported at work, and Friendship No. 20 was reported extinct. In 1849 McDonough and Patriot lodges were declared extinct by Grand Lodge, and Seneca Lodge was ordered to organize and be represented in 1850 (see pages 49, 50, Proc. Grand Lodge, 1849). - This left Washington and North Star Lodges the only working lodges in Chittenden county. In 1850 Seneca Lodge was declared extinct by the Grand Lodge. (See page 34, Proc. 1850.)

Thus Washington No. 7 and North Star No. 58 Lodges never gave up their charters,¹ and were renumbered in 1849 (see p. 51, Proc. 1849), and Friendship Lodge was rechartered in 1852, and numbered 24; McDonough Lodge was rechartered in 1852, and numbered 26; Patriot Lodge was rechartered in 1854, and numbered 33; Seneca Lodge was rechartered in 1857, and numbered 40, making the original six that existed prior to the anti-Masonic excitement. No new lodges were asked for until 1863, when Webster Lodge No. 61 at Winooski, was chartered. After a period of nine years some brethren in Burlington deeming it needed, applied for a charter, and Burlington Lodge No. 100 was chartered in 1873.

The spirit of the times called forth from the Masonic fraternity several manifestos or statements of Masonic faith, among which, perhaps, none more clearly set forth the commonly accepted view of the majority than the following words of Nathan B. Haswell, in the form of resolutions adopted by Grand Lodge January 13, 1836:

Resolved, That this lodge do acknowledge and will at all times cheerfully yield their support to all constitutional laws, declaring that duty to their God and obedience to such laws are paramount to all other obligations.

Resolved, That claiming the constitutional right of peaceably meeting as Masons have done in this State for more than forty years past, we again declare that we are when convened as well as when dispersed left to the free and unmolested enjoyment of our various opinions upon religion and politics, and further declare that Masons or Masonic bodies have not the right to connect the institution with the conflicting sectarian or party views of either.

Resolved, That we again renew our disclaimer of the right of inflicting corporal punishment upon our members for infractions of duty, acknowledging no other right to enforce obedience to our rules and regulations but that of *reprimand*, suspension or expulsion.

Resolved, That as all manner of evil is spoken against us we will renew our endeavors to prove by our lives and conversation the purity of our principles and the rectitude of our intentions; when reviled, to revile not again; that by thus doing we may overcome evil with good.

Resolved, That again appealing to the Supreme Architect of the universe with a humble trust upon his almighty arm for support, we reiterate and declare to the world that the object of our association, and motives for continuing therein, are founded upon the principles of *brotherly love, relief and truth*, the maintenance and support of which shall cease only with our existence.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions are recommended by a sound policy, having for its only object the maintenance of rights guaranteed by the constitution of our common country.

¹ Washington Lodge lost its charter by fire in 1829, and a new one was voted by the Grand Lodge. North Star Lodge lost its charter by fire at the burning of Eagle Hall in 1856, and a new one was voted in 1857.

ROYAL ARCH MASONS.

Capitular Masonry in Chittenden county has been limited to the operations of Burlington Chapter No. 12 (now No. 3), which began work in accordance with a dispensation issued in response to the following petition:

To the Grand High Priest of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the State of Vermont:

The undersigned Companions, Royal Arch Masons, are at present or have been Companions of regular Chapters, and having the prosperity of the fraternity at heart, are willing to exert their best endeavors to promote and diffuse the genuine principles of Masonry; that for the convenience of our respective dwellings and for other good reasons we are desirous of forming a new Royal Arch Chapter in the town of Burlington, to be named Burlington Chapter; that in consequence of this desire we pray for letters of dispensation empowering us to assemble as a legal Royal Arch Chapter to discharge the duties of companions in a regular and constitutional manner, according to the original forms of the Order and the regulations of the Grand Chapter of the State; and for this purpose we nominate and recommend George Robinson to be first High Priest, Rev. Joel Clapp to be first King, and James Dean to be first Scribe of said chapter; and if the prayers of our said petition should be granted, we promise a strict conformity to all the constitutional laws and regulations of the Grand Chapter.

David Russel, P. M., Truman Powell, William Munson, Nathan B. Haswell, P. M., Jacob Rolfe, Ira Lawrence, George Robinson, James Dean, E. T. Englesby, John Peck, Lemuel Page, P. M., David Bean, Henry Thomas, Newton Hayes, Joel Clapp.

The petition was recommended by Champlain Chapter of St. Albans and Jerusalem Chapter of Vergennes; the charter was voted at a convocation held in Rutland June 5, 1823. The chapter commenced work at once, and accomplished considerable under its letter of dispensation during the year, and was duly organized under its charter and the officers installed, August 12, 1824, by G. H. P. Lemuel Whitney. (See pages 10 and 11 Burlington chapter records, book A.)

Appended is a table of three first officers from date of organization:

High Priest: 1823, George Robinson; 1824-27, Joel Clapp; 1828-32, N. B. Haswell.

King: 1823, Joel Clapp; 1824-27, N. B. Haswell; 1828-32, David Russell.

Scribe: 1823, James Dean; 1824-27, David Russell; 1828-30, J. L. Sawyer; 1831-32, Henry Thomas.

Burlington Chapter, although holding regular meetings and electing officers, made no new members after 1828, and the records, jewels and furniture being destroyed by fire in 1829, the chapter become dormant in 1832; it was revived by Nathan B. Haswell under the authority of the General Grand Chapter of the United States, and held its first convocation January 12, 1848, at six o'clock, P. M., in Masons' Hall, Burlington, Vt., with the following list of officers, members and visitors present:

Philip C. Tucker, high priest *pro tem.*; John S. Webster, king *pro tem.*; Samuel S. Butler, scribe, *pro tem.*; Dan Lyon,¹ secretary, *pro tem.*; John Peck, treasurer, *pro tem.*; John Bates, prin. souj., *pro tem.*; Luther M. Hagar,¹ C. of H. *pro tem.*; Robert White, R. A. captain *pro tem.*; Daniel Patrick,¹ master

¹ Living at this date, July 1, 1886.

1st vail *pro tem.*; John Brown, master 2d vail *pro tem.*; Chauncey Brownell, master 3d vail *pro tem.*; Uziel Pierson and Brigham C. Wright, stewards *pro tem.*

Members of the chapter present: David A. Murray, John Munson, Elias Coon, Isaac Smith, Jacob Rolfe, and Arad Merrill.

Visiting Companions: Samuel Willson, John S. Webster, Seth Geer, S. S. Butler, Nathan Griswold, Joshua Doane, Peter Welch, John B. Hollenbeck,¹ Daniel L. Potter, Heman Green, James Platt, John Mason, Ira Church, William Benjamin, Horace Wheeler, William P. Briggs, L. F. Butler, Ebenezer Allen.

List of officers continued:

High Priest: 1848-50, N. B. Haswell.

King: 1848-50, J. S. Webster.

Scribe: 1848, Joshua Doane; 1849-59, Jacob Rolfe.

At the annual convocation of the Grand Chapter of Vermont, in 1851, Burlington Chapter No. 12 was renumbered, taking rank as No. 3. (See page 30, Proc. 1851.)

List of officers continued:

High Priest: 1851-54, N. B. Haswell; 1855-56, Joshua Doane; 1857, John B. Hollenbeck; 1858, John S. Webster; 1859-62, L. B. Englesby; 1863-64, Louis Follett; 1865-66, E. A. Jewett; 1867, C. W. Woodhouse; 1868-71, H. M. Phelps; 1872-73, Ormond Cole; 1874-83, H. M. Phelps; 1884-85, G. H. Kinsley; 1886, John A. Clapp.

King: 1851-56, Jacob Rolfe; 1857-58, David A. Murray; 1859, Wm. G. Shaw; 1860-61, W. K. Taft; 1862-63, T. F. Stuart; 1864-66, C. W. Woodhouse; 1867, P. D. Ballou; 1868-69, H. H. Newell; 1870-71, Ormond Cole; 1872-73, Wm. Brinsmaid; 1874-84, A. McGaffey; 1885-86, M. W. Johnson.

Scribe: 1851-53, John B. Hollenbeck; 1854, Lyman Cummings; 1855-57, Francis K. Nichols; 1858, L. B. Englesby; 1859-60, H. S. Morse; 1861-62, Stephen Sayles; 1863, G. W. Bromley; 1864, G. W. Beckwith; 1865-66, P. D. Ballou; 1867, H. M. Phelps; 1868-69, Ormond Cole; 1870, Louis H. Turk; 1871, W. Brinsmaid; 1872, A. K. Cole; 1873, A. McGaffey; 1874-77, A. K. Cole; 1878-81, T. F. Edgar; 1882-83, G. H. Kinsley; 1884, G. W. Austin; 1885, W. H. Lane, jr.; 1886, Wm. Brinsmaid, jr.

ROYAL AND SELECT MASTERS.

The cryptic work in Chittenden county was also limited to one body, Burlington Council No. 5, which began January 6, 1818, under a charter procured by John H. Cotton, of Windsor, as deputy under the Grand Council at Baltimore, Md. It was a part of the convention that organized the Grand Council of Vermont at Rutland in June, 1822. Its charter and records, as well as

¹ Living at this date. See history of Burlington.

those of all the Masonic bodies in Burlington, were burned in 1829, at the time Masonic Hall was destroyed by fire. The records of the Grand Council were burned in Rutland in 1830. Burlington Council held assemblies regularly from 1818 to 1828, then was dormant until reorganized January 10, 1849, by its last-elected presiding officer, Nathan B. Haswell. At that date new officers were elected and the council continued in prosperous condition until the present date. It was one of the councils forming the Grand Council of Vermont, and when that body was organized Burlington Council became No. 2.

List of officers since reorganization :

T. I. Master : 1849-54, N. B. Haswell ; 1855-57, Joshua Doane ; 1858-60, Eli Stearns ; 1861-68, C. W. Woodhouse ; 1869-71, Ormond Cole ; 1872-73, R. S. Taft ; 1874-77, G. W. Beckwith ; 1878, George O. Tyler ; 1879-81, Geo. H. Kinsley ; 1882-83, A. C. Tuttle ; 1884-85, John A. Clapp ; 1886, H. C. Humphrey.

Deputy Master : 1849, P. C. Tucker ; 1850, Joshua Doane ; 1851-52, S. S. Butler ; 1853-54, Joshua Doane ; 1855-57, Geo. Lowry ; 1858-60, Dan Lyon ; 1861-63, L. B. Englesby ; 1864, Louis Follett ; 1865-66, Wm. K. Taft ; 1867-68, Ormond Cole ; 1869-70, P. D. Ballou ; 1871, R. S. Taft ; 1872, A. K. Cole ; 1873, G. W. Beckwith ; 1874, W. H. Root ; 1875-77, Geo. H. Bigelow ; 1878, Geo. H. Kinsley ; 1879-81, Theodore F. Edgar ; 1882-83, Elihu B. Taft ; 1884, Jerome B. Smith ; 1885, H. C. Humphrey ; 1886, M. W. Johnson.

P. C. of W. : 1849, Joshua Doane ; 1850, Geo. Lowry ; 1851-52, Anson Hull ; 1853, G. Washburn ; 1854, Jacob Rolfe ; 1855-56, Charles R. Herrick ; 1857, Wm. G. Shaw ; 1858, David A. Murray ; 1859-60, L. B. Englesby ; 1861-64, Wm. K. Taft ; 1865-66, Ormond Cole ; 1867-68, P. D. Ballou ; 1869-70, R. S. Taft ; 1871, A. K. Cole ; 1872-73, Geo. O. Tyler ; 1874, Geo. H. Bigelow ; 1875-77, G. H. Kinsley ; 1878, W. H. S. Whitcomb ; 1879-81, A. C. Tuttle ; 1882-83, Louis H. Turk ; 1884, H. C. Humphrey ; 1885, M. W. Johnson ; 1886, E. Stanley Hall.

KNIGHTS TEMPLAR.

Burlington Commandery is the only body of Knights Templar that ever existed in Chittenden county. This was chartered by the General Grand Encampment of the United States, the Grand Encampment of Vermont having ceased to exist in 1831.

The petition for the encampment was signed by Nathan B. Haswell, John S. Webster, George M. Hall, Charles P. Bradley, George Lowry, Hiram Stevens, Heman Green, Cyrus Allen, Dan H. Benjamin and John Nason. A dispensation was issued by Charles W. Moore, general grand captain-general of the General Grand Encampment of the United States, dated June 28, A. D. 1849, and the first conclave was held July 18, 1849, at Masons' Hall, Burlington.

The first officers named in the dispensation were: John S. Webster, eminent commander; Nathan B. Haswell, generalissimo; George M. Hall, captain-general; Hiram Stevens, prelate; George Lowry, senior warden; Charles P. Bradley, junior warden; Heman Green, sword bearer; John Nason, standard bearer; Dan H. Benjamin, warder; Nathan B. Haswell, recorder *pro tem*.

The following are the sir knights who have been elected to serve as commanders of what is now known as Burlington Commandery No. 2:

Eminent Commander: 1850-63, J. S. Webster; 1864, Louis Follett; 1865-66, Geo. W. Beckwith; 1867-68, R. S. Taft; 1869-71, E. A. Jewett; 1872-73, Ormond Cole; 1874-75, Geo. O. Tyler; 1876, Ormond Cole; 1877, Theodore S. Peck; 1878-79, C. W. Woodhouse; 1880-81, Theodore F. Edgar; 1882-83, Geo. H. Kinsley; 1884-86, Homer M. Phelps.

Generalissimo: 1850, Jacob Rolfe; 1851-54, N. B. Haswell; 1855-63, Jacob Rolfe; 1864, Henry S. Morse; 1865-66, R. S. Taft; 1867-68, Wm. K. Taft; 1869-71, P. D. Ballou; 1872-73, Wm. Brinsmaid; 1874-75, T. S. Peck; 1876, Albert C. Tuttle; 1877, W. W. Henry; 1878-79, Geo. O. Tyler; 1880-81, Geo. H. Kinsley; 1882-83, H. M. Phelps; 1884-86, Henry R. Conger.

Captain-General: 1850, Daniel L. Potter; 1851-53, Geo. M. Hall; 1854, Jacob Rolfe; 1855-63, David A. Murray; 1864, Lemuel S. Drew; 1865-66, Wm. K. Taft; 1867-68, E. A. Jewett; 1869-71, Ormond Cole; 1872-73, Geo. O. Tyler; 1874-75, Wm. W. Henry; 1876, Geo. J. Stannard; 1877, C. W. Woodhouse; 1878, Charles P. Thayer; 1879, T. F. Edgar; 1880-83, Henry R. Conger; 1884-86, Lowell C. Grant.

A . : . A . : . S . : . RITE.

The A . : . A . : . S . : . Rite, commonly termed the Scottish Rite (as distinguished from the Masonic bodies heretofore spoken of, termed the "York Rite"), was introduced into Chittenden county by Phineas D. Ballou, the first petitioner for

HASWELL LODGE OF PERFECTION.

Phineas D. Ballou, Edward A. Jewett, William L. Harris, George T. Smith, Joseph W. Roby, George H. Bigelow, Luman A. Drew, Daniel A. Van Namee, jr., and Lemuel B. Platt, jr., having received the grades of the rite up to and including the 32° in Boston, applied for a dispensation, which was granted June 26, 1868. On November 12 of the same year, Haswell Lodge of Perfection U. D. was organized by Deputy William Barrett 33° and its officers duly installed. A charter was granted on June 15, 1870.

Officers—T . : . P . : . G . : . Master: 1868-72, P. D. Ballou, 33d deg.; 1873, Geo. O. Tyler, 33d deg.; 1874-75, William Brinsmaid, 33d deg.; 1876-77, Homer M. Phelps, 18th deg.; 1878, George O. Tyler, 33d deg.; 1879, William Brinsmaid, 33d deg.; 1880-83, M. Wilson Johnson, 33d deg.; 1884, George H. Kinsley, 32d deg.; 1885-86, Henry R. Conger, 16th deg.

G. : Sec. : K. : S. : 1868-70, Luman A. Drew, 32d deg.; 1871, George H. Bigelow, 33d deg.; 1872, George T. Smith, 32d deg.; 1873, E. A. Jewett, 32d deg.; 1874-75, J. B. Hyndman, 32d deg.; 1876-78, George S. Wright, 18th deg.; 1879-81, Ethelbert Selden, 32d deg.; 1882-86, Warren G. Reynolds, 32d deg.

JOSEPH W. ROBY COUNCIL, PRINCES OF JERUSALEM,

Was instituted June 11, 1873, and was chartered November 13, 1873.

Officers. — Sov. : P. : G. : Master: 1873, George J. Stannard, 32d deg.; 1874-77 George H. Bigelow, 33d deg.; 1878-80, Theodore F. Edgar, 32d deg.; 1881-82, George H. Kinsley, 32d deg.; 1883, M. Wilson Johnson, 33d deg.; 1884-86, Luman A. Drew, 32d deg.

S. : K. : of the S. : and A. : : 1873, George O. Tyler, 33d deg.; 1874, J. B. Hyndman, 32d deg.; 1875, Sayles Nichols, 32d deg.; 1876, Milton B. Kinney, 32d deg.; 1877, Fernando H. Wood, 32d deg.; 1878, George S. Wright, 18th deg.; 1879-81, Ethelbert Selden, 32d deg.; 1882-86, Warren G. Reynolds, 32d deg.

DELTA CHAPTER OF ROSE CROIX, H-R-D-M.,

Was instituted June 11, 1873, and was chartered November 13, 1873.

Officers. — Most W. : and P. : Master: 1873, George O. Tyler, 33d deg.; 1874-75, Theodore S. Peck, 32d deg.; 1876-77, Robert J. Wright, 32d deg.; 1878-80, Horace L. Johonnott, 32d deg.; 1881, George J. Stannard, 32d deg.; 1882-83, Sayles Nichols, 32d deg.; 1884-85, George H. Kinsley, 32d deg.; 1886, M. W. Johnson, 33d deg.

R. : and P. : K. : Secretary: 1873, George H. Bigelow, 33d deg.; 1874-75, J. B. Hyndman, 32d deg.; 1876-77, H. L. Johonnott, 32d deg.; 1878, D. Noyes Burton, 32d deg.; 1879-81, Ethelbert Selden, 32d deg.; 1882-86, Warren G. Reynolds, 32d deg.

VERMONT CONSISTORY, S. : P. : R. : S. :

Was instituted June 11, 1873, and was chartered August 19, 1874.

Officers. — Commander-in-Chief: 1873, P. D. Ballou, 33d deg.; 1874-75, George O. Tyler, 33d deg.; 1876-78, Levi Underwood, 33d deg.; 1879-81, Russell S. Taft, 32d deg.; 1882, William W. Henry, 32d deg.; 1883-84, Sayles Nichols, 32d deg.; 1885-86 William Brinsmaid, 33d deg.

First Lieutenant Commander: 1873, George O. Tyler, 33d deg.; 1874, George H. Bigelow, 33d deg.; 1875, Levi Underwood, 33d deg.; 1876-78, Russell S. Taft, 32d deg.; 1879-84, George H. Bigelow, 33d deg.; 1885-86, Geo. H. Kinsley, 32d deg.

Secretary: 1873-76, J. B. Hyndman, 32d deg.; 1877, Robert J. Wright, 33d deg.; 1878-81, M. Wilson Johnson, 33d deg.; 1882-86, Warren G. Reynolds, 32d deg.

VERMONT COUNCIL OF DELIBERATION.

This body first assembled in Burlington, January 26, 1875.

Officers.—Commander-in-chief: 1875–86, George O. Tyler, 33d deg.

First Lieutenant Commander: 1875, R. S. Taft, 32d deg.; 1876, Levi Underwood, 33d deg.; 1877–79, R. S. Taft, 32d deg.; 1880, Theodore S. Peck, 32d deg.; 1881–83, Wm. Brinsmaid, 33d deg.; 1884, Sayles Nichols; 1885–86, Howard F. Hill, 33d deg.

Secretary: 1875–76, J. B. Hyndman, 32d deg.; 1877, Geo. H. Bigelow, 33d deg.; 1878–81, Geo. J. Stannard, 32d deg.; 1882, Frank H. Bascom; 1883–85, Wm. C. Bradbury, 32d deg.; 1886, Warren G. Reynolds, 32d deg.

The Scottish Rite in Vermont owes its success to the energy and faithfulness of George O. Tyler, who has since 1873 been its most devoted adherent. He holds the office of grand captain of the guard in the Supreme Council of the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States. The bodies in Vermont are under his charge as deputy for Vermont. The following is the list of those who have attained to the 33d deg., with the date of their patents:

George O. Tyler, 33d deg., active, August 19, 1875; Levi Underwood, 33d deg., honorary, September 19, 1877; George H. Bigelow, 33d deg., honorary, September 16, 1879; William Brinsmaid, 33d deg., honorary, September 24, 1884; M. Wilson Johnson, 33d deg., honorary, September 15, 1885.

I. O. O. F.

The growth of Odd Fellowship in this county since its inception at Baltimore, where, on the twenty-sixth day of April, 1819, Thomas Wildey and his four co-adjutors organized the first lodge in the United States, has been something wonderful. From this small beginning made in a little room at a hotel known as the "Seven Stars," the order has spread to every State and Territory in the Union, to Mexico, South America, Europe, Asia, and the islands of the ocean. More than half a million men have ranged themselves under the ample folds of its banner. Its annual benefactions may be safely stated at a million dollars, and its vast fund for the benefit of widows and orphans, and for other benevolent purposes, at millions more. Odd Fellowship in Vermont had its beginning in Chittenden county. In December, 1844, the Grand Lodge of the State of New York granted to six members of Whitehall Lodge a dispensation to withdraw for the purpose of forming a lodge in Burlington, Vt. Their names were W. H. Smith, W. W. Wheeler, John C. Housey, T. D. Chapman, L. J. Stark, A. R. Lemon. These six men, accompanied by ten other members of the order to assist at the installation, came from Whitehall, N. Y., to Burlington in three sleighs, and on the 14th day of January, 1845, in the old Masonic Hall, at 2 P. M., installed Green Mountain Lodge No. 1, of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, with the following officers: T. D.

Chapman, N. G.; L. J. Stark, V. G.; J. S. Housey, secretary; W. W. Wheeler, treasurer.

The first regular meeting of Green Mountain Lodge No. 1 was held at five P. M. of the same day, at which thirteen new members were initiated. At ten o'clock the same evening another meeting was held at which those members who had come from Whitehall pursuant to a dispensation from the Grand Lodge of the State of New York to install Green Mountain Lodge No. 1, were granted cards of clearance and returned home. Four of them were still living on the 1st of June, 1886; namely, L. J. Stark, of New York city, John C. Housey, at Waterford, N. Y., W. W. Wheeler, at Whitehall, and A. R. Lemon, at Burlington. Of those initiated at the first meeting, Amos C. Spear, of Burlington, still remains, and is the oldest member of the Green Mountain Lodge No. 1. Its present membership is one hundred and three. It continued to work as a subordinate lodge under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of the State of New York until the installation of the Grand Lodge of the State of Vermont, from whom it then received its charter bearing date December 29, 1847, signed by James Mitchell, grand master of Burlington. In all its history of over forty-one years its regular meeting on Monday evening has never failed.

Winooski Lodge No. 37 was organized in July, 1875. The following are names of charter members: S. Bigwood, J. M. Isham, F. H. Whitney, H. W. Mason, John Benham, John Craven. In March, 1886, it surrendered its charter to the Grand Lodge of Vermont and ceased to exist, its members uniting with Green Mountain or Hamilton Lodge according to their individual preference.

In 1879 a strong desire was manifested by many members of the Green Mountain Lodge to establish a new lodge in Burlington, but in consequence of the failure of a lodge, which had been organized some years before, to establish itself on a firm financial basis, and its subsequent dissolution, the project was strongly opposed, and it was not until February 1, 1882, that a charter was obtained from the Grand Lodge of the State for the installation of a new lodge to be known as Hamilton Lodge No. 14. The following are the names of the charter members: M. R. Tyler, W. B. Lund, H. H. Davis, W. H. Lang, C. R. Nash, S. C. Kimball, C. L. Hart, T. W. Downer, H. H. Crandall, H. K. Weaver, H. Rumsey, W. L. Wellington, G. D. Wright, G. L. Draper, B. F. Ostrander, F. W. Nash, and John Marks. Its present membership is about seventy.

Lafayette Uniformed Encampment was organized April 24, 1884. The following are the names of its charter members: W. W. Henry, M. P. Scullin, Eli Poquette, H. H. Davis, and J. T. Beach. In 1886 its name was changed to Canton Lafayette No. 1. Its membership is about twenty-five.

At first and until January, 1847, the Odd Fellows used the old Masonic Hall on the west side of the park, but at that date the first Odd Fellows' Hall was dedicated in the third story of what is now the Howard National Bank, but then known as Harrington's block, which they occupied for more than

than twenty years. They then fitted up a hall in Bank block, which they continued to use until the present year (1886). They now have a commodious hall richly furnished at 108 and 110 Church street, which is greatly admired by visitors and has no equal in the State.

CHAPTER XV.

LAKE COMMERCE AND THE LUMBER TRADE.¹

Discovery and Early Events—Major Skeene's Sloop—Admiral Gid King and his Companions—Construction of Boats Before 1800—Vessels Built Before 1815—The Champlain Canal—Introduction of Long-Boat Lines Through to New York—Merchants' Line—Business Injured by the Opening of Railroads—Table of Vessels Hailing from or Owned by Citizens of Chittenden County—The First Steamboats—Steamboat Companies—The Champlain Transportation Company—Its Competition With the Railroads—List of Its Officers—Table of Steamboats on the Lake—The Lumber Trade—Other Interests.

IN 1609, three-quarters of a century after the French had entered the St. Lawrence, and eleven years before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock, Samuel de Champlain discovered the lake since called by his name. This event is especially worthy of note, inasmuch as it so directed the tide of affairs as to result in the subsequent establishment of "the great republic of States which now rules the Western World."

The importance of Cartier's discovery of the great gulf and river of Canada in October, 1535, was quickly appreciated by France, and her bold and active Jesuit pioneers, penetrating the interior wilds of this continent by the only feasible route of the great lakes, soon established posts which eventually became centers of powerful colonies from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. We have but to mention the names of Allouez Jolliet, Marquette, La Salle, and other French adventurers, to recall the opening of the northern and central portion of our continent to the civilized world. It was left to Champlain, the "father of the French settlements in Canada," as he has been called, to first suspect the existence of a continuous valley extending from the St. Lawrence toward the south, and realize the importance of its occupation by his government. Filled with zeal for this great undertaking, he returned for the third time to this country in 1608, and after laying the foundations of a permanent settlement at Quebec, he started, April 10, 1609, to take possession of the territory lying between the fortieth and forty-fifth degrees of latitude, called by him "New France." He reached the Falls of Chambly near the end of June, accompanied by a band of Algonkin Indian guides. On the 2d of July, with only two of his countrymen who had the courage to be his com-

¹ Prepared by Charles E. Allen, of Burlington.

panions, and sixty Indians, in twenty-four canoes, he caught the first glimpse of the lake, and named it Lake Champlain. Twenty-nine days later he landed at Ticonderoga. The latter part of his journey he pursued his voyage of discovery cautiously, at night, for fear of being attacked by the Iroquois, known subsequently as the Five Nations, who claimed the country south of the St. Lawrence, and were deadly enemies of the Algonkins. At Ticonderoga he first met and defeated, with the assistance of his arquebus, a large party of Iroquois, and thereby brought upon the French name the lasting hatred of an Indian tribe "whose neutrality would have been of more importance to the French interests than the friendship of all other tribes." The conquest thus begun ceased only with the final abandonment of this valley by the French.

But another century was yet to elapse before the shores of the lake would be occupied by the hardy race of New Englanders, who then not only took possession of the Indian grounds, but were successful in maintaining their claims. From 1609 until the surrender of Canada to the English on September 8, 1760, the navigation on the lake was confined to the predatory excursions of the Indians, and the several military expeditions of the French and English, to secure the occupancy of the lands which form its border. Among the more prominent of these expeditions was the one fitted out by the French on the 2d of October, 1666, from Fort St. Anne, on the Isle La Motte, for the purpose of bringing the Mohawks to terms. It proceeded up the lake to Ticonderoga in three hundred bateaux. On the 13th of August, 1709, Captain John Schuyler embarked from Whitehall for the north, with twenty-nine men and 120 Indians in canoes. On the 22d he made an attack on La Prairie. That year the English built 100 bateaux and a large number of canoes at Whitehall, for the transportation of a projected expedition against Montreal. In 1755 Baron Dieskau went up the lake from St. Johns to Crown Point with 1,800 troops in bateaux, to meet Sir William Johnson at Lake George. Fort St. Frederic, at Crown Point, was erected by the Marquis de Beauharnois, governor-general of Canada, in 1731. In 1749 the Swedish naturalist, Kalm, visited the fort in a yacht or sailing vessel, which made regular trips between that place and St. Johns. This was the first sail vessel built on Lake Champlain. The next use of sail vessels was by the French in the construction of Fort Ticonderoga in 1756, when schooners as well as bateaux and canoes, were employed in transporting troops and supplies from place to place. In this year Major Robert Rogers, an English scout from the army of Johnson, seized a schooner laden with "wheat, flour, rice, brandy, and wine," to the north of Crown Point, and killed the crew. In 1757 Montcalm went up the lake from St. Johns with 200 canoes, manned by troops, for the reduction of Fort William Henry. In the following year Abercrombie entered the lake from the south, with a numerous army in 900 canoes and 130 whale-boats, to attack Ticonderoga. In 1759 the French built three armed vessels to resist an expected

expedition of the English under Amherst. Amherst began the fortification at Crown Point that season, and fitted out a small navy against the French. The next spring he was succeeded by General Haldimand, who captured Quebec in September, 1760.

After the close of the war between the French and English and the acknowledgment of English supremacy, emigrants from the eastern part of New England began to look to this portion of the king's dominions as a good place for settlement. As they usually came by the way of Skeenesborough (Whitehall), Major Skeene built a sloop in 1770 for their accommodation and opened a communication with the settlements along the lake and in Canada. This was probably the first vessel that was engaged in commercial traffic on the lake, the others having served for the transportation of military supplies alone. The growth of any extensive trade on the lake was then interrupted by the War of the Revolution, which has been made the subject of a former chapter. After the termination of the war the population of the Champlain valley rapidly increased, and Vermont began to assume the proportions of a separate province, which it claimed to be. In order to avoid passing through the enemy's country during the war, the settlers had ceased traveling by the way of Whitehall, and had opened a road through the woods from Dorset, Bennington, Castleton, and Arlington to Vergennes, Shelburne, and Winooski Falls. Thus all encouragement to travel and trade on the lake was cut off. The controversy with New York, which was at that time so bitter, prevented any peaceful commerce with Whitehall, especially as the articles then in greatest demand, such as iron, salt, steel, etc., could be procured from St. Johns. After the admission of Vermont into the Union, however, such prominent men as Ethan and Ira Allen and Thomas Chittenden returned to their settlements at Burlington and Williston, and by their choice of a location attracted the attention of many who were seeking a place for the establishment of their business in trade or manufacture. An extensive trade was soon established with Quebec and Montreal, by which the necessaries of life were procured in exchange for the pine timber that grew here in great abundance and for potash, which was sent off in large quantities. But the markets in Canada were not sufficiently well stocked to supply the demands of the settlers, and it became evident that vessels which could keep open the communication with Whitehall, for trade with Troy, Albany and New York, would be a source of great revenue to their owners. About this time, therefore, Job Boynton, Benjamin Boardman, and Gideon King began the construction of boats, and soon established a wide reputation as the pioneers of navigation on Lake Champlain. Boynton came here in 1780, and Boardman and King in 1788. Gideon King, jr., one of the four sons of Gideon King, afterward gained the sobriquet of "Gid King the Admiral of the Lake," and was the controlling spirit of commercial navigation for many years. He was known among the merchants of

Montreal, St. Johns, and all the ports on the lake, and as the agent of John Jacob Astor had charge of the fur trade in this section. In connection with Jed, son of Job Boynton, he built two small cutters of about eight tons burden, which they ran across to Essex and Plattsburgh. About the year 1790 they went to Canada, and from some of the old war vessels which they found there fitted up two schooners, which they sailed between Burlington and St. Johns. They were heavy and difficult to manage, and would not be regarded as of much value at the present day. King's was called *Horse-Boat*, from the circumstance that it was adapted for the transportation of horses. Meantime Benjamin Boardman and a boat-builder that came with him from New London, Conn., by the name of Wilcox, built a sloop of about thirty tons burden, below the railroad bridge at Winooski, on the north side of the river, and floated it down the stream into the lake. At this time Plattsburgh was a small village, the inhabitants of which were largely dependent on Vermont for provisions and grain. This sloop did a thriving business for years between the two ports. King and Boynton soon perceived the superior build of the new craft, and each engaged Wilcox to build a sloop after the same pattern. In the spring of 1793 the keels of the *Dolphin*, King's sloop, and *Burlington Packet*, belonging to Boynton, were laid, at the foot of King street. They were each of about twenty-five tons burden. Two years later Russell Jones built a sloop of thirty tons burden, at the same place, and gave her the name of *Lady Washington*. She was afterward fitted up with a false bulk-head for smuggling, and was extensively engaged in that profitable business. The same year Caleb B. Smith, father of Frederick Smith, constructed a sloop of the same burden, which he commanded himself. Thomas H. Canfield, in the *Vermont Historical Magazine*, related the following anecdote of him: "Smith was a courageous, daring man, and would go out in a storm when no others would venture. The consequence was, that on a passage to St. Johns which he had undertaken in a severe storm, he ran upon a reef north of Tobias's Landing, near Grand Isle, and nearly lost his life and vessel. This was the first discovery of the reef, and the sailors, glad to get up a joke at the expense of Smith, at once gave it the name of "Bull Reef," and his vessel the *Bull Sloop*.

The sloop *Maria*, of about thirty tons, was built by Admiral King in 1795. Richard Fittock, the master-builder, owned an old scow called the *Old Lion*, which was used as lighter for vessels that anchored some distance out. "Pork, beef, and liquors were thrown overboard and floated ashore, while dry goods and such articles were landed by the *Old Lion*." At this period the following were the principal navigators and captains: Gideon King, Beach Smith, Elijah Boynton, John Boynton, H. N. White, Daniel Davis, John Price, Russell Jones, Almas Truman, all of Burlington; Joseph Treat, Bridport; Robert White, Andrew White, Lavater White, of Shelburne; Caleb Barton, Ephraim Lake, Elijah Newell, Levi Hinkley, of Charlotte; Eben Holabird, Ruben Holabird, of Georgia; Hiram Ferris, of Chazy, N. Y.

The following table presents a list of the vessels built upon Lake Champlain from 1790 to the year 1815 :

Names.	For whom Built.	Where Built.	Master Carpenter.	Tonnage.	Year Built.
Unknown	B. Boardman	Burlington	Wilcox	30	1790
Dolphin	Gideon King	do	do	30	1793
Burlington Packet	Jedediah Boynton	do	do	30	1793
do do	Beach Smith	do	do	30	1796
Lady Washington	Russell Jones	do	do	30	1795
Maria	Gideon King	do	Fitlock	30	1795
Unknown	do do	do	do	30	1800
Union	Job Boynton	do	do	30	1800
Elizabeth	Daniel Ross	Essex, N. Y.	Eggleston	40	1800
Jupiter	Gideon King	do	do	40	1802
Juno	do do	do	Wilcox	40	1802
Unetta	E. Boynton	do	Eggleston	30	1803
Independence	S. Boardman	do	do	35	1805
Privateer	Gideon King	Burlington	Wilcox	40	1807
Hunter	do do	do	do	50	1809
Emperor	H. & A. Ferris	Barber's Point	Young	50	1810
Rising Sun	E. Boynton	Essex, N. Y.	Eggleston	50	1810
Eagle	S. Boardman	Whitehall	do	60	1810
Essex	Gideon King	Essex	do	50	1810
Boston	do do	Burlington	Wilcox	30	1810
Sauey Fox	do do	Essex	Eggleston	50	1810
Gold Hunter	E. Boynton	Whitehall	Young	50	1811
President	J. Boynton	Essex	Eggleston	75	1812
Fair Trader	do	do	do	75	1812
Morning Star	S. Boardman	Whitehall	do	50	1812
Jacob Bunker	Haswell & Chittenden	Burlington	Bay	65	1812
Richard	Gideon King	Essex	Eggleston	60	1812
Leopard	J. Boynton	do	do	50	1813
Boxer	Gideon King	do	do	60	1813
Paragon	do do	Burlington	do	75	1814

The prosecution of commercial enterprise was now interrupted by the War of 1812, and the energies of the people were engrossed by the numerous projects for the invasion of the enemy's country, and for the expulsion from the lake of the enemy's fleets. At the close of the war business with Canada was to some extent resumed, but the bitter feeling which that strife engendered did not wear away; moreover, an intimate business acquaintance had been formed between the merchants on the lake, and those of Troy, Albany, and other cities to the south. In addition to the trade kept up for the necessity of the inhabitants during the war, Admiral King had been abundantly employed in transporting troops, provisions and stores for the government. He had formed business connections at Whitehall, and even established a house there to attend to the transshipment of goods from the south to the lake, and *vice versa*. Richard P. Hart, of Troy, kept on the road between Whitehall and Troy a train of horses and wagons, which provided all the means of transportation, public and private, and of goods and passengers. The sloops of King completed the carriage from Whitehall to the destination of the traveler or freight.

This slow and cumbrous method of traffic was carried on but about ten years after the close of the war. De Witt Clinton had projected the plan of uniting the waters of all the inland lakes with the waters of the Atlantic. In October, 1817, Ezra Smith and M. Wheeler began the construction of the Champlain Canal, and on the same day that witnessed the opening of the Erie Canal, a direct communication was made between Hudson River and Lake Champlain, and canal boats were substituted in the place of wagon trains. The first canal boat to pass through the canal to tide water at Troy was the *Gleaner*, owned by Julius Hoyt, N. W. Kingman and John Taylor. The following graphic description of the voyage comes from the pen of Mr. Canfield :

“ It was built in the summer of 1823, sailed in September of that year — Captain William Burton, master, having on board a cargo of wheat and potash. Messrs. Hoyt & Kingman accompanied him as passengers. The boat arrived at Waterford before the locks into the Hudson were completed, and was detained there several days, during which time many of the merchants and citizens of Troy called upon Messrs. Hoyt & Kingman on board their little vessel. On the completion of the locks the *Gleaner* passed into the river and proceeded to Troy, accompanied by a long procession of boats gaily decked with flags and streamers. On arriving at Troy she was received with the cheers of a large concourse of people, and a salute of artillery. Messrs. Hoyt & Kingman were escorted by a procession with music to the Troy House, then kept by Platt Titus, esq., where they were honored by a public dinner, closed by toasts, speeches, etc. The boat, with the same passengers, passed on to New York, and was saluted at Albany, Hudson, Poughkeepsie, and at most of the large places on the way. At New York they were honored in much the same way as at Troy, except that it was upon a much larger scale. The papers of that day were full of the subject, and the advent of the little craft even excited one of the great poets of New York to come out in a song in which the *Gleaner* was alluded to as the ‘ Barque of the Mountains.’ ”

Up to this time Canada had received the benefit of an enormous and almost exclusive trade with the inhabitants of the Champlain valley, especially in lumber. The discovery of iron ore at various points on the west side of the lake gave an added impulse to trade of every description, and the current flowed in the direction of Canada. The opening of the Champlain Canal effected a revolution in the carrying trade, and marked the beginning of an era of decline in the commerce between Canada and the States.

Ezra Smith a resident of Chittenden county, and collector of the district of Champlain under President Taylor, was established in the forwarding business at Whitehall from 1816 to 1825, and was the first contractor on the Champlain Canal. From 1822 to 1831 Asa Eddy, from Sandy Hill, was engaged in canal transportation, and established the first line of boats on the canal. He was succeeded by Peter Comstock, who had been engaged more or less in rafting lumber through the canal ever since it was opened. He had also owned several boats before purchasing from Eddy, and after the purchase he entered into a copartnership with Barney & Martin, of Whitehall. This was the beginning of the Northern Transportation Line, which went into the hands of James H. Hooker in 1840, and at his death was incorporated into a stock company bearing the same name. Another line, called the Northern Line, started in 1834 by Asa and Hiram Eddy, was purchased in 1837 by Eddy, Bascom & Co., and in 1842 it passed into the hands of Travis, Eddy & Co., who established the “ six days line,” so named from the fact that the boats did not run on Sundays. In 1856 the Northern Transportation Line Association was formed, incorporating the Northern and the Northern Transportation Lines

into one general association, which continued until the close of navigation in 1877, when it was succeeded by the New York and Lake Champlain Transportation Company.

From the opening of the canal until about 1845, considerable damage to goods resulted from the fact that there was either no continuous line from ports on the lake to Troy or destinations farther south, or that the transshipments at Whitehall from vessels to canal boats, or *vice versa*, and further transshipments at Troy, was necessarily attended with delay. Besides, the delay itself was very annoying. The inconvenience was remedied in 1845 by the introduction of the Long-Boat Lines, which ran the passengers and cargoes through to New York without a change of vehicle. The navigation by sail on the lake, which had at this period reached the meridian of its prosperity, began to decline, as the long boats assumed the cargoes at ports on the lake and carried them through without transshipment. Then, too, began the period of decay of the famous sloops and schooners, *Daniel Webster*, *Henry Clay*, *Montgomery*, *Hercules*, *Billow*, *General Scott*, *Lafayette*, *Water Witch*, and others, commanded by Captains Price, Allen, Chamberlain, Tisdale, Bush, Stoughton and others.

In 1841 Follett & Bradley, of Burlington, established the Merchants' Line, which was composed of well-built canal-boats constructed like sloops, rigged with a mast and sail which could be taken out at Whitehall, after a voyage on the lake, when the boat could proceed to Troy on the canal, and thence reach New York by steam tow boats on the Hudson.

Lucius A. Johnson, of Burlington, was the first general agent of the company in New York. He was a man of great energy and unquestioned reliability, and established and maintained the high reputation of the company until his death in August, 1850. Thomas H. Canfield, of Burlington, who subsequently controlled the line, was his successor.

Upon the retirement of Judge Follett, in the spring of 1847, to assume the presidency of the Rutland and Burlington Railroad, this line was continued by Bradley & Canfield, of Burlington, and Nichols, Burton & Chittenden, of St. Albans, and later by Thomas H. Canfield, of Burlington. There were sometimes as many as forty boats engaged in this line, but in 1853, when the railroads were opened, the channel of trade was diverted from a line north and south on the lake to a line direct from Vermont to Boston, and the lake commerce was of necessity nearly destroyed. Meanwhile the firm of Smith & Wilkins, of Burlington, had established the "New York and Canada Line," which did a good business until the railroads were opened, when it was discontinued. The freighting and towing business was then principally transacted by the Whitehall Transportation Company and the Northern Transportation Line. These companies were succeeded by the New York and Lake Champlain Transportation Company, which was chartered in 1878. L. J. N. Stark, of New York, was the president, and under his judicious management it has grown to be a leading and reliable company.

In 1883 the Northern Boatman Transportation Company was organized for the purpose of competition, by offering lower rates for freight; but two years later it was compelled to relinquish the attempt. The following is a list of vessels which hailed from or were owned by citizens of Burlington, or Chittenden county, from 1827 to 1835 inclusive :

Names.	Year Built.	Where Built.	Length.	Width.	Depth.	Tonnage.	Owners.	Master.
Napoleon.....	1827	Georgia	73	25	6	90	R. A. Hurlbard & P. Comstock	R. A. Hurlbard.
Heracles.....	1828	Burlington.	69	26	6	85	T. Follett & J. Price.....	John Price.
La Fayette.....	1834	Burlington.	76	25	6	92	C. P. Allen.....	Samuel Dresden.
Wellington.....	1836	Whitehall	78	14	4	37	John McNall.....	John McNall.
Julia.....	1836	Whitehall	76	14	4	39	J. Clark & S. Boardman	J. W. Hall.
Daniel Webster.....	1837	Burlington	86	26	6	115	T. Follett & H. & J. Bradley.	John Price.
D. A. Smith.....	1837	Plattsburgh.	77	14	4	50	Otis Smith.....	I. A. Smith.
Hudson.....	1837	Essex, N. Y.	77	13	4	38	J. Hudson & C. Dorr.....	J. Hudson.
Hiram.....	1839	Burlington	79	14	4	28	H. S. & E. White.....	H. S. White.
John Tyler.....	1839	Burlington	78	14	4	42	O. A. Burton.....	B. B. Farnham.
Elisabeth.....	1839	Milton	78	13	4	40	L. Peters & E. Taylor.....	L. Peters.
R. M. Johnson.....	1841	Burlington	79	14	5	48	Follett & Bradley.....	H. D. Edwards.
Amazon.....	1842	Willsboro, N. Y.	80	14	4	40	A. B. Hoffnagle.....	A. B. Hoffnagle.
Eagle.....	1843	Burlington	77	13	5	49	Follett & Bradley.....	F. Barker.
E. Kingsland.....	1844	Essex, N. Y.	78	13	4	35	Henry Chiott.....	Henry Chiott, jr.
Empire.....	1844	Burlington	78	13	5	51	Follett & Bradley.....	H. D. Clark.
J. D. Kingsland.....	1844	Essex, N. Y.	78	13	5	49	Follett & Bradley.....	W. H. Beaman.
S. Barker.....	1845	Vergennes	79	13	4	43	Stannard & Carpenter.....	J. T. Rhodes.
M. Bradley.....	1846	Burlington	78	13	5	48	Follett & Bradley.....	B. B. Farnham.
Oregon.....	1848	Essex, N. Y.	78	13	5	48	J. Bradley & T. H. Canfield.	De Clancy Stoughton.
Sea Bird.....	1846	Essex, N. Y.	78	13	5	50	D. Fay.....	H. J. Bishop.
S. R. Ferris.....	1846	Milton	79	14	4	46	J. Clark & A. & A. Snow.....	Albert Snow.
L. A. Johnson.....	1847	Milton	76	13	4	41	A. A. & L. S. Smith.....	A. A. Smith.
E. K. Bussing.....	1847	Peru, N. Y.	78	13	5	47	J. Bradley & T. H. Canfield.	E. Anson.
J. S. Bussing.....	1847	Peru, N. Y.	78	13	5	45	J. Bradley & T. H. Canfield.	E. A. Martin.
Mike.....	1847	Ticonderoga, N. Y.	80	13	5	48	Smith, Wilkins & Landon.....	A. J. Tucker.
Columbia.....	1847	Ticonderoga, N. Y.	77	14	5	52	J. M. Bishop.....	D. E. McEachron.
John Bradley.....	1847	Burlington.	78	14	5	45	J. Bradley.....	W. W. Wright.
Commodore.....	1847	Milton	77	13	5	49	Otis Snow.....	Otis Snow.
P. T. Davis.....	1847	Essex, N. Y.	77	13	5	46	E. S. Rowley & J. Simonds.....	E. S. Rowley.
Isaac Nye.....	1848	Essex	76	13	4	38	J. Bradley & T. H. Canfield.	H. J. Hinchley.
J. W. Brown.....	1848	Isle La Motte	75	14	4	43	W. Bush & J. N. Brown.....	William Bush.
Billow.....	1848	Whitehall	87	20	5	74	John Tobias.....	John Tobias.
H. W. Catlin.....	1848	Burlington	78	13	5	43	H. W. Catlin & W. R. Tupper	E. S. Rowley.
Joseph Clark.....	1848	Colchester	81	21	6	92	J. McNall.....	J. McNall.
Glass-maker.....	1849	Burlington	86	15	4	53	Smith, Wilkins & Landon.....	Henry Chiott.
W. B. Freleigh.....	1849	Swanton	82	15	5	58	Henry Chiott.....	Henry Chiott.
Excelsior.....	1850	Willsboro, N. Y.	87	25	7	94	M. J. Kieran.....	H. Duple.
Victorine.....	1850	Essex, N. Y.	78	13	5	49	William S. Bullock.....	W. S. Bullock.
Henry Mayo.....	1851	Burlington	110	23	8	178	R. & B. R. R. Co.....	B. B. Farnham.
E. T. Englesby.....	1851	Burlington	109	22	7	168	R. & B. R. R. Co.....	M. Eggleston.
John Howard.....	1851	Burlington	110	23	7	174	R. & B. R. R. Co.....	E. Anson.
Horace Loomis.....	1851	Burlington	110	23	8	177	R. & B. R. R. Co.....	W. H. Beaman.
John Jackson.....	1851	Burlington	80	13	4	44	E. W. Boardman.....	John Drake.
Valcour.....	1851	Willsboro, N. Y.	78	14	4	38	Henry Chiott.....	Henry Chiott.
Mariner.....	1853	Burlington	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	B. Gallagher.
Industry.....	1853	Essex, N. Y.	78	13	5	50	N. Viers.....	N. Viers.
Republic.....	1855	Essex, N. Y.	77	13	5	47	H. Washburn.....	H. Washburn.
Emma.....	1853	Whitehall, N. Y.	86	14	6	60	Peter Kirby.....	Peter Kirby.
Richmond.....	1858	Essex, N. Y.	86	14	6	68	L. & A. K. Ballard.....	John Tague.
Trader.....	1860	Essex, N. Y.	86	14	6	61	C. R. Hayward.....	J. Sheldon.
John L. Merriam.....	1860	Essex, N. Y.	86	14	6	69	L. Barnes & Co.....	J. Truman.
J. G. Randall.....	1861	Essex, N. Y.	77	13	4	37	Stannard & Carpenter.....	C. M. Field.
Itasca.....	1861	Essex, N. Y.	86	13	6	65	J. P. Clark.....	A. W. Snow.
Helen.....	1862	Whitehall, N. Y.	87	13	6	56	John Tague.....	John Tague.
O. J. Walker.....	1862	Burlington	86	14	7	78	J. H. Kirby.....	J. H. Kirby.
J. E. Brett.....	1862	Whitehall, N. Y.	87	14	7	84	William S. Bullock.....	W. S. Bullock.
J. G. Witherbee.....	1863	Essex, N. Y.	84	14	6	62	A. A. Converse.....	J. L. Washburn.
Henry Stanton.....	1861	Fort Edward, N. Y.	89	14	6	76	A. W. Snow.....	A. W. Snow.
Col. Jones.....	1864	Colchester	78	18	5	65	W. B. Cook.....	W. B. Cook.
James Averill.....	1864	Champlain, N. Y.	85	15	6	68	J. W. & H. W. Brown.....	N. F. Estey.
Essex.....	1866	Essex, N. Y.	78	15	5	46	A. W. Snow.....	A. W. Snow.
L. A. Hall.....	1867	Whitehall, N. Y.	85	14	5	63	John Tague.....	John Tague.
Moncka.....	1868	Essex, N. Y.	93	17	6	85	William Fleury.....	William Fleury.
W. G. Lyon.....	1868	Essex, N. Y.	86	15	6	63	W. R. Montgomery.....	W. R. Montgomery.
Orville Sinclair.....	1873	Fort Anne, N. Y.	95	17	7	112	William S. Bullock.....	W. S. Bullock.
John.....	1879	Shelburne	97	23	6	86	C. R. Hayward.....	J. Sheldon.
W. A. Crombie.....	1881	Fort Anne, N. Y.	94	17	7	113	William S. Bullock.....	W. S. Bullock.
Owen Brady.....	1882	Orwell	96	17	7	99	W. B. Wright.....	J. H. Pike.
John W. Hussey.....	1882	Orwell	96	18	7	102	L. P. Lilly.....	N. E. Garity.
Elias Lyman.....	1884	Orwell	97	18	7	103	William S. Bullock.....	W. S. Bullock.
Republic.....	1885	Champlain, N. Y.	73	16	4	61	Drew & Conger.....	E. Laundre.

After Robert Fulton's successful experiment with the first steamboat on the Hudson, in 1807, the people of Burlington set about building a steamboat at Burlington. This was launched in 1808, the second steamboat in the world, and bore the name *Vermont*. It began navigating the lake in 1809, "just two hundred years after Champlain had entered upon its waters in a bark canoe."¹ She was 120 feet long, 20 feet beam, 167 tons burden, had an engine of 20 horse power, procured at Albany, and a speed of four miles an hour. James and John Winans and J. Gough, of Burlington, were the builders, and John Winans, the captain. During the War of 1812 she was run only to Plattsburgh, and occasionally to Champlain, and was engaged for the government in transporting troops and stores. At the close of the war she resumed her trips to St. Johns, and in 1815 had the last of many "break-downs." On the way up from St. Johns the connecting-rod became detached, and working by bell-cranks was forced through the bottom of the boat before the engine could be stopped, and sunk her near Ash Island, a few miles south of the Isle aux Noix, Canada, in October, 1815. The builders took out her engine and boilers and sold them to the Lake Champlain Steamboat Company. On the 12th of March, 1813, this company had received its charter from the State of New York. It was composed of Cornelius P. Van Ness, Moses and Guy Catlin, of Burlington, Amos W. Barnum, of Vergennes, and Tunis Van Vechten, Abram G. Lansing, Isaiah and John Townsend, J. Ellis Winne, Samuel T. Lansing, and Joseph Alexander, of Albany, and several others. It had a capital of \$100,000, and was incorporated for the purpose of building and operating steamboats on Lake Champlain. Many years afterward it was consolidated with the Champlain Transportation Company. The Lake Champlain company built the frame of the war vessel *Ticonderoga*, which MacDonough finished and employed at Plattsburgh. In the same year, 1814, they laid the keel for the ill-starred *Phoenix*, which was placed under the superintendence of Captain Jehaziel Sherman. The boat began running between Whitehall and St. Johns in 1815. She was 146 feet long, 27 wide, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ deep, and had a 45-horse power engine, with a 24-inch cylinder, and four-feet stroke, giving her a speed of eight miles an hour. She made regular trips between Whitehall and St. Johns until the 5th of September, 1819, at one o'clock in the morning, when she was destroyed by fire on her passage from Burlington to Plattsburgh.

The next boat built by this company was begun in the winter of 1815-16, at Vergennes, James and John Winans, builders. The engine and boilers of the *Vermont* were used in her construction. Captain George Brush, her first captain, superintended the work of fitting her out. She was named the *Champlain*. It should be remembered that the boats of that period were far inferior in construction and finish to the elegant steamers that ply the lake to-day. The *Champlain* was arranged with short guards, flush deck aft, and with no

¹ Thomas H. Canfield in *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*.

cabins or covering above the main deck except an awning of canvas. But the company were not satisfied with the slow rate of speed of the new boat (five miles per hour), and during the second winter of its existence they transferred the engine of the *Phoenix* to her, which increased her speed to six miles an hour. A new engine was then built for the *Phoenix*, which brought her speed up to eight miles an hour. But the *Champlain* was doomed to a fate similar to that afterward suffered by the *Phoenix*. In 1817, the year after she appeared on the lake, she was burned to the water's edge while lying at dock in Whitehall, the fire having originated from an imperfection in the arrangement of her boilers. The next boat, the *Congress*, was built at Vergennes in 1818, by Captain Gorham for Captain Sherman and Amos W. Barnum, of Vergennes, Guy Catlin, of Burlington, and Tunis Van Vechten, of Albany, and was propelled by the same engine and boilers that had been transferred to the *Champlain* from the *Phoenix*. She made her first appearance in 1818, under Captain Daniel Davis, and two years later was sold to the Champlain Steamboat Company and placed under command of Captain R. W. Sherman. She was the fastest boat on the lake for the first two years, for the reason that she was the only one; but in the summer of 1820 her speed was eclipsed by that of the new boat, the "Second" *Phoenix*, built at Vergennes in 1820. Under the command of Captain J. Sherman she attained the reputation of being the fastest boat in the world. These two steamers made three trips a week between St. Johns and Whitehall, the fare through being six dollars. She was condemned in 1835. The company had thus far built their boats at Vergennes, but the early closing of the Otter Creek by ice, and other inconveniences of situation, determined them to fix upon a more eligible place. Accordingly, in 1820, C. P. Van Ness and Judge Follett, who had been appointed a committee for the purpose, made choice of Shelburne Harbor, purchased several acres of land there and erected the necessary buildings.

On the 18th of November, 1824, the Champlain Ferry Company was incorporated by act of the Legislature of Vermont, and was organized by the election of Samuel Hickok, Timothy Follett, Philo Doolittle, John Peck and Professor James Dean, as directors, and the appointment of Samuel Hickok, president, and Philo Doolittle, clerk and treasurer. Early in the summer of 1825 they completed and placed upon this ferry the steamer *General Green*, of 160 tons burden, with a 30-horse power engine, and a speed of eight miles an hour. Captain Dan Lyon, still a respected resident of Burlington, commanded this boat, which made regular trips between Burlington, Port Kent and Plattsburgh until the latter part of 1832. In July, 1833, she was succeeded by the *Winooski*, and was converted into a sloop. On the 21st of October, 1821, Vermont granted a charter to Charles McNeil, of Charlotte, Vt., and Henry H. Ross, of Essex, N. Y., for a ferry between those points. They built the steamboat *Washington* in 1827, and finding her too expensive for ferrying, em-

ployed her for a time in towing up the lake toward Whitehall, and on the 9th of March, 1829, sold her to the Champlain Transportation Company, Messrs. Ross and McNeil becoming, in consideration, directors in the Transportation Company. In 1848 the proprietors of the ferry built the steamer *Bouquet*, named after Bouquet River, which flows through Willsborough, N. Y., but after a few years, owing to the successful competition of the railroads, which made it impossible to sustain her on the ferry, they sold her to parties in Canada.

The St. Albans Steamboat Company was chartered by the State on the 4th of November, 1826, and organized by the election of N. W. Kingman, N. B. Wells, L. L. Dutcher, John Lynde and John Palmer, directors, and the appointment of N. W. Kingman, president, and L. L. Dutcher, clerk. In 1828 they built the steamer *MacDonough*, which was commanded by Captain William Burton. She ran for several years between St. Albans Bay and Plattsburgh, and in January, 1835, was sold to the Champlain Transportation Company, together with the franchise and interests of the St. Albans Steamboat Company.

The next steamboat company incorporated by the State was composed of Ezra Meach, Martin Chittenden, Stephen S. Keyes, Luther Loomis, Roswell Butler, Eleazer H. Deming. The date of the charter was October 26, 1826, and it recited the purpose of the new company, which it called the Champlain Transportation Company, as being to transport "by use of tow-boats, or otherwise, passengers, goods, wares, merchandise, or any other property on Lake Champlain." Their first boat, the *Franklin*, was completed at St. Albans in the fall of 1827, under the direction of a committee consisting of Luther Loomis, Roswell Butler and Philo Doolittle, Captain Jehaziel Sherman acting as superintendent of construction. She was the most complete and modern of all the boats in construction and arrangements. On the last day in January, 1828, the stockholders of the company met at Burlington and elected the following directors: William A. Griswold, Samuel Hickok, Luther Loomis, James Dean, Jehaziel Sherman, Asa Eddy, N. W. Kingman, Lawrence Brainerd and Philo Doolittle. These, with Timothy Follett, George Moore, John Peck, Henry H. Ross, Heman Cady, S. E. Howard and Andrew Thompson, after the board of directors was enlarged, continued to act with little change until about 1846. William A. Griswold, the first president, remained in that office until the year of his death, 1846. The first treasurer continued in the position until his death, January 19, 1862.

The season of 1828 opened with the following steamers on the lake: The *Franklin*, *Washington*, *Phoenix*, and *Congress*, the *General Green* between Burlington and Plattsburgh, and, during the latter part of the season, the *MacDonough* between Plattsburgh and St. Albans. But there were too many competing companies on the lake for the profit of all, and negotiations were begun

which resulted in the spring of 1835 in the total absorption, by the Champlain Company, of all the business on the lake. They owned every steamboat and were free from opposition. Their first object was to afford the public all the facilities required, notwithstanding the use of as few boats as possible. Captain Sherman was placed in command of the *Franklin*, and Captain Lyon of the *Phoenix*, while the *Winooski*, under Captain Flack, ran the ferry between Burlington and St. Albans. But the unwieldy arrangements of these boats determined the company to build a new steamer which should combine all the modern improvements, and to refit the *Winooski* for the purpose of putting her on the line with the *Franklin*. Henry H. Ross, J. C. Sherman and Philo Doolittle were appointed a committee to present the plan and estimate for the new boat, and Captain R. W. Sherman was appointed to superintend its construction at Shelburne Harbor. Meanwhile Peter Comstock, who was interested in passenger boats on the Champlain Canal, and was a prominent forwarding merchant at Whitehall, caused the company not a little annoyance by laying the keel of a steamboat at Whitehall. They could do nothing better than resort to the old method of compromise, however, and therefore, in August, 1835, they purchased the boat from him, and closed an arrangement by which he bound himself not to contribute in any manner to any enterprise which should have a tendency to interfere with the prosperous continuance of the business of the transportation company for a period of eight years. The new boat at Shelburne Harbor, which was called the *Burlington*, appeared on the lake at the opening of navigation in 1837, under command of Captain R. W. Sherman, and the *Whitchall*, which was the name of the boat purchased from Comstock, took her place in the following season under charge of Captain Dan Lyon. Both boats were larger and more elegant than any other boats which then was or had been on the lake. In 1841 the *Saranac* took the place of the *Winooski* on the ferry.

There were frequent complaints, however, from the traveling public, that notwithstanding the excellent accommodations of the company, the charge of five dollars for each passage through the lake was exorbitant. A number of persons in New York State consequently procured a charter from the Legislature of New York, of a company under the name of the New York and Champlain Steamboat Company. They were immediately consolidated with the old company, which endeavored to cut off any further opposition by reducing the fare from five dollars to three, with meals and rooms charged extra. No sooner had this consolidation been effected than Peter Comstock began the construction of another boat at Whitehall, which he named the *Francis Saltus*. He was disappointed, however, in his expectations that the transportation company would gratify him by purchasing this boat as they had the other. They decided to "run down" the opposition, and accordingly fitted up the *Saranac* and placed her under command of Captain P. T. Davis, and when the *Saltus*

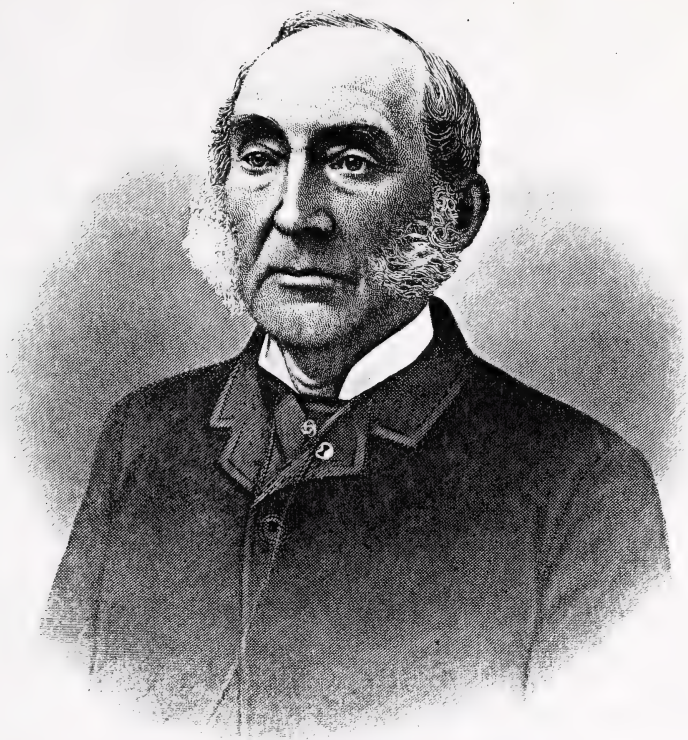
came out in 1845, under Captain H. G. Tisdale, she was forced to compete with the *Saranac*, which left the ends of the lake at the same time, and usually succeeded in keeping pace with the "enemy" the whole distance. The *Burlington* and *Whitchall* made the passage through the lake at night and charged the regular fare of three dollars. The company could therefore afford to run the *Saranac* for the pittance of fifty cents, while Comstock, with all his sagacity and energy, could do nothing but lose on a fare of even one dollar. She was therefore transferred to a company of Troy speculators, and "with her consort, the *Montreal*, which was then in frames, passed off quietly in March, 1848, into the possession of the Champlain Transportation Company, which had so kindly 'relieved' many of her predecessors." The principal cause of the failure of the *Saltus* was the arrival on the lake of a new steamer called *United States*, which was brought out by the Champlain Transportation Company in 1847. She was larger than any of her predecessors, and made nineteen miles an hour, four more than had ever been reached before. She was also the first boat on the lake fitted up with state-rooms on the upper deck. She came out in August, 1847, under command of Captain P. T. Davis.

Meantime steam tow-boats had become necessary for the purpose of insuring the regular passage through the lake of boats going to New York. In 1846 the Northern Transportation Line built the propeller *James H. Hooker*, more for carrying freight than for towing. On the 2d of November, 1847, a charter was granted by the Legislature of Vermont to John Bradley, Thomas H. Canfield, O. A. Burton, H. L. Nichols, N. A. Tucker, A. M. Clark, Horace Gray, J. C. Hammond, Charles F. Hammond and Allen Penfield, for a steam tow-boat company. The organization of this company was effected by the election of Penfield, Nichols, Clark, Hammond and Canfield as directors, the stock being taken by John Bradley & Co., of Burlington, Nichols, Burton & Co., of St. Albans, and Hammond, of Crown Point, who employed most of the long canal boats in the business. In 1847 they built a strong tow and freight boat at Shelburne Harbor, called the *Ethan Allen*. She was run two or three years between Rouse's Point and Whitehall as a tow-boat, and was afterward sold to the Vermont Central Railroad to run between Rouse's Point and Alburgh. When the bridge was constructed she was sold, May 31, 1852, to the Champlain Transportation Company, and by it to the Northern Transportation Line.

In 1848 the Champlain Transportation Company established a daily line each way through the lake, running four boats, the night line being formed by the *Burlington* and *Whitchall*, and the day line by the *United States* and *Saltus*, or *Saranac*. In 1849 a large part of the stock of this company was sold to Drew, Robinson & Company, of New York, and to Oscar A. Burton. The former were proprietors of the North River steamers, and the latter was a resident of St. Albans. Under the new administration a through line was formed

to New York, connecting with the steamers on the Hudson and the railroad between Whitehall and Troy. Through tickets were issued to passengers from Montreal to New York. This line, embracing the transportation of both passengers and freight, was called the North and South Through Line. On the 30th of August, 1852, the Rutland and Burlington Railroad Company, in competition with the Vermont and Canada Railroad, purchased all the property of the Champlain Transportation Company, the latter company retaining its franchise and corporate rights. The railroad company having failed to realize their expectations in the management of the steamers, sold back, in the fall of 1853, all the property which it had acquired from the Champlain Transportation Company, except the steamers *Boston* and *Saltus*, which it retained, the former for a ferry between Burlington and Rouse's Point and the latter for use of the Plattsburgh and Montreal Railroad. In the winter of 1854 this company became the owner of the *America*, which was completed in 1851, and was the fastest boat on the lake, and the *Canada*, finished in 1853, which was the largest.

At the commencement of the season of 1854 the Champlain Transportation Company owned all the steamers on the lake except the *Boston* and *Francis Saltus*, which afterwards came into their hands. In 1856 Drew, Robinson & Kelley sold their stock to persons interested in the Saratoga and Whitehall Railroad, which subsequently became merged in the Rensselaer and Saratoga Railroad, and retired from the direction; Colonel L. G. B. Cannon, of Burlington, L. W. Tupper, of Troy, and John M. Davison, of Saratoga, were elected to fill the vacancies. With the entrance of these men a new and more vigorous policy in the management was begun. The line had greatly deteriorated, and no dividends on the stock had been made for three years. Mr. O. A. Burton resigned the presidency in January, 1861, and was succeeded by Mr. L. H. Tupper, of Troy, who held the office for three years. Colonel Cannon was then elected president. He at once restored the system inaugurated by Captain R. W. Sherman, which had distinguished this line above all other steamboat companies in the country. This was a system of exact order and discipline, the greatest neatness in the care of the boats, superior excellence of the table, and courteous behavior of officers and crew toward the passengers. This last regulation was fitly illustrated by the motto which Captain Sherman had placed over his office, viz.: "Keep your temper." All orders were given by signals, which were in strong contrast with the noisy and frequently blasphemous cries which were heard from captains and crew elsewhere. Gambling on the boats, which was then so general, was prohibited, and strict subordination of the entire crew was rigidly insisted upon. The captain was, in fact, what his title implied. In 1867, when the steamer *Adirondack* was finished and commenced her trips, President Cannon inaugurated the custom of uniforming the officers and crews of the several steamers belonging to the com-



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pany, instituting naval discipline and assigning the crews to quarters. This custom, thus first introduced on this line, has since been adopted by several other companies, and also by the United States government in its navigation laws and regulations. In 1868 this company purchased the stock of the Lake George Steamboat Company, and built the steamers *Minnchaha* and *Ganouski*. In 1872 a separate company, called the Lake George Steamboat Company, was organized to control the business on Lake George in connection with the Champlain Transportation Company, and built the steamers *Horicon*, in 1877, and *Ticonderoga*, in 1884, to run on that lake. At this time it became evident to Colonel Cannon that the future success of the Champlain Transportation Company depended largely upon an aggressive and vigorous policy toward the several railroad companies which centered at Burlington. The company had gradually yielded to their influence, and demands were now made on the Rutland and Burlington Railroad for an equitable division of the business. By a reduction of fares, the result of the contest was an equal division of the business, a decrease of the steamboat fare fifty cents below that of the railroads, and other amicable arrangements to the advantage of the steamboat company were obtained. This continued until a proposition was made by Governor J. B. Page, then manager of the Rutland and Burlington Railroad, for his road, the Champlain Transportation Company, and the Rensselaer and Saratoga Railroad to purchase the Plattsburgh and Montreal Railroad, then in the hands of a receiver, each party to have an equal interest, then to establish a ferry between Burlington and Plattsburgh, so that the Rutland and Burlington Railroad should have an immediate connection with Montreal, independent of the Central Vermont Railroad line. While negotiations were pending, the managers of the Rutland and Burlington Railroad, without the knowledge of the steamboat company, purchased the Plattsburgh and Montreal road, and built the steamer *Oakes Ames* in 1868, to run on the ferry. This plan was directly hostile to the interests of the Champlain Transportation Company. As soon as his new arrangements were completed, Governor Page ascertained for the first time that a contract existed between the Grand Trunk Railroad of Canada and the Champlain Transportation Company, by which the route from the province line at Moore's Junction and Montreal should not be run as a through line unless the Champlain Transportation Company made its terminus north of Plattsburgh. As this had not been done, the Rutland and Burlington Railroad Company found itself with no railroad connection north of Moore's Junction, and an expensive steamboat on its hands. The railroad company was, therefore, obliged to negotiate with the Champlain Transportation Company to terminate its line at Plattsburgh. The result was that Governor Page and his friends purchased Mr. Burton's one-third interest in the steamboat company with a guaranty to the steamboat company of the gross receipts which the company had previously received by the continuance of the line to Rouse's

Point, which amounted to about \$25,000 per annum. This arrangement was, after four years, terminated by the lease of the Rutland and Burlington and Plattsburgh and Montreal Railroads to the Central Vermont Railroad Company, upon which the Champlain Transportation Company resumed its trips to Rouse's Point until 1876, when the Delaware and Hudson Railroad Company acquired the New York and Canada Railroad, located on the west shore of the lake, as well as the Champlain Transportation Company, which has since been run in connection with it.

In 1873 the *Oakes Ames*, which was a part of the Rutland Railroad purchase, was made over into the commodious passenger steamer *Champlain*, which was wrecked in July, 1875, near Westport, N. Y. In 1871 the company built the large and elegant steamboat *Vermont*, which is now running on the through line under the command of Captain George Rushlow, a faithful and efficient officer who has been connected with the company for thirty-two years.

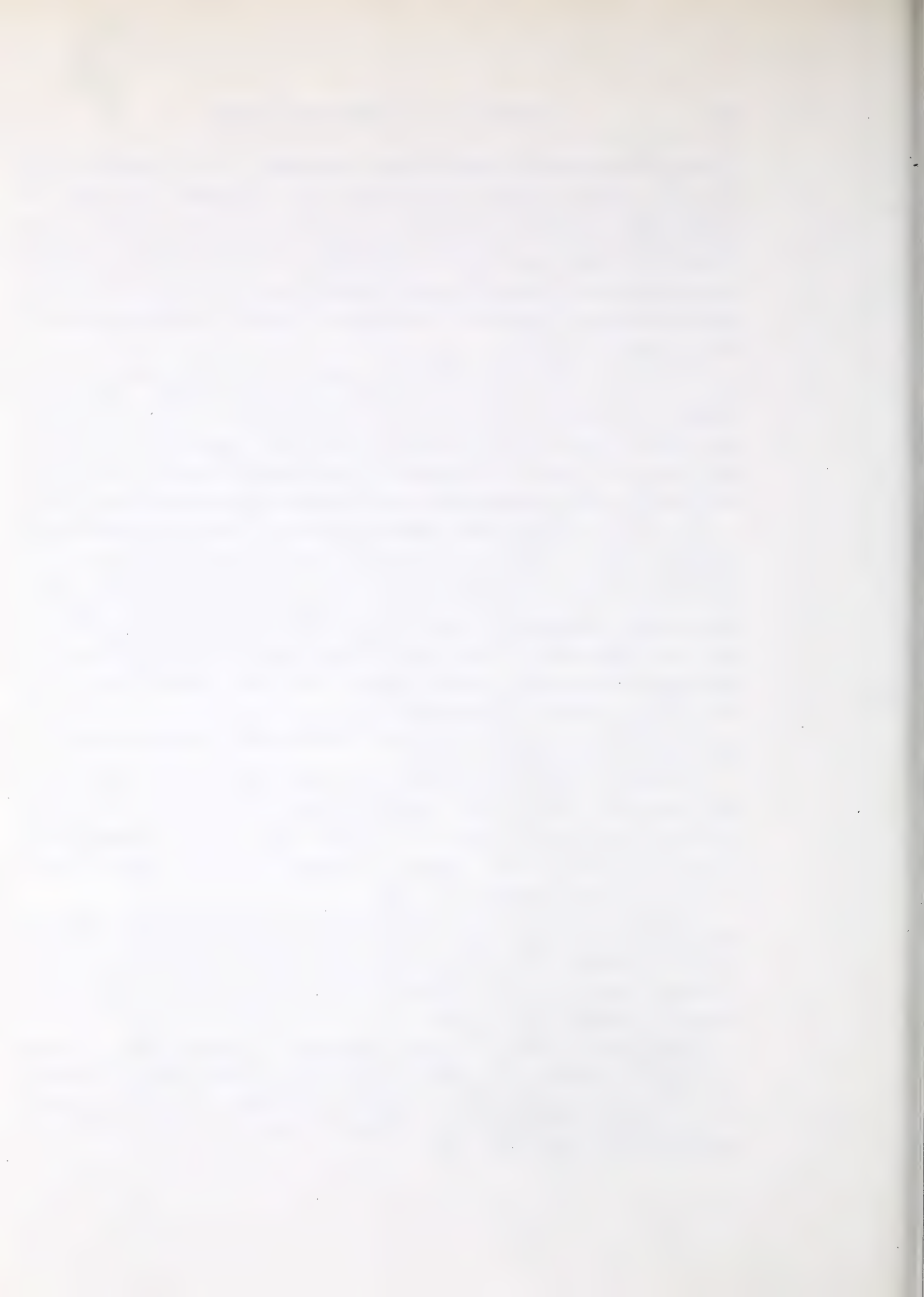
The uniform policy of the company has been to retain its employees as long as they were able to perform any service, which has resulted in the securing of a force of most efficient, loyal men. The oldest steamboat company in the world, it has always maintained an enviable and unequalled reputation for its careful management. But a single life has been lost, and that in a collision near Port Kent in 1826, since its incorporation, out of the millions of passengers it has carried, and not one loss of life has occurred through any carelessness or neglect of the company.

The following is a list of officers of the Champlain Transportation Company since its organization in 1826:

Presidents.—Luther Loomis, Burlington, Vt., 1826 to 1827; Julius Hoyt, St. Albans, Vt., 1827 to 1828; William A. Griswold, Burlington, Vt., 1828 to 1846; Henry H. Ross, Essex, N. Y., 1846 to 1850; Oscar A. Burton, Burlington, Vt., 1850 to 1861; Lemuel H. Tupper, Troy, N. Y., 1861 to 1864; L. G. B. Cannon, Burlington, Vt., 1864.

Treasurers.—Philo Doolittle, Burlington, Vt., 1826 to 1827; Lawrence Brainerd, St. Albans, Vt., 1827 to 1828; Philo Doolittle, Burlington, Vt., 1828 to 1862; Thomas H. Canfield, Burlington, Vt., 1862 to April 5, 1865; Vernon P. Noyes, Burlington, Vt., April, 1865 to Sept. 5, 1885, the time of his death; Cyrus M. Spaulding, Oct. 6, 1885.

Superintendents.—Philo Doolittle, Burlington, Vt., 1860 to 1862; Thomas H. Canfield, Burlington, Vt., 1862 to April, 1865; Hiram Tracy, Burlington, Vt., 1865 to Jan., 1868; Ossian C. Mitchell, Burlington, Vt., 1868 to March, 1870, the time of his death; A. L. Inman, Burlington, Vt., 1870 to 1876; P. W. Barney, Burlington, Vt., 1876.



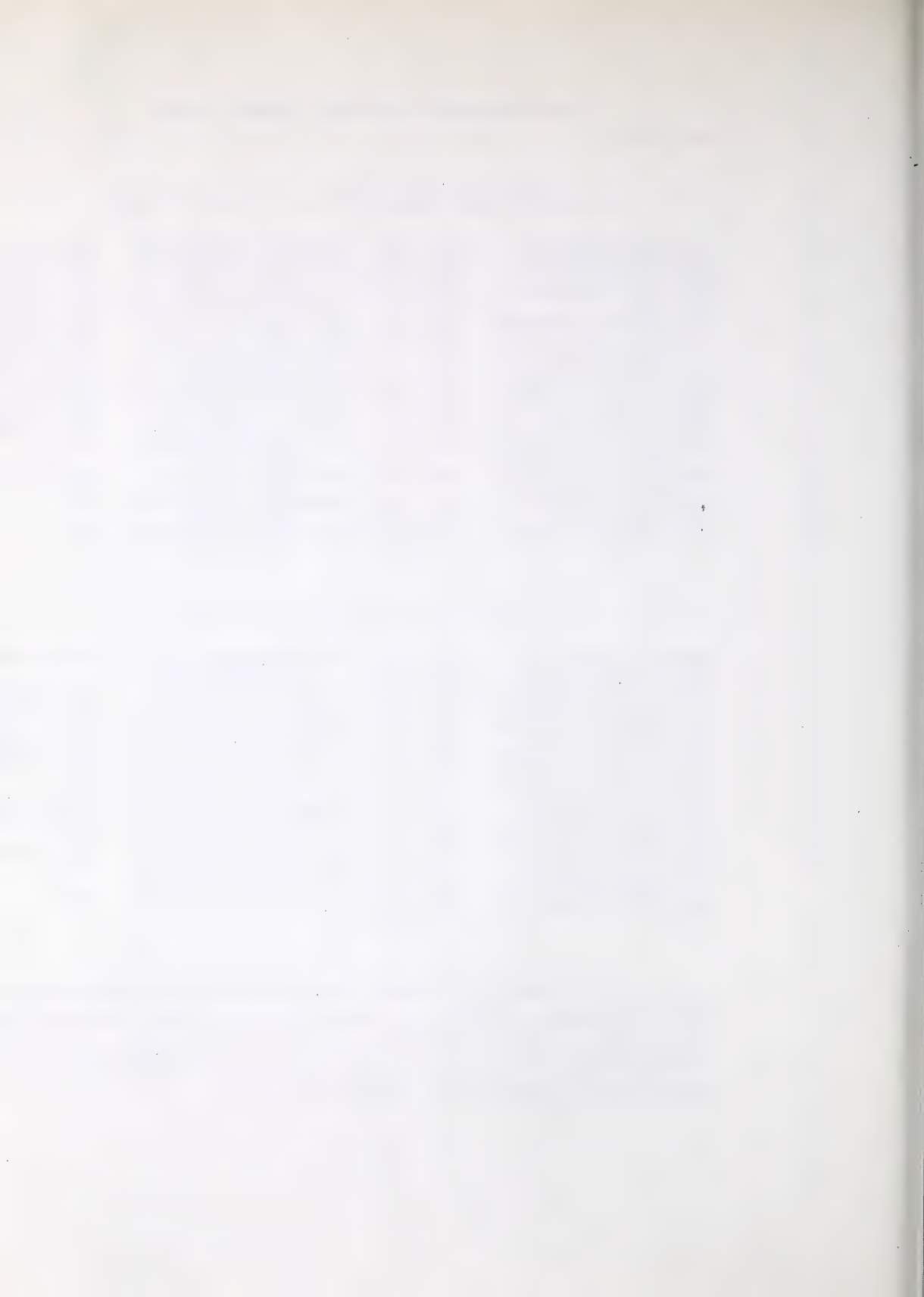
CAPTAINS WHO HAVE COMMANDED LAKE CHAMPLAIN STEAMERS.

John Winans, Burlington, Vt.,	1809 to 1815	H. G. Tisdale, Whitehall, N. Y.,	1845 to 1868
J. Sherman, Vergennes, Vt.,	1814 to 1827	Silas Hineckley, Burlington, Vt.,	1846 to 1860
George Brush, Montreal, P. Q.,	1816 to 1818	T. D. Chapman, Burlington, Vt.,	1847 to 1852
Daniel Davis, Burlington, Vt.,	1819 to 1820	N. B. Proctor, Burlington, Vt.,	1847 to 1872
R. W. Sherman, Vergennes, Vt.,	1819 to 1847	L. Chamberlin, Plattsburgh, N. Y.,	1848 to 1860
Daniel Davis,	1819 to 1820	John O'Grady, Burlington, Vt.,	1849 to 1854
George Burnham, Burlington, Vt.,	1821 to 1823	A. Brainerd, Elizabethtown, N. Y.,	1849 to 1850
Gideon Lathrop, Stockport, N. Y.,	1823 to 1850	H. R. Snyder, Port Kent, N. Y.,	1850 to 1860
L. R. Harrington, Buffalo, N. Y.,	1824 to 1828	Seth R. Foster, New York city,	1852 to 1855
Dan Lyon, Burlington, Vt.,	1825 to 1844	Moses Baxter, Chicago, Ill.,	1852 to 1854
(Now living in Burlington.)		Wm. H. Flagg, Burlington, Vt.,	1852 to 1874
Ebenezer Hurlbut, Georgia, Vt.,	1828 to 1829	A. D. Vaughn, Whitehall, N. Y.,	1856 to 1862
Edward Lyon, Detroit, Mich.,	1828 to 1829	Richard Chapin, Whitehall, N. Y.,	1857 to 1862
Jas. H. Snow, Whitehall, N. Y.,	1828 to 1829	Z. E. Stetson, Champlain, N. Y.,	1860 to 1862
Wm. Burton, Cleveland, O.,	1829 to 1831	B. J. Holt, Plattsburgh, N. Y.,	1868 to 1884
Wm. H. Wilkins, Burlington, Vt.,	1831 to 1833	Warren Corbin, South Hero, Vt.,	1869 to 1873
Wm. Anderson, Burlington, Vt.,	1831 to 1877	George Rushlow, Highgate, Vt.,	1870 to
(Now living in Burlington.)		(Now in service.)	
W. W. Sherman, Vergennes, Vt.,	1832 to 1834	E. B. Rockwell, Alburgh, Vt.,	1881 to 1885
Henry Mayo, Burlington, Vt.,	1834 to 1884	F. J. Hawley, Swanton, Vt.,	1882
(Now living in Burlington.)		(Now in service.)	
C. Boardman, Whitehall, N. Y.,	1835 to 1839	E. J. Baldwin, Burlington, Vt.,	1884
R. N. Flack, Essex, N. Y.,	1836 to 1838	(Now in service.)	
Wm. Phillips, Burlington, Vt.,	1838 to 1842	Bernard Sawyer, Whitehall, N. Y.,	1885
P. T. Davis, South Hero, Vt.,	1843 to 1858	(Now in service.)	

PILOTS OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN STEAMERS.

Hiram Ferris, Chazy, N. Y.,	1809 to 1859	Wm. Edwards, Essex, N. Y.,	1846 to 1849
John Wilson, Vergennes, Vt.,	1811 to 1831	J. G. Rockwell, Alburgh, Vt.,	1846
Ziba Manning, Whitehall, N. Y.,	1815 to 1819	(Now on the "Maquam.")	
Samuel Richardson, St. Johns, P. Q.,	1815 to 1829	Wm. Rockwell, Alburgh, Vt.,	1847 to 1855
Geo. Cannon, Cumberland Head, N. Y.,	1819 to 1852	Harry Dow, Port Kent, N. Y.,	1848 to 1860
Jas. H. Snow, Whitehall, N. Y.,	1824 to 1828	William Norton, Whitehall, N. Y.,	1850 to 1860
Phineas Burfey, Westport, N. Y.,	1825 to 1840	John Eldridge, Burlington, Vt.,	1852 to 1875
Henry Barker, Essex, N. Y.,	1825 to 1855	E. B. Rockwell, Alburgh, Vt.,	1856 to 1880
Latham Jones, Burlington, Vt.,	1826 to 1834	Joseph Amblau, Champlain, N. Y.,	1856 to 1870
A. Mockeridge, Burlington, Vt.,	1828 to 1858	Edward Anson, Port Kent, N. Y.,	1856 to 1874
Wm. Bush, Burlington, Vt.,	1831 to 1835	Alex. Markee, Ticonderoga, N. Y.,	1856
Wm. Dixon, Essex, N. Y.,	1831 to 1847	(Now on Lake George.)	
N. B. Proctor, Burlington, Vt.,	1832 to 1847	George Rushlow, Highgate, Vt.,	1857 to 1870
Ben. Jones, Whitehall, N. Y.,	1834 to 1853	George Wells, Port Kent, N. Y.,	1863 to 1870
John Wheeler, Alburgh, Vt.,	1835 to 1851	Wm. Newton, Burlington, Vt.,	1863
B. B. Farnham, Port Henry, N. Y.,	1835 to 1836	(Now on "Reindeer.")	
Edwin B. Loomis, Whitehall, N. Y.,	1835 to 1837	B. J. Holt, Plattsburgh, N. Y.,	1863 to 1869
Reuben Bosely, Mooers, N. Y.,	1840 to 1860	E. R. Rockwell, Alburgh, Vt.,	1863
J. L. Brown, Whitehall, N. Y.,	1845 to 1872	(Now on the "Vermont.")	
Erastus Edwards, Essex, N. Y.,	1845 to 1847	W. W. Rockwell, Alburgh, Vt.,	1863
Lewis Barton, Plattsburgh, N. Y.,	1845 to 1875	(Now on Lake George.)	
Nathan Hill, Burke, N. Y.,	1846 to 1874		

In 1881 the Grand Isle Steamboat Company was organized with the intention of furnishing an additional and independent line between Burlington and Rouse's Point. The steamer *Reindeer* was built and has since been successfully running between those ports. Herbert Brainerd, of St. Albans, is the president, and D. D. Ranlette the treasurer of the company.



TABULAR VIEW OF
STEAMBOATS ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

NAMES.	Year Finished.	Where Built.	Length.	Breadth.	Tonnage.	Cost.	Horse Power.	Speed per Hour.	For Whom Built.	Master Carpenters.	Continuance in Service.
Vermont	1808	Burlington	120 20	8	107	\$ 20,000	20 4		J. & J. Winans and J. Lough	John Winans	Sunk nr. Isle Aux Noix, Oct. 15, 1815.
First Phoenix	1815	Vergennes	146 27	9 1/4	326	45,000	45 8		Lake Champlain Steamboat Co.	Robertson	4 years.
Champlain	1816	Vergennes	90 20	8	128	18,000	20 5		Lake Champlain Steamboat Co.	John Winans	Burnt at Whitehall, Sept., 1817. [1819.
Congress	1818	Vergennes	108 27	8	209	30,000	34 8		Lake Champlain Steamboat Co.	Gorbam	16 years.
Second Phoenix	1820	Vergennes	150 26	9 1/2	343	45,000	45 8		Lake Champlain Steamboat Co.	Young & Gorbam	16 years.
General Green	1825	Shelburne	75 22	8	115	12,000	28 8		Champlain Ferry Co.	Phillips & White	7 years.
Franklin	1827	St. Albans	162 22	9	350	50,000	55 10		Champlain Transportation Co.	Collins	16 years.
Washington	1828	St. Albans	92 20 1/2	8 1/2	134	14,000	30 8		Ross & McNeil	Charles Sampson	16 years.
McDonough	1828	Essex, N. Y.	89 20 1/2	8 1/2	138	12,000	30 8		St. Albans Steamboat Co.	Elijah Phillips	16 years.
Winooski	1829	Shelburne	136 50 1/2	8 1/2	226	15,000	60 10		Champlain Ferry Co.	L. S. White	18 years.
Water Witch	1829	Fort Cassin	90 17	8	107	14,000	40 8		J. Sherman	Samuel Wood	3 years.
Burlington	1829	Shelburne	190 35	9	405	75,000	200 15		Champlain Transportation Co.	L. S. White	17 years.
Whitehall	1829	Shelburne	215 23	9	460	70,000	200 15		Champlain Transportation Co.	Samuel Wood	15 years.
Saranac	1838	Whitehall	160 22	8 3/4	375	25,000	100 14		Champlain Transportation Co.	L. S. White	13 years.
Francis Sauter	1844	Whitehall	130 26	8 3/4	473	50,000	160 15		Peter Constock	Thomas Collyer	15 years.
J. H. Hooker	1844	Whitehall	136 23	7	238	18,000	30 7		Northern Transportation Co.	George Collyer	33 years.
United States	1847	Shelburne	238 28 1/2	10	648	75,000	220 17 1/2		Champlain Transportation Co.	Capes & White	26 years.
Ethan Allen	1848	Shelburne	338 27	8 1/2	328	36,000	75 10		Steam Tow-Boat Co.	Wm. Cape & Son	23 years.
Boquet	1848	Essex, N. Y.	80 17	7	111	7,000	30 7 1/2		Ross & McNeil	Oreos Steel	6 years.
America	1853	Whitehall	135 26	9	245	25,000	70 14		Champlain Transportation Co.	J. S. White	50 years.
Canada	1853	Whitehall	230 31	10	745	80,000	270 19		Collyer & Griswold	John English	31 years.
Wm. Birbeck	1853	Whitehall	260 33	10 1/2	881	100,000	310 18		Champlain Transportation Co.	Thomas English	31 years.
Montreal	1855	Whitehall	224 25	9	417	40,000	140 16		Henry T. Gaylord	L. S. White	24 years.
Oliver Bascom	1856	Whitehall	136 24	10	360	36,000	150 14		Northern Transportation Line	John Wiley	Burned at Maquam Bay, 1879.
Adirondack	1867	Shelburne	258 34	11	1087	90,000	250 19		Champlain Transportation Co.	L. S. White	9 years.
Oakus Ames	1868	Marks Bay	258 34	11	1145	100,000	270 19		Burlington Steamboat Co.	O. S. Spear	Discontinued, 1877. [Westport, 1875.
L. J. N. Stark	1869	Whitehall	185 26	11			14		Northern Transportation Co.		7 years.
Grand Isle	1869	Essex, N. Y.	130 22	9	240	50,000	160 12		Knowlton, Fortune & Tobias	O. S. Spear	Burned at Point au Roche, 1870.
A. Williams	1870	Marks Bay	271 36 1/2	11	1124	100,000	240 19		Warren Corbin	A. B. Curtis	Now running.
Vermont	1880	Shelburne	145 24	9	370				Champlain Transportation Co.	L. S. White	Rebuilt 1881 and now running.
Maquam	1881	Shelburne	180 27	10	498				St. Johnsbury & L. Ch'n R. R. Co.	Cookson	Now running.
Reindeer	1881	Alburgh & Burlington	180 27	10	498				Grand Isle Steamboat Co.	Jeremiah Foulkes	Now running.

*The Lumber Trade.*¹—The first settlers of the county did not engage extensively in manufactures of any kind. They discovered the value of the dense growths of oak and pine which covered the surface of this part of the earth. The first person to open the lumber trade with the Canadians, by getting out large pine trees for ship masts and floating them in rafts to St. John, were two Germans by the name of Pottier and Logan, who settled on two points of land in Shelburne, as early as 1766. The market for all these trees was in Europe. King George well understood the value of the country, for by his decree the charters of all the towns which derived their existence from the royal favor, were enjoined from destroying the forests of "white and other pine trees fit for masting the royal navy." The communication with European markets was easier than with any place in this country, large enough to create a demand for timber in any quantity. The first saw-mill built in this county or vicinity was that erected by Ira Allen in 1786. In connection with his brother, Levi Allen, who was in trade at St. Johns, he opened a trade with Quebec, the chief article exported being lumber from the mills on Onion River at Winooski Falls. Stephen Mallett, of Colchester, took the first raft of oak timber to Quebec in 1794. Two years later John Thorp, of Charlotte, took a raft of Norway pine from that town. This was the signal for the beginning of an extensive trade in oak and pines for masts and spars, square timber and deals. The facilities for cutting and transporting timber were exceedingly meager in those days. It required nearly twelve months to cut a raft and prepare it for market. The chief point of departure was at Winooski Falls. There the rafts were constructed, and "the men with their tents, provisions and cooking utensils on board," started on their long and tedious journey to Quebec. The principal dealers at this time were: Ira Allen, Stephen Mallett, Benjamin Boardman, Henry Boardman, Amos Boardman, Ebenezer Allen, William B. Woods, Samuel Holgate, Judson Lamson, Joseph Clark, Thaddeus Tuttle, Mr. Catlin, Ezra Meech, of Shelburne; Daniel Hurlbut, Nathaniel Blood, of Essex; William Munson, William Hine, Hezekiah Hine, Jacob Rolfe, Allen Hacket, David Bean, Heman Allen, of Colchester; James Miner, Samuel Holgate, jr., of Milton; Major Lyman King, of Burlington; Roswell Butler.

On the opening of the Champlain Canal and the perfecting of a water communication with New York, the trade in lumber shifted its direction to the south, and they who had rafted lumber to Quebec, now took it in the same manner to New York and the other markets on the Hudson, all of which were better than that at Quebec. Among the more prominent men who carried on trade in this direction were, Henry Boardman, William Hine, Hezekiah Hine, Jacob Rolfe, Amos Boardman, Joseph Clarke, Roswell Butler and Nathaniel Blood. A younger generation were also just making their appearance "on

¹We have been greatly aided in this part of our work by the valuable article in the *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, contributed by Henry Rolfe, esq.

the Rialto." Soon after this the manner of shipping lumber was changed, and the schooner and canal boat were substituted for the raft. Justus Burdick and Follett & Bradley, of Burlington, were extensive dealers, and with Samuel Brownell, of Williston, manufactured lumber at the Little Falls on the Winooski. About 1835 the rafting system had disappeared, and by 1843 it seemed as though the trade must perish from lack of material. The country was apparently completely stripped of all its valuable timber, so prodigal had the lumbermen been of their possessions. The eastern New England States were afflicted with the same scarcity and could no longer carry on the trade which had been the subject of all their competition with the inhabitants on Lake Champlain. But Burlington was more fortunate in its situation; for on the opening of the Central Vermont, the Rutland and Burlington, and subsequently of the Burlington and Lamoille Railroads, with their several New England connections, immediate communication with all parts of the East as well as South was obtained, and the forests of Canada and the West became the source of supply. Burlington being the only point on the lake at which the railroads and lake navigation came together, was the most conveniently situated for transshipment. She therefore regained her old-time prestige as a lumber depot, and acquired even greater prosperity. She has ceased to produce, but her extensive market is fully supplied. This accounts for the vast accumulation of lumber on and around her wharves, and for the number of planing and dressing-mills and other kindred manufactories which have given this city the reputation of being one of the most important business centers in Northern New England. To L. C. Bigelow belongs the honor of bringing to Burlington in 1850 the first cargo of lumber from Canada for the East. In company with Enos Peterson he carried on the trade until 1855. Calvin Blodgett & Son, then of Waterbury, continued the business. The first planing-mill was erected in 1857. The St. Maurice Lumber Company soon after selected this point for its lumber shipments. The Hunterstown Lumber Company followed and located its sales depot here, for several years under the management of Henry Rolfe. Messrs. Blodgett & Son were succeeded by James McClaren, of Buckingham, P. Q., who retired from business in 1878. In 1856 Lawrence Barnes, who had previously been largely engaged in the lumber business in Maine, New Hampshire and Canada, sagaciously foreseeing the many business advantages which Burlington possessed as a shipping port, established a yard here. Four years later he took Messrs. Charles and David Whitney, jr., of Lowell, Mass., into partnership. In 1862 D. N. Skillings, of Boston, Mass., was admitted into the firm, and branch offices were opened in Montreal, Ogdensburg, Detroit, Albany, Lowell and Boston. Mial Davis became a member of the firm in 1864, but retired five years later. In January, 1873, Mr. Barnes sold out his outside interests, which had grown to be very extensive, and formed a partnership with his son, L. K. Barnes, and D. W. Robinson.



Wm. A. Crombie.



Geo. H. Morse

Two years after his son retired, and in 1878 the Skillings, Whitneys & Barnes Lumber Company was organized, Mr. Barnes being president of the company from 1881 to the time of his death in June, 1886. Under his intelligent and vigorous leadership the lumber business rapidly increased until at one time Burlington ranked the third in the lumber markets of the United States. At present five large firms are engaged in the business, having an aggregate capital of over two millions of dollars. About 150,000,000 of feet of lumber are annually shipped by boat and rail from this port, the most of it being brought here by boat for dressing and distribution, giving employment to 1,500 men. Extensive mills not only for dressing lumber have been erected, but also for the manufacture of doors, sash, blinds of every variety, packing boxes, cloth boards, etc. The firms now engaged in the business are the Skillings, Whitneys & Barnes just alluded to, which occupies about sixteen acres for piling ground, and with its several branches at Boston and Ogdensburg, it handles about 90,000,000 of feet a year. D. W. Robinson is the manager of the company in this city.

The firm of W. & D. G. Crane commenced the lumber business here in 1858. They occupy ten acres of piling ground, having fourteen hundred feet of dockage. Their sales amount to ten millions of feet here, and twenty-five millions of feet at their branch house at Muskegan, Mich., under charge of W. G. Watson.

The Shepard & Morse Lumber Company is the successor of the firm of Shepard, Davis & Company, who succeeded Lawrence Barnes & Company, in 1868. This company was incorporated in 1878. Besides their large dressing mill here it has also a mill in Tonawanda, N. Y., and a large interest in a mill in Saginaw, Mich. Twenty-five acres of piling ground, with a dock front of four thousand feet, are required for its business. This company, including its branches, ships about one hundred and twenty millions of feet annually. Three hundred men are employed. Its Burlington office is managed most successfully by Messrs. G. H. Morse and W. A. Crombie, the resident directors here of the company.

In 1872 the firm of Bronsons, Weston, Dunham & Company, for many years leading lumber dealers in Albany, N. Y., selected Burlington for the location of its principal branch. Since this date its business has been annually increasing, and now it uses fifteen acres of piling ground, furnishing two thousand feet of wharfage. It runs a large dressing-mill, and employs one hundred and fifty men, and handles here about forty millions of feet of lumber. It is under the efficient management of J. W. Dunham, formerly of Albany, N. Y.

John R. Booth, the largest owner of timber lands in Canada, having extensive saw-mills in Ottawa, commenced business here in 1876, under the management of U. A. Woodbury, the present mayor of the city. The business

has grown to be one of the most important in Burlington, having ten acres of piling ground with twenty-five hundred feet of dockage. The sales amount to twenty-five millions of feet, and one hundred and twenty-five men are employed.

Growing out of this business are the mills for making packing-boxes and cloth-boards. These are owned by Mathews & Hickok, who succeeded the firm of Mathews & Davis in 1875. This firm has branch mills in Canada, which, with their mill here, work up fifteen millions of feet of lumber each year. They have seven acres of piling ground, six hundred feet of wharfage, and furnish employment to fifty men. Messrs. Pope & Watson, who were the successors of W. S. Mayo & Company in 1875, use up ten millions of feet annually in the manufacture of boxes and cloth boards. They employ sixty-five men. E. A. Pope has charge of the business here, and W. G. Watson of the branch at Muskegan, Mich.

In the distribution, as well as the receipt of the lumber thus handled in its various modified forms, the great advantage of water navigation is fully appreciated, and a large number of canal boats and barges are employed.

Among the other business interests principally represented by shipments by water is coal. In Burlington the largest dealer is Elias Lyman, the successor of the old firm of Wilkins & Lyman. He also runs a mill for grinding plaster purchased and brought by him from Nova Scotia. George L. Linsley is also an extensive dealer, also Adsit & Bigelow and J. W. Hayes. Marble, granite and flagging are largely shipped. The principal dealers in these products, of which Vermont furnishes so large a supply, are the Burlington Manufacturing Company and J. W. Goodell, who have steam mills for sawing and finishing. L. A. Walker and H. M. Phelps are also dealers. Nails, heavy iron ware, salt and cement are principally handled by Messrs. Van Sicklen, Seymour & Company and O. J. Walker & Brothers.

Such is a brief and therefore necessarily somewhat imperfect description of Lake Champlain and its commercial importance. But should the Caughnawaga Canal ever be built, and the Champlain Canal be correspondingly enlarged, a scheme the great importance of which is unquestioned, and which it may not be deemed too visionary to hope will be successfully accomplished in the near future, we shall yet see huge elevators arise among the wharves which will then line the entire semi-circle of Burlington Bay, and our beautiful lake become a part of a continuous waterway extending from the great lakes to the shores of the Atlantic, bearing upon its surface ships laden with the productions of the Far West, to be in turn exchanged for those of the East and foreign lands, which are required to supply the ever-increasing wants of the interior and the slopes of the Pacific. With the development of American industries comes the demand for new arteries of trade. The time when water and railway lines of communication were considered to be antagonistic has passed. In the fu-



ture both will prosper together, and the commercial advantages of our lake will be fully recognized, and only a generous rivalry will exist between her and the railroads built along her shores.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHITTENDEN COUNTY IN THE REBELLION.¹

Introduction — Names of Volunteers from the Towns of the County — Table of Enlistments — Miscellaneous Enlistments and Drafts — The First Company to go Out — The Second Regiment — Third Regiment — Fifth Regiment — Sixth Regiment — The Vermont Brigade — Seventh Regiment — Ninth Regiment — Tenth Regiment — Twelfth Regiment — Thirteenth Regiment — Fourteenth Regiment — Seventeenth Regiment — Other Regiments — Artillery and Cavalry.

IT may safely be said that no State in the Union earned a more brilliant record of heroism and self-sacrifice in the War of the Rebellion than Vermont. With almost unexampled promptitude and the most generous prodigality she sent her best blood to baptize the Southern fields, and lavished her treasure in support of the great principles involved in the struggle; so to-day no one can do the memory of her heroes, dead and living, too much honor. The keen anguish following close upon the loss of father, husband, or brother may have become softened by the kindly hand of time; but the vacant places around thousands of hearthstones are still there, and must for many more years awaken mournful memories in innumerable hearts. To perpetuate the records and memories of the brave deeds of dead and dying heroes is the duty of every country-loving citizen.

Chittenden county was particularly prompt and patriotic, as shown by the large number of volunteers from the various towns. Burlington alone contributed more than six hundred soldiers to the war. The larger cities and villages, as a rule, responded more freely to the calls for troops than the rural districts—a fact not difficult to account for through the more spontaneous enthusiasm of large communities and the superior facilities of varied character for

¹ Prepared by H. P. Smith, of Syracuse, N. Y., editor of the Rutland and Addison county histories.

In the limited space allotted to this subject in this work we can attempt little more than to gather into condensed and convenient form the more important military statistics of Chittenden county, as preserved in the very complete records made in the office of the adjutant and inspector-general of the State, with very brief sketches of several of the regiments which received large accessions from this county. The subject merits, perhaps more than any other, the fullest and ablest treatment by the historian, with such resources at his command as to place his work before the masses of the people, that the heroic deeds of those who are fast passing away may be known and remembered by coming generations; and it is a pleasure to know that there is in course of preparation, by G. G. Benedict, esq., of Burlington, a work on this subject which will, without doubt, prove an exhaustive and correct military history of the State.

the promotion of enlistments. Of the 34,238 men who took up arms in the State, this county's quota was promptly contributed almost without the semblance of compulsion; and the most liberal measures were adopted for the payment of the several bounties and the aid of the soldiers in the field and their families at home.

In the succeeding few pages are given the names of all of the volunteers from the various towns, with the length of their terms of services, as compiled in the adjutant-general's report; the re-enlistments are not included in this list, nor the few who served as conscripts:

Bolton.—Volunteers for three years credited previous to call for 300,000, October 17, 1863.—Henry Beeman, Marcus A. Bennett, James Carr, Elam A. Clark, Henry F. Farnsworth, Silas A. Farnsworth, Franklin Guyette, George J. Hatch, Samuel S. Jackman, Woodman Jackman, Eber Johnson, John Lewis, Andrew H. McGee, Joseph Raymond, Harlow Sanders, John Smith, Albert Tomlinson, Russell Tomlinson, Addison Warren, Milo H. Williams.

Credits under call of October 17, 1863, for 300,000, and subsequent calls.—Cassius N. Case, Geo. E. Cunningham, Robert Cunningham, Geo. P. Davis, Harrison H. Smith, Philo Tomlinson.

Volunteers for one year.—Kinsman P. Chase, Henry N. Deavitt, Edwin F. Hinkson, Samuel S. Jackman.

Volunteers for nine months.—Harmon Hall, Joseph H. Smith, Frederick A. Southwick, George W. Tomlinson, Hollis P. Tomlinson, Royal C. Ward, Wilbur F. Ward, John Carr, Andrew L. Cox, Luther Kennedy, Richmond Preston, Ransom Sabens, Paul Slockwell, Warren Hull, Edwin Whitcomb.

Burlington.—Volunteers for three years credited previous to call for 300,000 men, October 17, 1863.—Henry Adams, Nelson Adams, Nelson D. Adams, Thomas Aggus, Morey L. Aldridge, Robert Alex. Heman F. Allen, John Allen, Henry Amblo, Franklin Anderson, Geo. D. Anson, Giles F. Appleton, Cornelius Aubrey, Henry Aubrey, Wm. Aubrey, Geo. W. Austin, Jonathan Myers, Alvin Babcock, John Bain, John J. Bain, Henry W. Baldwin, Newton H. Ballou, Austin Bartomy, Edward Bartomy, Geo. A. Beebe, Henry D. Belden, Alexander Bell, James Bell, Lucious Bigelow, Hiram J. Bishop, Hascall Bixby, Robert Bixby, Benjamin Blanchard, Charles Blanchard, Charles H. Blinn, Horace C. Blinn, Alexander Blo, Alfred Bourke, John Boucher, Philetus Brace, Patrick Brahnon, Nelson Brasted, Thomas Brett, John H. Brooks, Carmichael A. Brown, John Brown, James Bruin, George Brush, John Bully, Amos H. Bunker, Peter Burke, Asa R. Burleson, Allen Burt, Loren A. Butler, Martin Butler, Thomas Butler, Thomas Butler, James H. Cain, William Cain, Charles F. W. Carlton, Benjamin W. Carpenter, Franklin Carpenter, Lucius Carpenter, Martin Casey, Joseph Champlane, William Chelsey, Henry B. Chiott, Frederick A. Church, John Coates, William H. Cobb, Dan. L. C. Colburn, Asa A. Cooley, John Connelly, James Connery, Thomas Cosgriff, James Coughlin, Reuben Cough-

lin, Augustus J. Crain, William Cronan, Edward M. Curtiss, John Daley, Lewis Dana, Charles Daniels, Samuel Darrah, George E. Davis, Hiram A. Dean, Joseph Demon, Chester Derby, Fabien Des Rosiers, Henry Devoid, Archibald S. Dewey, John Dolan, Thomas Donahue, Thomas Downs, Frank Doyle, John T. Drew, Francis Ducat, Wm. J. Dupaw, Peter Durand, John Eagan, Albert B. Edgall, Joel B. Erhardt, James Farrell, Frederick Faulkner, Oscar B. Ferguson, Thomas Fitzgibbon, Charles Fitzpatrick, John Fitzsimmons, Morris Flanagan, Solan W. Fletcher, Joseph Fountain, Charles Fremont, Augustus Frenier, Herman Frost, Louis Gabourie, Oliver Garron, James Gray, Francis Germain, Josiah H. Gibbs, Robert Gibson, James O. Gilbert, Patrick Gillerly, John Golden, Charles P. Goodrich, Lucius J. Goodwin, Benjamin Gordon, William A. Griswold, Frank Guyette, Joseph Guyette, Haley H. Hall, Fitz G. Hallock, Thomas Hamilton, Phillip Hammer, Levi P. Hammond, Daniel Hanley, Nathan Hannon, John Hannah, John Hardy, William L. Harris, Frank Hastings, Charles W. Hathaway, Reuben Hayes, Bradbury W. Hight, John Hogan, Patrick Hogan, Wallace W. Holmes, Sylvester J. Hoose, Ansel H. Howard, Isaac Howard, Roswell Hunt, Charles Hurley, Henry C. Irish, Jas. Irish, Silas C. Isham, John Jackson, Wm. Johns, Wm. L. Jones, Francis Jordan, John Kane, Thomas Kavanah, George Keese, Michael A. Kehoe, John Kelley, Henry D. Kennedy, Michael Kerrigan, Albert R. Keyes, Horace M. Knapp, Edwin R. Kinney, Henry Labounty, William Labounty, William Labounty, Stephen Lajoie, John Lamoine, Peter Lander, Charles Lander, Joseph Laplante, Noyse N. H. Larnard, Joseph S. Lavake, Benjamin Law, William H. Leach, Michael Lee, John R. Lewis, Daniel G. Lloyd, George E. Lord, Homer Lyman, Wyllys Lyman, Patrick Lynch, Thomas Lynch, Henry Lynde, Frederick A. Lyon, James G. Lyon, Thomas MaGuire, John Maloney, John Maloney, Thomas Mandler, Paul Manor, Thomas G. Mayne, James McCarthy, John L. McCarty, Thomas McCullock, James McDermott, Daniel McDixon, John McGraith, John McGuire, Thomas McGuire, George McHenry, James McHenry, Michael McKenzie, James E. McKewen, Charles McLaughlin, Thomas McMahan, William McMurray, John McSorley, James Miles, Edward Miller, Clement Mitchell, Julius Morrow, Cornelius W. Morse, Stephen Morse, Calvin L. Morton, John Mosier, James Mullins, Peter Mulligan, Russell C. Munsell, Edward Murray, Neal C. Murray, Ferguson Nelson, John L. Newton, William H. Newton, Alfred K. Nichols, Charles W. Nichols, Henry C. Nichols, John W. Noonan, Lyman F. Norton, John O'Brien, Thomas O'Brien, Thomas O'Brien, John O'Dell, Florence O'Donahue, Henry O'Grady, Edward O'Neil, Michael O'Neil, Michael O'Neil, James A. Palmer, Joseph Parker, Peter Paro, Antoine Pasha, William Parady, David B. Peck, Theodore S. Peck, William H. H. Peck, John G. Peckham, Joseph S. Perkins, William A. Perry, Michael Phillips, Edgar Pitkin, Wareham N. Pierce, Archibald S. Poole, Maxim Poro, Samuel D. Preston, Thomas Rafter, William H. Ramsay,

Robert Rankin, Ellis M. Rawson, Julius Rawson, Denison A. Raxford, James M. Reed, Ogden B. Reed, Henry Reed, Thomas Reed, Charles Reynolds, Edward O. Roach, John Robears, Joseph Rober, Samuel B. Roberts, Edgar W. Robinson, George A. Rogers, Peter Rondo, Edwin Rowe, Henry W. Rowe, Daniel Z. Royce, Willard, A. Royce, Edward S. Russell, William Russell, Joel Sabin, Edward Saltus, Frank Saltus, Frank O. Sawyer, Alexander Scott, jr., Herman Seligson, Ovid Seymour, Albert Shatzel, Henry Shattle, David L. Sharpley, Thomas Sharpley, Harry G. Sheldon, John W. Shelly, James Sheridan, Dennis Shortsleeves, Charles P. Silloway, Clark Smith, Isaac S. Smith, Warren S. Smith, William Smith, Samuel Somerville, Sylvester Soper, Andrew Spaulding, Charles H. Spaulding, J. Selly Spaulding, Solon E. Spaulding, Alonzo R. Spear, Horace S. Spear, Patrick Starr, Charles Stay, Eli Z. Stearns, Riley B. Stearns, Lyman J. Sterling, William Sterner, William N. Stevens, Charles St. Michael, Cyrille Stone, Henry H. Stone, George Streeter, Joseph L. Sutherland, John Swail, William H. Swail, Orvis H. Sweet, Albert Taylor, William Tebo, Alexander W. Terrill, Joel B. Thomas, Joel B. Thomas, James M. Thompson, William H. Thompson, William H. Thompson, Edmund Tobin, Edwin H. Trick, Thomas Turnbull, Charles T. Vanorum, George Vorce, Samuel Waldo, William H. Walker, James Ward, Phillip Ward, Alexander G. Watson, Samuel S. Watson, William G. Watson, William Watson, George Weber, John E. Wells, Edwin P. Whicher, Alex. M. Whitcomb, Edwin P. Whitney, Zimri Willard, Theodore Willett, John Williams, Hiram R. Willis, Curtis S. Woodard, John W. Woodard, Lyman Woodard, Carroll V. Wood, John E. Wright, Theodore F. Wright, Martin Youatt, Nathan N. York.

Credits under call of October 17, 1863, for 300,000, and subsequent calls. — Foster Armstrong, Thomas Baker, Henry A. Barnard, Michael Bart, William Bassett, Alexander Bell, William Bennett, Edward Bertram, William F. Blinn, Ebenezer Blongy, Napoleon Bona, Peter Bridge, John C. Bridges, Lewis Brothers, John Brown, Michael Brown, Warren Brown, John Burke, James Butler, Michael Cannon, Joseph Carson, Peter Casey, Hiram G. Child, Peter Ciffare, Patrick Coffey, Andrew Colvin, George Comstock, Frank Conley, William Cronan, James Cusack, Michael O. Day, Calvin Deal, William B. Derby, Alfred Devoid, Elijah Douglass, Timothy Doyle, Nelson Dragoon, George J. Duncan, John Dunn, Adolph Fagrett, William Faulkner, James Finn, Thomas Fitzsimons, George W. Follansbee, Archibald Fortune, Israel L. Freeman, John Futerrer, Isidore Gaboury, Daniel Gordon, Isaac Gray, Samuel E. Griffin, Joseph Guiette, Francis Hagan, Thomas Hale, Edward Haynes, John Horigan, William Hurley, Harvey James, Henry Jerdo, Robert Johnson, Frank Keith, John Kelley, Mathew Kelley, Michael Kenney, Lewis Labouty, Peter Lagge, John Lamountain, Peter Lander, jr., Samuel Laplant, Elbert R. Leet, David Livingson, John Q. Lockwood, Abel Long, Stephen Lord, William Lynch, Martin Maloy, John Maple, jr., Bernard McCaffrey,

John McCune, Daniel L. McGinn, Thomas Merchant, Ambrose Mitchell, Jacob Mitchell, Zeb Mitchell, Joseph Monock, Charles H. Montgomery, Leroy Monty, John Mullins, Timothy Murray, Robert Nichols, Lewis Norman, Peter O'Brien, Henry O'Grady, Peter Orrin, Thomas Orrin, Charles Parker, John S. Peckham, Joseph Pelkey, Joseph Pepin, George Perrigo, Joseph Pickor, Alexander Powers, William Roach, Peter Robinson, Frank Ross, Herman Schwetze, Lewis Seymour, Patrick Shanly, Isephere Sharland, Theodore Sharlow, Michael Sheehy, Robert Sheridan, William Sheridan, John A. Sherman, Thomas Shirley, James Simpson, Joseph Stay, George Sweeney, Abel Tart, John W. Thomas, John Thompson, Elbert P. Van Orman, John Villemire, Ira Wallace, William H. Ward, Henry White, Martin Willard, William Williams, Cornelius Woods, Joseph Young.

Volunteers for one year.—John Bacon, Peter M. Clure, Dennis Flaherty, Charles A. Garrick, Freeman German, Michael Haley, Adolphus Miller, Clement Mitchell.

Naval credits.—William H. Anderson, Job Corbin, Dennis Culligan, James Donnelly, Daniel Dyonisius, Albert E. Edgell, Edward Flynn, Martin Guniman, Luther R. Haney, Robert T. Holley, Henry L. Johnson, Albert L. Kenny, Harry S. Pitkin, Henry M. Proctor, James Martin, John Martin, Thomas J. Murray, Eugene A. Smalley, Jacob M. Smalley, Lovirus J. Smith, Hollis Tryon, George H. Van Dusen, Thomas S. Watson, Peter Laroe, William Marsha, Julius Derix, Clarence Hazen, William A. Perry, Cyrille Stone.

Volunteers for nine months.—Charles H. Austin, Joseph J. Austin, Joseph Bacon, Charles H. Barker, William F. Bancroft, Horace Barlow, Frank W. Baxter, George Grenville Benedict, Orlando L. Bicknell, George H. Bigelow, John Brewin, John Cain, Michael Cannon, Henry G. Catlin, Benjamin A. Church, Charles W. Cox, William O. Crane, James Cusack, Charles H. Cutting, Edgar T. Daniels, Louis A. Daniels, Cornelius Desmond, Perley R. Downer, Joshua Fisk, Edward E. Fletcher, Fernald F. Fletcher, Alfred D. Florence, Charles O. French, Charles A. Garrick, John Gleason, Henry F. Griffin, George E. Hagar, George I. Hagar, John Hamlin, Lyndon K. Harrington, John Horrigan, Frank D. Hoyt, Guy N. Irish, Richard J. Irwin, William B. Jennings, William W. Kenny, John Lang, Abel Long, Pomeroy Loomis, William Loomis, William B. Lund, James A. Madden, Martin Malay, Henry W. McLane, Edward McNellis, Adolphus Miller, Robert H. Miller, Zeb Mitchell, Michael B. Murry, John Nugent, Michael O'Neil, Lemuel W. Page, Rollin Pease, Henry M. Pierson, James S. Pierson, John Pope, Samuel H. Ransom, Patrick Ready, Morris Rice, Lewis Roberts, James Scully, Burnham Seaver, Osmond K. Seaver, Paul Segar, John Shanaghan, Peter Schiatte, George E. Silver, William Smith, William C. Spaulding, Michael Stark, Hampton L. Story, Guy Stoughton, Henry C. Tennant, Charles Thatcher, Charles P. Thayer, George D. Thompson, Marquis D. L. Thompson, Charles H. Tux-

bury, Albert B. Tyler, Israel Videlle, Lucius N. Vilas, Charles N. Wainright, William W. Walker, Edward Walton, James Ward, Thomas H. Warren, Joseph Weeks, Charles H. Whitney, Charles Wright, Henry M. Wright, Heman R. Wing, Guy C. Zattman.

Charlotte.—Volunteers for three years credited previous to call for 300,000 men, October 17, 1863.—Daniel S. Ball, James N. Ball, Rollin W. Barton, John Besett, Alfred S. Burnham, John Coleman, John Daniels, James A. Davis, Abner Fonda, Joseph Fonda, Joseph Gravell, Henry H. Huff, Joseph Kehoe, Jacob Lacey, Truman C. Naramore, Cassius F. Newell, Clark L. Parks, John Quinlan, Chas. W. Seaton, Geo. D. Sherman, George W. Spear, Alonzo B. Stearns, Henry B. Wilder.

Credits under call of October 17, 1863, for 300,000 men, and subsequent calls.—Peter Baraur, Frank Baslow, Joseph Bessette, Eliphalet Culver, Alonzo H. Danforth, William Dunn, James Gorman, Moody Haskell, George W. Hewitt, Edward L. Hibbard, George H. Hoyt, John Larama, James Little, Freeman Mason, Benjamin McCandlish, Delinus L. Melvin, William C. Powell, Horace H. Preston, Lewis C. Prindle, Adam Smith, Gaylord B. Smith, Alfred Tatro, Joseph W. Townson, John Whitney, George W. York, Thomas Young.

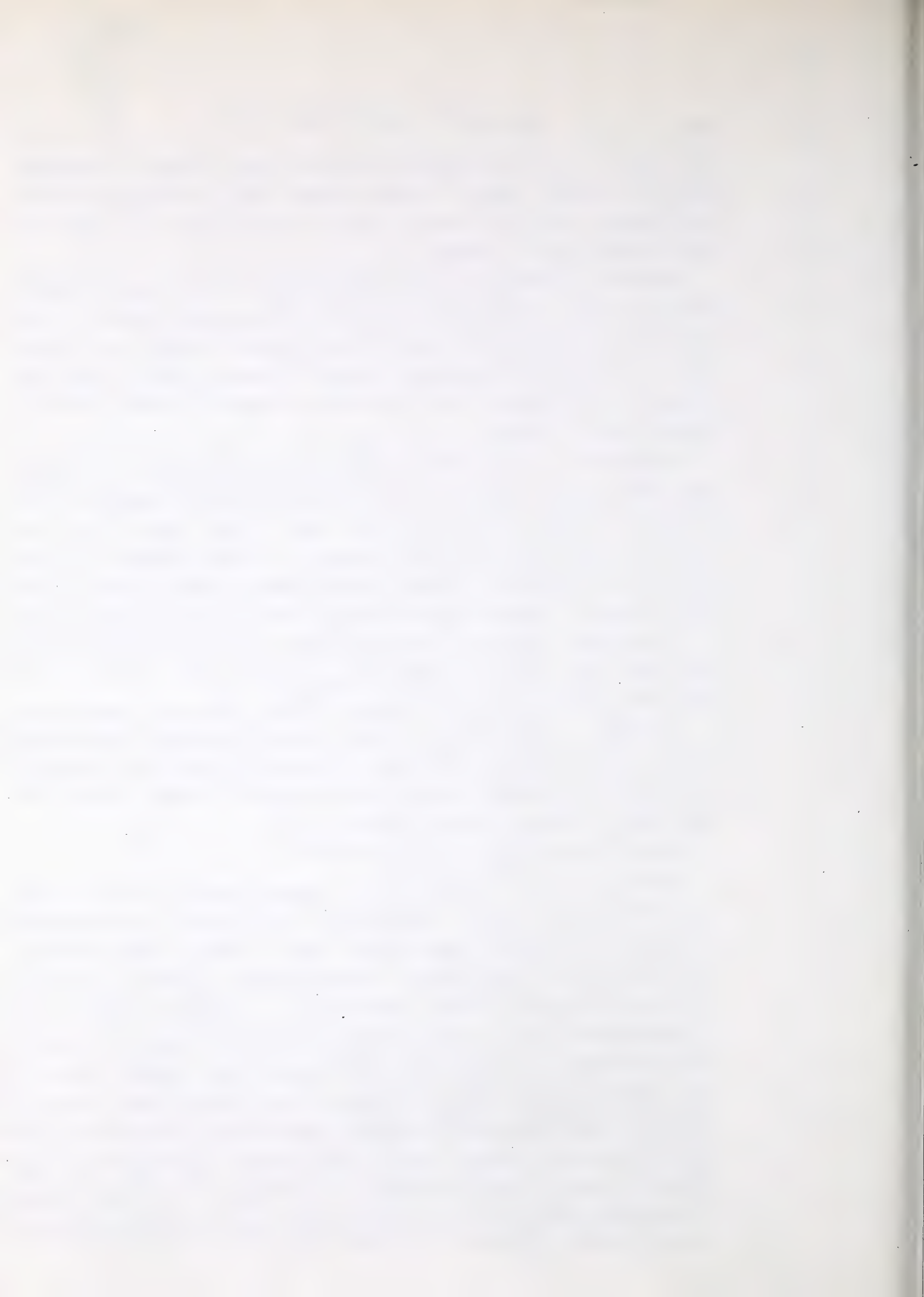
Volunteers for one year.—Alexander Besett, Lucius L. Clark, Edward Corbett, Peter Cross, Alpheus George, David Patterson, Abel N. Pulsifer, David Robertson, Edward C. Scott, James B. Williams.

Volunteers for nine months.—Gilbert J. Barton, William P. Barton, Joseph Bessette, Hiram Bishop, George A. Clark, Horace N. Delmeater, Henry Drum, Joseph Guillett, Frank R. Hill, Heman A. Hyde, William Lincoln, Samuel S. Page, Gideon D. Prindle, Alonzo E. Root, Benjamin H. Taggart, James Washburn, Milo A. Williams, Myron Williams.

Naval Credit.—Alfred S. Parkhurst, veteran.

Reserve Corps.—William Kinsley.

Colchester.—Volunteers for three years credited previous to call for 300,000 men, October 17, 1863.—Adoniram N. Austin, Samuel J. Allen, Benjamin L. Baraby, John Baraby, Joseph Baraby, Elijah S. Bates, Joseph Bernor, Albert Blish, Joseph Brooks, Stephen Brooks, George S. Brownell, Abram Burrett, Francis Cardinal, William Church, David D. Davidson, Albert B. Day, Lewis Deforgè, Charles Devine, George H. Duncan, Henry Duncan, Josiah William Dupau, Ellis B. Edwards, William W. Fletcher, Edwin Fisk, Arabart E. Fobes, Josiah A. Fobes, Henry W. Fuller, James Gardner, Morris M. Goodwin, Christopher Gordon, Adolphus Graves, Lester Green, Edward E. Greenleaf, Wm. L. Greenleaf, Jas. Henry, Joseph Henry, Patrick Henry, Porter Herring, Ebenezer Hulburd, Calvin A. Irish, Homer C. Irish, Horace M. Irish, Willis B. Jordan, Timothy Keefe, Geo. M. Killam, Jas. Kelly, John Kelly, Wm. J. Langshore, Alex. L'Heureux, Eben C. Lord, Willis Lyman, Willys Lyman, Geo. L. McBride, William H. McBride, Simon F. Monger, Benjamin F. Monty,



Lewis Muir, George N. Munger, Charles Myers, Hosea B. Nash, Frank O'Clair, Peter O'Clair, William A. Perry, Frank A. Platt, Lemuel B. Platt, Robert Pollinger, George B. Rand, George M. Rice, John River, Edward Ronley, Benjamin E. Rowe, Alexander Scott, jr., Joshua O. Service, Andrew Shiett, Andrew A. Smith, George E. Smith, Henry Smith, George Streeter, Alfred Tatro, Josephus H. Thatcher, Columbus Thompson, Columbus G. Thompson, Rufus D. Thompson, David Tubbs, John Upham, jr., Charles Urie, Peter Vilmire, John W. Wallsworth, Joseph White, Charles Wickware, Edward J. Wolcott, Sidney E. Wolcott, Charles F. Woodard, Marcus H. Wright.

Credits under call of October 17, 1863, for 300,000, and subsequent calls. — Francis Aike, George Allen, Henry F. Barber, Edmund Bell, Frederick H. Bliss, John Bliss, Augustus M. Boyd, Dennis Burgoir, Wm. Burroughs, James Busby, George Collins, James Collins, George J. Consigney, Ira Coty, Thomas Courtney, Donald Craig, Stephen O. Crawford, Henry Day, William Deel, Joseph Deshan, Joseph Dupaw, George H. Dupaw, Joel Dupaw, John Farren, Aaron F. French, William H. Isham, Mitchell Jackson, Henry J. Keeler, Chas. Kruger, John Lange, Joseph Larock, Alonzo E. Lord, Aura Lyford, Charles Martin, William Mason, Darius Maynard, Henry Mayo, Sawyer McClellan, Francis Merritt, Frank Miner, Joseph Miner, George A. Nichols, Lucius G. Northrop, James H. Parker, William Parker, Clark Prentiss, Daniel R. Putnam, Henry Robar, Peter Rowe, jr., Edwin Severance, John F. Shannon, Paul Stackpole, Alansing Stoughton, Augustus Stoughton, Francis Talbart, Bernard Ward, Oliver Warriner, Ray A. White, Albert Williams, Phineas Worthen.

Volunteers for one year. — Antoine Bissett, Edwin Blish, Patrick Cronan, Jerry Croto, Joseph Croto, Alfred Defarge, George E. Fadden, Eugene Fitch, Owen Gaffany, Enos Ginhams, John Gleason, Barney Graham, Dennis Graney, Michael Haley, Francis Lavally, Michael McDonald, Napoleon Monty, Alexander Moss, Richard Moss, George Myers, Joseph Rowe, George E. Smith, Andrew Valdeu, Nelson Value, Joseph Vilmare, Loomis Wright, George Young.

Volunteers for nine months. — Joseph Barabee, Andrew J. Beeman, William Blakely, William P. Calvert, Josiah M. Cary, William Crosby, Joseph Croto, Julius F. Densmore, Udney Farnsworth, George Fenwick, John W. Forrest, Edward Freeman, John A. Greenough, John Greenwood, Richard J. Griffin, Seth W. H. Griffin, Samuel Hard, Thomas Hodgkinson, Ebenezer O. Johnson, John Johnson, John Kelly, Frank Lavalle, George W. Lee, John H. Lyon, William March, Henry McAvoy, James McEwen, William McIntyre, Joseph Miner, James Morrison, William D. Munson, George Myers, Richard Powers, Robert Powers, John M. Rolfe, Joseph Rowe, Myron P. Scullin, Robert Sheridan, William Sheridan, George Stephens, Harvey H. Talcott, Murray W. Thompson, Joseph Travisee, Erasmus H. Tyler, W. Allen Wheeler, Milton Wilson, George N. Wright.

Naval credits. — James Morrison, John Morrison, William Morrison, Luther L. Penniman, Eugene Vance.

Essex. — Volunteers for three years credited previous to call for 300,000 men, October 17, 1863. — George Arnold, Albert Austin, Alpha M. Austin, Frank A. Austin, George Austin, Heman Austin, Reuben Austin, Sias Austin, James Bagley, Norman A. Baker, Edgar A. Beach, John H. Bell, Freeman W. Blood, Willard F. Blood, Henry S. Bradley, Lowell S. Bradley, George H. Brown, Elias S. Brownell, James Burnett, Thomas Carey, Magney Camel, Alfred L. Case, David H. Castle, George Chase, John Chase, Stephen Cox, Henry H. Cota, William J. Domag, Timothy W. Downer, Richard Downs, William B. Dunlap, Joel Ellis, John Fleming, Christopher C. Fisher, James Foley, jr., Malcom G. Frost, Hozea M. Gorton, Amos Greeley, Wesley Hazelton, Merritt Kendall, Myron D. Isham, Martin L. Lathrop, John Lavine, Barna Mattimore, Nathan Maxfield, Ruel B. Mellen, Henry T. Moseley, Norman J. Nichols, Calvin F. Norton, Myron Owen, George W. Page, John B. Page, Lemuel B. Page, Joseph Peppin, Lafavor C. Perkins, Branscom Perrigo, Leander Paquet, George W. Prior, Nelson A. Prior, William Prior, Orman P. Ray, Daniel Raymond, Loyal Remington, Alexander Renouf, William B. Renouf, James Ryan, John Ryan, Albert F. Sawyer, Alfred F. Sawyer, George A. Scribner, Oscar A. Scribner, Lewis Tatro, Frank L. Taylor, Milford Taylor, Hannibal Tichout, George W. Tubbs, Frank B. Warner, Lyman S. Williams, Nathan A. Williams, Leonard S. Wetherby, Norman Woodworth.

Credits under call for 300,000 men October 17, 1863, and subsequent calls. — George F. Atherton, John B. Atherton, Edgar L. Barber, Hiram J. Bishop, John Brewin, James Casey, Silas Cook, Francis Cornea, Joshua L. Day, Alfred F. Douglas, Horace Fairfield, Nathaniel A. Hoyt, Mortimer Lister, Clarence K. Mansfield, Seth A. Mansfield, Hugh McDermott, John McKeirnan, Lewis A. Mereno, Myron Mitchell, John Mulvanny, James B. Nichols, George E. Parker, Alfred Robear, jr., Edward D. Sands, Harrison Sisco, Marcellus Sisco, Fred A. Slater, Adam Sugmiller, James Sweeney, Leonard S. Wetherby, Albert Whitcomb, Warren B. Whitcomb.

Volunteers for one year. — George Bucher, Jesse Bright, Henry Dapo, Edward Murray, John Shanehen, John L. Whitten.

Volunteers for nine months. — Charles W. Atherton, Harmon H. Ballou, George S. Bliss, Cassius M. Booth, Lucius M. Booth, Thomas Calvert, Mark Day, James M. Gates, David T. Hard, Alfred D. Olmstead, Frederick A. Slater, Hall Woodworth, Edgar Ellsworth, William Fletcher, Daniel Lewis, Charles McKeirnan, Daniel L. Thompson, James F. Warner, Dwight J. Williams.

Hinesburg. — Volunteers for three years credited previous to call for 300,000, October 17, 1863. — Antoine Ash, Samuel B. Ash, John Austin, Orange A. Baldwin, Jared Parker, Hiram Bassett, Alexander Bennett, Belano Bennett, Charles Bennett, Ambrose Bisonette, Alfred Bonar, William Buckley, Toby T.

Burk, Antoine Busier, John Busier, James Callaghan, Chester W. Carpenter, James M. Carpenter, Frank Colt, James Congdon, Antoine Curavoo, Mitchell Finney, Daniel A. Foss, Thomas Goodrich, Amos Hall, Rufus E. Irish, Benjamin Jerough, Edward M. Knox, Joseph Lapier, Henry Larose, Joseph A. Larose, Henry Lyman, Silas Nichols, George B. Nimblet, Myron C. Palmer, Oscar Palmer, Stephen Parker, George W. Patrick, Horace Perry, David C. Phillips, Harmon J. Place, Robert S. Place, Elijah W. Powell, Orin Powell, Charles C. Proctor, Willard Ray, Ebenezer Renslow, James P. Robbins, Daniel A. Scofield, Timothy Steady, Eugene Vielle, Loren S. Walker, Anson H. Weed, John C. Wells, Henry Wilcox, Lewis Wilcox.

Credits under call for 300,000 men, October 17, 1863, and subsequent calls. — Emory Anderson, Mahlon L. Barber, Jared Barber, Oliver Barrett, Joseph Bean, Amos Bennett, John Bissonette, Lewis Bissonette, Lewis Bostwick, Moses Brown, Stephen B. Capron, Edward Daisey, Patrick Furlong, John Gall, Treffley Giroux, William M. Holsapple, Adelard Jodoin, Moses Labelle, Emulous C. Landon, Thomas Lapier, Morris S. Lawrence, Orlin W. Loomis, John McDonald, Emery Newton, Abram O'Brien, Newton Ovit, Joel Peters, Jonathan Scott, Frederick Shortsleeves, Henry Steady, James Trefren, Noble B. Turrell, Wesley Weller, John W. White.

Volunteers for one year. — Carlos Baisnor, John Burley, Charles Clapper, Stephen W. Hallock, John B. Ladeau, Rollin S. Place, John Sadlier, Francis Sears, Jacob Sharky, Louis Steady, Muty Steady, Eli Sweeny, Alfred S. Swinger, James B. Swinger.

Volunteers for nine months. — John H. Allen, Edmund W. Baldwin, Sherman G. Baldwin, Lewis Bissonett, Marble Bissonett, Napoleon Bissonett, Tuffill Bissonett, Guy D. Boynton, Guy L. Burritt, Henry W. Fraser, Patrick Furlong, John W. Houghton, Henry G. Lamos, Peter Lavalley, Joseph Lavigne, Peter Lavigne, John H. Leonard, William A. Martia, Charles E. Mead, Leonard E. Meech, James L. Palmer, Henry R. Pease, Emerson R. Place, Herman A. Post, Henry J. Ray, John Saddler, Henry Steady, Ralph E. Weller.

Huntington. — Volunteers for three years credited previous to call for 300,000 men, October 17, 1863. — Martin V. B. Alger, Loren Brow, John Clark, Edson R. Cobb, George W. Cobb, James J. Cutting, Ezra S. Doty, John W. Emmons, William H. Emmons, Amos O. Gorton, Jeremiah Haskins, Rufus Haskins, Edward H. James, William W. Kimball, Abner J. Loveland, Joseph J. Lyons, George P. Morris, Silas Moses, Cornelius Putnam, George Ring, Orville Rounds, Hiram Shambeau, George Sprague, Sylvester Sprague, Lucius Streeter, Henry E. Sweet, Alfred Swinger, Lawrence Swinger, Levi A. Taft, Milo S. Taft, Quincey F. Thurston, Charles M. Wait, Colburn E. Wells, Ephraim W. Wheeler, George H. Wheeler, Roderick White, Wallace White, Harry H. Wright.

Credits under call of October 17, 1863, and subsequent calls — Benjamin

Austin, Ira S. Bunker, George O. Chamberlin, Jesse P. Chipman, Thomas Clary, Andrew J. Collins, John Corey, Patrick Daley, Buel J. Derby, Charles Drinkwater, Amos O. Gorton, John L. Harriman, Hiland D. Hill, William W. Kimball, Alvah C. King, George H. Ring, Milo W. Smith, Wesley B. Smith, Oliver J. Spooner, Henry Sprague, Alpheus Swinger, Truman Swinger, Randall W. Wells, Seymour F. Wells, George B. Wilson.

Volunteers for one year.—Myron D. Cutting, George G. Gill, Harry M. Small, Safford F. Small, Alpheus Wells, Alphonzo E. White.

Volunteers for nine months.—James J. Ambler, George P. Burnham, Jesse P. Chipman, Myron D. Cutting, Buel J. Derby, Timothy Drinkwater, John B. Ellis, Daniel Gorton, George W. Jones, Andrew O. Kenyon, Byron C. Rounds, Hiram Shattuck, Charles Sister, Randall W. Wells, Alvin D. White.

Naval credits.—Eugene McGrath, George H. Scribner.

Jericho.—Volunteers for three years credited previous to call for 300,000 men, October 17, 1863.—Blinn Atchinson, Artemas W. Bemis, Samuel Bentley, Napoleon Bissonett, Austin James Bixby, Albert G. Bradley, Franklin J. Brown, William A. Brown, Daniel G. Burns, Elias Burns, Edgar Chamberlin, Chauncey L. Church, Rollin M. Clapp, Daniel Dixon, Patrick Downs, Simeon C. Edwards, Joseph W. Ellis, Edwin H. Fassett, Nelson Fassett, Hiram B. Fisk, William J. Flowers, Truman C. Hatch, Edson C. Hilton, Marcus Hoskins, James S. Hurson, John H. Johnson, William Johnson, Timothy Kennedy, Allen Kimpton, Patrick Lavall, Victor Lavalley, Barney Leddy, Samuel B. Locklin, Oliver Lucia, Charles Lucier, Michael F. Martin, John McGowen, Julius Miller, Horace C. Nash, Zantly Parker, Michael Phillips, Wareham N. Pierce, Abner S. Richardson, Burton C. Richardson, Charles C. Richardson, Loren T. Richardson, Edward B. Russell, Joseph Russin, Daniel D. Smith, Hubbell B. Smith, Lewis Tatro, R. J. Thompson, John W. Wade, Jason P. Ware, Lewis J. Wells, James White, Robert White, Edward C. Whitney, Edgar E. Wright.

Credits under call for 300,000, October 17, 1863, and subsequent calls.—Blinn Atchinson, John Benway, Solomon Bingham, Mortimer W. Brown, Joseph Cammell, James Carroll, Gilbert E. Davis, Edward Fay, William J. Flower, James Flynn, John Guyette, John H. Hastings, Byron B. Hatch, Birney W. Hilton, Eben C. Lemon, Patrick McGowen, Bernard McKenna, Thomas H. Palmer, Alexander Plant, Victor Plant, Burton C. Richardson, Daniel E. Smith, Alexander Spooner, James Sweeney, James Henry Vancor, Lucius S. Whitcomb.

Volunteers for one year.—Charles Benway, William J. Fuller, Franklin Martin, Lewis Perigo, Oscar J. Pixley, George D. Sherman, Charles Sweeney, Russell Tomlinson, Lewis J. Wells, Joel P. Woodworth.

Volunteers for nine months.—Reuben M. Babcock, Loren T. Bentley, Wilson A. Bentley, Julius Bliss, Lucius H. Bostwick, Isaac N. Brooks, Morris

L. Griffin, Nial McGee, Byron D. Matthews, Charles McCarty, Patrick McGoven, Caleb P. Nash, Eli N. Peck, Erastus Powell, Benj. F. Robinson, Zadock W. Rockwood, Norman J. Royce, Willis T. Wells, Henry W. York, Samuel York.

Milton.—Volunteers credited previous to call for 300,000 men, October 17, 1863.—Eugene Bacon, Henry C. Bailey, John S. Bascom, Lewis O. Beeman, William H. Berkley, Alson H. Blake, Leonard E. Blatchley, Homer E. Bliss, Gilbert Buckman, Lyman Bullock, Lyman Bullock, jr., Julius Bushaway, Clapper Clufus, Daniel H. Coon, Augustus H. Crown, John Cummings, Gaspard Dapotha, Andrew Dougherty, Charles Dougherty, Judd H. Fairchild, Cotton Fletcher, Patrick Flynn, James Gardner, Michael Gardner, Joseph Garran, Lewis Garrow, Oliver Garron, Joseph Henry, Edgar E. Herrick, Joseph Joslin, Thomas Kiley, John King, Amasa Kinney, Francis B. Kinney, Daniel Ladieu, John Ladone, Edwin Lamarsh, Francis Laport, Elisha Manley, Samuel G. Manley, Nathan Marsells, George Martin, Peter Mayville, Daniel W. Morehouse, Charles Morgan, Amos Moshier, Lewis Moshier, Joseph Muer, Joseph Nailor, John O'Donnell, jr., Patrick C. O'Neil, Grigwar Patenode, Myron J. Pattee, James Plunkett, Thomas Plunkett, Solomon Pippin, Joseph B. Reddick, Chester C. Reynolds, Clark G. Reynolds, Herbert G. Reynolds, William B. Reynolds, Truman S. Sanderson, Charles Sawyer, Henry O. Sawyer, Midor Scabo, George Seagle, Frank L. Severance, John Shono, William J. Simms, Henry A. Smith, Edward E. Snow, William E. Snow, James C. Squires, Alexander St. George, Jesse St. Louis, Albert S. Thompson, Edward C. Warner, Mark Warner, Van Buren Warner, Albert Washburn, Jay Washburn, Milton Washburn, Richard Watson.

Credits under call for 300,000 men, October 17, 1863, and subsequent calls.—Elisha Bailey, Orange Ballard, Samuel T. Ballard, Roderick Berkley, Samuel N. Blair, Homer B. Caswell, James Condon, John W. Davis, Joseph Dufrane, Daniel P. Fox, George A. Fox, Janus D. Germain, William Haggerty, Thomas Hawley, Jonathan Jacobs, Theophilus Jadowin, jr., John I. Lamarsh, Wm. J. Lamarsh, Chas. A. Lamb, Chas. Lovely, Lewis Lovely, Eugene Lyons, Martin McDonnell, Wm. McNeil, Thomas Patton, Anders Pedersen, Geo. Peltier, Julien Phelps, Joseph Prim, Seymour Prim, Peter Provost, jr., Matthew Quinn, Benjamin Randall, Parmer A. Rye, Hiram L. Sanderson, Morton H. Sanderson, John Scarbo, William Shackett, Singleton Smith, Horace O. Snow, Charles Suns, Trefla Tatreau, Lewis Vassar, James L. Young.

Volunteers for one year.—Eugene A. Ballard, Abraham Douglass, Henry Douglass, Lucien C. Farnham, Antoine Garaw, jr., Joseph Garaw, Norman Jacobs, jr., Enos Ladue, Gabriel Mitchell, Wilbur E. Monty.

Volunteers for nine months.—John Andress, George Bascom, Loomis M. Bentley, Rodney Berkley, William L. Blake, Oliver Cherrier, Royal S. Childs, Henry O. Clark, Elliot O. Crawford, Joseph Douglass, Leon H. Drake, Antoine Garrow, James D. German, James Harmon, John Harmon, David Kiley, Charles Ladieux, Guy W. Latham, James Logue, Andrew Lucia, Mitchell

Lucia, James Marcell, Octave Marcell, Marquis E. Marrs, Highel McNall, Arnold Morton, Leo Muzzey, Joseph Prim, Joseph Sanders, Martin H. Sander-son, James Shehan, Joseph C. Snow, Charles Stannard, Henry Tyler, Joseph Wallace, John E. Wheelock, Moses H. Wheelock.

Naval credit.—James E. Caswell.

Richmond.—Volunteers for three years"credited previous to call for 300,000 men, October 17, 1863.—Jarious D. Alger, George E. Allen, Almon Atkins, Bronson M. Barber, Denslow Barber, Edgar Barber, Sidney Barber, Oliver D. Bemis, Charles Boodry, Edward Boodry, Horace H. Bradley, Leonard I. Brownson, Martin Brownson, Oscar G. Brown, Cyrus Bryant, Daniel M. Bryant, George E. Bryant, George E. Bryant, George W. Bryant, George Burnett, Henry Call, John D. Cargill, John W. Casey, Royal L. Coburn, Marcellus F. Darling, Oral C. Dudley, Henry Durand, Charles Eaton, George A. Edwards, Irving E. Fay, Gershom H. Flagg, Alanson Fuller, Frederick F. Gleason, Everett D. Green, John C. Green, Lewis Green, Thomas Hanley, Leonard Has-kins, Isaac H. Haynes, Andrew Henley, John Labonte, Marshall Ladoo, Henry L. Lock, Joseph Lyons, Gershom Manning, James D. Miller, Adolphe Montret, John M. Putnam, Charles Reed, Robert B. Robinson, Harmon B. Rockwood, Sullivan Seeger, George P. Shedd, Lorenzo W. Shedd, Royal M. Sherman, Perley Smith, Willard S. Stowe, Benoni Taft, William Taft, William Tobin, Romeo Ward.

Credits under call for 300,000 men, October 17, 1863, and subsequent calls.—Oliver D. Bemis, Edward Bassett, George Breunell, James H. Bryant, Samuel R. Conant, Henry Eaton, Arnold C. Fay, Emerson C. Fay, Roby N. Fay, Zephraim Goodrich, Marshall Ladoo, Albert E. Lafinn, Charles Lincoln, Richard Lynch, Edward McAvoy, William Reed, Homer W. Ring, Peter Terrier, Matthew J. Turner, Benjamin F. Warren.

Volunteers for one year.—Charles Bostwick, Joseph Lafayette.

Volunteers for nine months.—Lewis Bartro, Amos Brown, Alonzo J. Douglass, Charles C. Douglass, Arnold C. Fay, Hosea T. Humphrey, Charles S. Lavanway, Silas J. Rowell, Henry C. Russell, Harry Tomlinson, Oscar J. Tomlinson, Benjamin F. Warren.

Naval credit.—Henry G. Colby.

Shelburne.—Volunteers for three years, credited previous to call for 300,000 men, October 17, 1863.—Rufus Barber, John L. Barstow, Frederick Basford, Franklin Cook, William W. Cook, William Dimick, Enos Douglass, jr., Francis Douglass, William Edwards, Ransom B. Fargo, John Farrell, Alexander Hall, Thomas Hall, Oliver M. Holabird, Gilbert D. Isham, Louis Lepage, Lorenzo J. Marks, James McGuire, Justin McKenzie, Michael McKenzie, Thos. Moore, Philip Phenesy, Timothy Pippin, Thomas Ralph, Joseph Riley, Andrew Sears, Joseph Tatro, William E. Taylor, Thomas Wilson.

Credits under call of October 17, 1863, for 300,000 men, and subsequent calls.—Erastus J. Beardsley, Joseph Brockway, Patrick Callaghan, John Carri-

gan, Octave Clement, William A. Cook, Mendore Demerse, Robert Downing, Emory Durivage, George R. Estes, Lucius S. Estes, John Fish, William Laddy, Wm. McQuillan, Michael W. Pendergast, Samuel Provost, Ezekiel A. Thomas, Lewis Williams.

Volunteers for one year.—Oliver W. Brown, John F. Consigny, Jackson Isham, Patrick Joyce, Hugh Lucas, John Martin, Henry W. McLane, Geo. Sears.

Volunteers for nine months.—Geo. E. Averill, Jas. S. Babcock, Henry H. Blinn, Geo. H. Collamer, Thos. Cooney, Abram B. Curtis, Asa Elliot, John Finn, Edwin R. Hall, Wm. H. Holabird, James Millham, Geo. C. Morehouse, Edgar Nash, Guy T. Nash, Robert W. Rogers, Isaac J. Sorrell, John M. Sutton, Wm. A. Tracy, Vernon A. Tyler.

Naval credit.—William H. Holabird.

St. George.—Volunteers for three years, credited previous to call for 300,000 men, October 17, 1863.—Harrison B. Loggins, Junius G. Loggins, Hiram H. Tilley, Sidney N. Tilley, Silas H. Tilley.

Credits under call of October 17, 1863, for 300,000 men, and subsequent calls.—Richmond Axtell, Charles Taylor.

Volunteers for one year.—Mitchell W. Hinsdell, George W. Isham.

Volunteers for nine months.—Buel Burt, Linus Burt.

Underhill.—Volunteers for three years credited previous to call for 300,000 men, October 17, 1863.—Cornelius Abbott, William H. G. Atkins, Henry J. Bass, Addison C. Benedict, Almon Bixby, Anson C. Bixby, James P. Bixby, Lyman L. Bixby, William H. Bixby, Elihu B. Brewster, George M. Rockham, Arthur F. Burdick, Willaby Z. Burdick, John Button, Linus M. Cadwell, Thomas Callagan, Hezekiah B. Carr, Ira Carr, Lewis P. Carr, Abel N. Clark, Converse E. Day, George C. Dutton, Patrick Fitzgerald, Jefferson H. Fletcher, Francis Flynn, Aaron B. Ford, Samuel A. Hale, Hiram W. Hicks, William W. Hill, George W. Hodgman, Amos C. Humphrey, Benajah D. Humphrey, John M. Humphrey, William H. Humphrey, William C. Jackson, Albert Lanty, Lyman H. Larabee, William Larabee, Antoine J. Lessor, John Lessor, Lewis Lessor, George C. Lewis, George C. Lewis, Jerry Massey, John McCary, John B. McDaniel, Darwin Mead, Ezra L. Mead, Rollin C. Naramore, Henry J. Nichols, Thomas Preston, Alexander W. Ross, Daniel Ross, Eli C. Ross, James W. Russell, Duff Russin, David Story, 3d, Francis Story, Isaac S. Story, James Sweeney, Andrew Tatro, Delavan L. Terrill, Henry H. Terrill, Charles Tillison, Leander Tillison, Philander Tillison, Warner M. Tillison, Hiram E. Tupper, Jonathan E. Tupper, Byron C. Ward, Edwin R. Ward, Reuben Ward, Daniel Wells, George H. Wilder, Joel P. Woodworth, Wilson W. Woodworth.

Volunteers credited under call of October 17, 1863, for 300,000 men.—John Button, Harvey Dickinson, Peter E. Dupont, James Durant, John Fay, Daniel Harrington, jr., James A. Hodgeman, Albert C. Jackson, Lysander L. Jackson, Patrick Marlow, Thomas McGelley, Thomas McGinnin, Michael Mc-

Grath, Angus McLeod, John McMullin, William M. Naramore, Elijah Porter, Cyrus Prior, John C. Wells.

Volunteers for one year.—Addison Benedict, William Chates, Daniel Davis, Josephus Ellsworth, Patrick Fitzgerald, Patrick Fitzgerald, John Gray, Antoine Gravlin, Bostwick L. Green, John W. Jackson, Sidney E. Jackson, Charles H. Kimball, Simeon M. Palmer, Chas. J. Preston, Sidney Prior, Hosea B. Tillison.

Volunteers for nine months.—Albert B. Atchinson, Charles H. Dutton, Horace L. Ellsworth, Josephus Ellsworth, John W. Jackson, Franklin Martin, Hiram Martin, Morris D. Mead, Julius G. Morse, Justin Naramore, Wm. M. Naramore, Simeon M. Palmer, Ward G. Piper, Ziba Pixley, Horace L. Sheldon, Alonzo H. Sherman, Londus F. Terrill, Stephen W. Tillotson, Charles C. Tillotson, John C. White.

Naval credits.—Patrick Barnès, Jonathan Button.

Westford.—Volunteers for three years credited previous to call for 300,000 men, October 17, 1863.—Martin Bates, jr., Torrence Bates, Henry Beach, Eugene C. Bellows, Ruluf L. Bellows, Robert B. Blood, Aaron P. Burdick, William A. Burtch, Cyrus A. Chates, Nathan C. Dimick, Linus R. Dyke, John H. Frisbie, E. Payson Gibbs, Warren Gibbs, Jerome H. Grow, Wilbur H. Grow, Albert F. Hackett, Azro F. Hackett, David Hazleton, Alvin H. Henry, Haskell A. Henry, Josiah E. Henry, William Hicks, Hebron W. Hickock, George Howard, Harvey Irish, Mitchell King, jr., Thomas King, Francis B. Macomber, John G. Macomber, Rimmon Maxfield, Byron McClallen, Royal L. McClellan, John H. McEvoy, Dudley C. Merriam, Edwin R. Merriam, Francis Phillips, S. Pearl Robinson, Henry M. Rogers, Eben R. Sibley, Ebenezer K. Sibley, J. Nelson Sibley, Homer Stanley, Alfred N. St. Louis, Cornelius W. St. Louis, George H. St. Louis, James Stone, Simeon Stone, John C. Swan, Riley Swan, Roswell Wait, George W. Walworth, Edward J. Whipple, Osgood M. Whipple, Manley H. Wilcox, George W. Woodward, John H. Woodward.

Credits under call of October 17, 1863, for 300,000 men, and subsequent calls.—Henry L. Algiers, James H. Conlin, Julius F. Goodrich, Benjamin Hall, George P. Henry, Haskell A. Henry, Guernsey R. Jordan, James C. Morse, Peter Provost, Solomon C. Rogers, William B. Rogers, Jacob Russell, George W. Sibley, Albert Swan, Thomas T. Varney, Osgood M. Wipple, Philo Wood.

Volunteer for one year.—Nelson Martin.

Volunteers for nine months.—Heman W. Allen, John Ashley, Fayette W. Burtch, Stephen O. Crawford, Charles Daniels, Jacob Drew, Allen G. Frisbie, Julius F. Goodrich, Alvin H. Henry, Guernsey R. Jordan, Lewis Martin, Alden Richardson, Torrey W. Sibley, Albert Swan, Albert Tisdell, Edgar Woodruff, William Woodruff.

Williston.—Volunteers for three years credited previous to call for 300,000 men, October 17, 1863.—Samuel C. Alexander, Robert J. Alexander, George B. Allen, Orville E. Allen, William Austin, William A. Beach, George J. Bliss, John Bliss, John Boyle, Horace W. Brownell, Martin Brownell, Charles B.

Chapin, Cornelius A. Chapin, William H. Chapman, Luther H. Davis, Frederick Doyne, William G. Doyne, Lucian W. French, Charles Gill, William C. Green, Hiram H. Hall, David M. Holton, Edward A. Holton, Richard Irish, Hiram J. Isham, Jackson Isham, Joseph Lander, Lewis Lander, Peter Lander, George A. Loggins, Alonzo Marshall, Sanford H. Marshall, David S. McHerd, George Miller, Leroy D. Nichols, Alfred M. Osborn, Eli Osborne, Walter Osborne, Haskell M. Phelps, Homer Prior, John Roland, Dorr A. Roleau, Dorr A. Roleau, John B. Roleau, William Shepard, Willis S. Simons, Frank Ward, George P. Welch, Allen S. Wright.

Credits under call of October 17, 1863, for 300,000 men, and subsequent calls.—Isaac Batey, Henry H. Bradley, Prentice Bullock, Michael Burke, Oliver Bushey, Benjamin F. Charles, George Christmas, Israel Demars, Samuel Drappin, James Ennis, Alfred C. Fay, Ransom T. Fay, Charles L. Hall, Benjamin F. Isham, Nathan Johnson, Orson B. Johnson, Lawrence Kelley, Peter Labelle, John Larkin, Alonzo N. Lee, John Magaghan, Thomas Miles, William Miles, Albert Munson, George A. Pine, Charles H. Potter, Charles Sister, Charles A. Sprague, Amos Walston, John L. Yale.

Volunteers for one year.—William Clay, George W. Cole, John Gregory, Thomas Kelley, Edward Osborne, Albert Tebo.

Volunteers for nine months.—George L. Baldwin, Bertram F. Brown, Thomas J. Culligan, Peter Dubia, Charles A. Harper, John F. Harper, Nelson Harper, Alfred W. Isham, Milton E. Isham, Nathan Johnson, Thomas Johnson, Lawrence Kelley, Thomas P. Kelley, Alonzo N. Lee, Harmon Lee, Melancthon S. Lee, Thomas J. Lee, James Patten, Oscar F. Phelps, George A. Pine, Gordon Reynolds, Joseph Sargent, Frank J. C. Tyler, Albert Walston, William F. Whitney, John L. Yale.

Naval credits.—Cassius Loggins, Oscar Prentice.

ENLISTMENTS FROM CHITTENDEN COUNTY, AS REPORTED DOWN TO OCTOBER 1, 1865.
COMPILED FROM REPORTS OF ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

TOWNS.	2d Regiment.	3d Regiment.	4th Regiment.	5th Regiment.	6th Regiment.	7th Regiment.	8th Regiment.	9th Regiment.	10th Regiment.	11th Regiment.	12th Regiment.	13th Regiment.	14th Regiment.	17th Regiment.	Artillery.	Cavalry.	Other Organ's.	Paid Comm'n.	Procured Sub's.	Entered Serv'e.
Bolton	—	—	—	21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Burlington	61	11	6	50	34	33	2	3	37	22	74	23	—	28	10	133	115	17	33	5
Charlotte	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Colchester	1	5	—	26	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Essex	14	—	2	3	47	9	3	3	3	3	—	17	—	8	46	65	8	5	11	4
Hinesburg	19	—	—	5	1	8	8	32	1	17	—	—	28	11	3	5	2	—	—	—
Huntington	2	2	—	4	1	13	—	10	4	3	1	14	—	12	—	14	3	4	1	—
Jericho	13	4	—	27	—	10	—	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	18	7	6	—
Milton	2	1	2	17	9	1	18	12	23	6	—	37	—	14	7	23	14	7	6	3
Richmond	2	3	1	27	1	2	10	7	8	3	—	12	—	4	—	7	14	3	4	1
Shelburne	7	3	1	—	4	4	4	2	8	1	19	—	—	2	—	19	7	5	4	1
St. George	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Underhill	46	1	—	14	5	2	—	5	4	1	—	20	—	9	—	15	18	6	2	2
Westford	15	1	3	7	16	2	1	6	1	1	—	17	—	2	4	17	11	10	3	1
Williston	2	2	—	5	16	—	8	6	2	7	1	—	26	—	7	—	23	13	6	2
Totals	191	33	18	203	145	95	56	116	99	80	94	248	46	125	75	353	252	89	94	21

Tabular Statement.—The accompanying table does not, of course, include all of the enlistments from this county, as a large number of men volunteered in organizations raised in other States. The heading "other organizations" includes a number of enlistments in the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Battery of artillery; also, thirty-nine in the navy, twenty-five of whom were from Burlington; also thirty-four in the U. S. infantry, of whom twenty-four were from Burlington; the county must also be credited with re-enlistments, as follows: Bolton, five, all in the Fifth Regiment; Burlington, fifty-three — 11 in Second Regiment, 4 in Third Regiment, 10 in Fifth Regiment, 5 in Sixth Regiment, 16 in Seventh Regiment, 4 in cavalry; Charlotte, four — 1 in Fifth Regiment, 2 in Seventh Regiment, 1 in Second Regiment; Colchester, eight — 1 in Second Regiment, 1 in Third Regiment, 3 in Fifth Regiment, 1 in Sixth Regiment, 1 in Eighth Regiment, 1 in sharpshooters; Essex, nine — 2 in Second Regiment, 1 in Fifth Regiment, 6 in Sixth Regiment; Hinesburg, seven — 1 in Second Regiment, 1 in Fifth Regiment, 1 in Sixth Regiment, 2 in Seventh Regiment, 1 in cavalry; Huntington, two — 1 in Fifth Regiment, 1 in Eighth Regiment; Jericho, nine — 3 in Fifth Regiment, 3 in Seventh Regiment, 2 in sharpshooters, 1 in cavalry; Milton, ten — 2 in Fifth Regiment, 1 in Sixth Regiment, 5 in Eighth Regiment, 1 in cavalry; Underhill, five — 4 in Seventh Regiment, 1 in sharpshooters; Westford, seven — 2 in Second Regiment, 2 in Fifth Regiment, 3 in Sixth Regiment; Williston, eleven — 1 in Second Regiment, 2 in Fifth Regiment, 7 in Sixth Regiment, 1 in Seventh Regiment.

The miscellaneous enlistments not credited by name were 115, distributed among towns as follows: Bolton, 2; Burlington, 42; Charlotte, 8; Essex, 10; Hinesburg, 9; Huntington, 5; Jericho, 10; Milton, 12; St. George, 1; Underhill, 9; Westford, 10; Williston, 7.

The record of the draft in the county is as follows: Bolton, 8, of whom 2 furnished substitutes; Burlington, 43, of whom 26 furnished substitutes; Charlotte, 13, of whom 7 furnished substitutes and 2 entered service; Colchester, 6 furnished substitutes; Essex, 16, of whom 8 furnished substitutes and 1 entered service; Hinesburg, 10, of whom 3 furnished substitutes; Huntington, 5, of whom 1 furnished substitute; Jericho, 13, of whom 6 furnished substitutes; Milton, 16, of whom 6 furnished substitutes and 3 entered service; Underhill, 10, of whom 2 furnished substitutes and 2 entered service; Westford, 14, of whom 3 furnished substitutes and 1 entered service; Williston, 10, of whom 2 furnished substitutes and 2 entered service.

When the first call of the president for troops was issued, asking for 75,000 three months men, immediate steps were taken in this State for the organization of a regiment, and so energetically was the work prosecuted that a regiment was recruited, organized and mustered into the service on the 9th day of May, 1861—less than a month after the first traitorous gun was fired. In this regiment one company (H) was recruited almost entirely in Chittenden

county, about forty of its members being from Burlington. The regiment was made up of companies of militia then in existence, the one from this county being the Howard Guards.

The following is a complete list of officers and members of this company—the first to go out from the county :

Commissioned Officers.—Captain — David B. Peck, Burlington ; lieutenants—first, Oscar G. Mower, Burlington ; second, George I. Hagar, Burlington.

Non-commissioned Officers — Sergeants — first, Loren F. Durkee, Rutland ; second, John R. Lewis, Burlington ; third, Edgar Pitkin, Burlington ; fourth, William L. Harris, Burlington. Corporals — first, Heman F. Allen, Burlington ; second, Emerson H. Liscum, Burlington ; third, William H. H. Peck, Burlington ; fourth, Henry C. Tennant, Burlington.

Fifer.—Jackson Isham, Williston.

Drummer.—Hiland Hadley.

Privates.—Blinn Atchison, Jericho ; Frank L. Austin, Colchester ; Heman Austin, Essex ; Clark W. Bates, Essex ; Wm. F. Bancroft, Burlington ; Edgar A. Beach, Essex ; George A. Beebe, Burlington ; Henry D. Belden, Burlington ; Tufil Bissonnette, Hinesburg ; Henry S. Blake, Bellows Falls ; Coit H. Bostwick, Burlington ; John G. Bostwick, Hinesburg ; George B. Brinsmaid, Burlington ; George W. Brown, Richmond ; James Bruen, Burlington ; Peter Carroll, Westford ; Chester W. Carpenter, Hinesburg ; Charles W. Carpenter, Burlington ; George Chase, Essex ; Elam A. Clark, Stowe ; Edward M. Curtis, Burlington ; George E. Davis, Burlington ; Henry E. Ellsworth, Schuyler Falls, N. Y. ; Charles H. Filer, Burlington ; Heman E. Foss, Burlington ; Solon W. Fletcher, Burlington ; Horatio Frederick, Burlington ; Malcom G. Frost, Essex ; Albert Graham, Fairfax ; Patrick Hogan, Burlington ; Oliver M. Holabird, Shelburne ; Edward A. Holton, Burlington ; Augustus S. Hopkins, Burlington ; Hiram J. Isham, Williston ; Edwin R. Kinney, Burlington ; Edward M. Knox, Hinesburg ; William Loomis, Burlington ; Charles D. Marshall, Hinesburg ; William A. Martin, Hinesburg ; James E. McKowen, Burlington ; Charles D. Morse, Burlington ; Charles H. Mitchell, Richmond ; Wm. H. Newton, Burlington ; Alfred K. Nichols, Burlington ; Henry C. Nichols, Burlington ; Henry I. Parker, Jericho ; Clark L. Parks, Burlington ; Jos. L. Perkins, Burlington ; Hascal M. Phelps, Williston ; Rufus Place, Hinesburg ; Jerome V. Prindle, Ferrisburgh ; James M. Read, Colchester ; Burrage Rice, Burlington ; Herman Seligsen, Burlington ; Riley B. Stearns, Burlington ; Orvis H. Sweet, Burlington ; George D. Thompson, Burlington ; Charles H. Tuxbury, Burlington ; Edward Walker, Burlington ; Walter H. Warren, Burlington ; Benjamin H. Webster, Stockholm, N. Y. ; Edward P. Whitney, Burlington ; George I. Whitney, Burlington ; Hyman G. Willard, Burlington ; Edward B. Wright, Bradford.

The regiment made its rendezvous at Rutland and was mustered with 782

officers and men. They left the State on the 9th of May and made their first encampment at Fortress Monroe on the 13th. On the 27th they went into camp at Newport News and remained there until August, rendering important service on the fortifications. On the 10th of June Companies B, D, F, H and K participated in the engagement at Great Bethel. On the 5th of August the regiment left Newport News and returned to Brattleboro, where they were mustered out on the 15th. The Howard Guards, almost to a man, subsequently enlisted in the Twelfth Regiment, forming Company C, as detailed in later pages.

The Second Regiment.—This was the first of the three years regiments raised in the State and was recruited in the State at large. It received large accessions from Chittenden county, as will be seen by reference to the table accompanying this chapter. Company G was entirely recruited in Burlington and adjoining towns, and other companies included many Chittenden county volunteers. The regiment rendezvoused at Burlington and was mustered into the service on the 20th of June, 1861, with 868 officers and men, under command of Colonel Henry Whiting, and left the State on the 24th of June. The regiment took part in the battle of Bull Run on the 21st of July, 1861, and subsequently became a part of the gallant "Vermont Brigade." Its career will be further traced in connection with the history of that brigade as a whole. Company G was officered by John T. Drew, of Burlington, captain; David L. Sharpley, Burlington, first lieutenant; Anson H. Weed, Hinesburg, second lieutenant.

Of the men who went out with this regiment from Chittenden county and then were or afterwards became officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, were Orman P. Ray, who enlisted as private in Company G and was promoted sergeant-major November 1, 1864, and adjutant December 24, 1864.

Newton H. Ballou, Burlington, surgeon, resigned December 18, 1862.

Benjamin Walter Carpenter, Burlington, assistant surgeon, promoted to surgeon Ninth Vermont Regiment June 21, 1862.

John T. Drew, Burlington, captain Company G, resigned October 8, 1862.

Nelson Fassett, Jericho, went out as private Company E; re-enlisted April 19, 1864; promoted sergeant October 18, 1864; regimental quartermaster-sergeant February 7, 1865.

David L. Sharpley, Burlington, first lieutenant Company G, resigned June 24, 1862.

Anson H. Weed, Hinesburg, second lieutenant Company G, was promoted first lieutenant May 20, 1861; resigned March 5, 1863.

John J. Bain, Burlington, private Company G, made first sergeant June 20, 1861; second lieutenant Company G, July 5, 1862; wounded May 5, 1864; mustered out June 29, 1864.

Byron C. Ward, Underhill, private in Company G; wounded May 5, 1864; made sergeant September 1, 1864; first sergeant December 24, 1864.

Bradbury W. Hight, Burlington, private in Company K, rose to sergeant-major, February 22, 1862.

Edwin R. Ward, Underhill, private Company G, wounded May 5, 1864, and May 18, 1864; made sergeant September 1, 1864; first sergeant February 8, 1865.

Third Regiment.—The Third Regiment was mustered into the service on the 15th of July, 1861, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Breed N. Hyde. Only a limited number of recruits from Chittenden county joined this regiment, which also became a part of the famous Vermont Brigade. The regiment left the State July 24, 1861.

The Fourth Regiment, which was also in the Vermont Brigade, was mustered into the service on the 21st of September, 1861. Very few of its members were from Chittenden county.

The Fifth Regiment, in whose ranks were a large number of recruits (over two hundred) from Chittenden county, rendezvoused at St. Albans, and was mustered into the service on the 16th of September, 1861, under command of Colonel Henry A. Smalley, of the regular army. It left the State on the 23d of September, 1861, with 1006 officers and men. The numbers contributed to this regiment by the various towns of Chittenden county are shown in the table to which we have already alluded. Of the officers in the regiment who were from Chittenden county were John R. Lewis, of Burlington, who went out as captain of Company I; promoted to major July 15, 1862; to lieutenant-colonel October 6, 1862; severely wounded May 5, 1864; honorably discharged September 11, 1864, to accept appointment as colonel in Veteran Reserve Corps; brevet brigadier-general for gallant service in the battle of the Wilderness, to date from March 13, 1865.

Thomas Kavaney, Burlington, went out as private in Company I; promoted to corporal and to regimental quartermaster-sergeant May 1, 1863; captain Company A August 5, 1864; severely wounded October 19, 1864; mustered out of service as captain Company A June 29, 1865.

Arthur F. Burdick, Underhill, assistant-surgeon, resigned.

Dan. L. C. Colburn, Burlington, assistant-surgeon; mustered out June 29, 1865.

William H. H. Peck, Burlington, first lieutenant Company E, August 30, 1861; wounded June 29, 1862; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps August 10, 1863.

Orvis H. Sweet, Burlington, private Company A, March 28, 1862; corporal, and promoted to regimental quartermaster-sergeant September 1, 1862; second lieutenant Company A, December 23, 1862; died May 17, 1864, of wounds received in action in the Wilderness May 5, 1864.

Adoniram N. Austin, Colchester, regimental quartermaster-sergeant September 16, 1861; second lieutenant Company K, November 1, 1861; first lieu-

tenant Company K April 19, 1862 ; transferred to Company F ; promoted captain and A. Q. M. U. S. Volunteers April 7, 1864.

William H. Newton, Burlington, went out as a private in Company I ; promoted to first sergeant September 16, 1861 ; to second lieutenant Company I June 15, 1862.

Leonard J. Brownson, Richmond, went out as private in Company K ; promoted to sergeant September 16, 1861 ; first sergeant ; to second lieutenant March 1, 1863 ; wounded May 5, 1864 ; dismissed September 29, 1864.

Edwin H. Trick, Burlington, went out as private in Company I, and re-enlisted December 15, 1863 ; regimental commissary-sergeant July 31, 1864.

James A. Bixby, Jericho, went out as private in Company I, and rose to sergeant ; wounded June 4, 1864.

Florence O'Donahoe, Burlington, went as private in Company I, re-enlisted and rose to first sergeant January 2, 1865 ; wounded May 12, 1864, and April 2, 1865.

Thomas Hanley, Richmond, went as private in Company K, and rose to first sergeant after re-enlistment, and wounded May 12, 1864.

The further career of the Fifth Regiment will be traced in the history of the Vermont Brigade, in succeeding pages.

The Sixth Regiment— which, with the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Regiments, formed the Vermont Brigade, was mustered into the service on the 15th of October, 1861, with nine hundred and seventy officers and men, under command of Colonel Nathan Lord, jr., of Montpelier. It left the State about the 20th of October. Of the officers who left Chittenden county in this regiment were Edwin R. Kinney, of Burlington, who went out as second lieutenant of Company I, and was promoted to first lieutenant January 18, 1862 ; was wounded April 16, 1862 ; promoted captain of Company G, June 5, 1863 ; wounded October 19, 1864, and promoted to major June 4, 1865.

Edward M. Curtis, of Burlington, went out as assistant surgeon and was promoted to surgeon of the Fourth Vermont Regiment October 24, 1864.

William B. Reynolds, Milton, went out as first lieutenant of Company I, and was promoted to captain January 18, 1862 ; promoted major Seventeenth Regiment April 12, 1864 ; was killed in action at Petersburg, July 30, 1864,

Lyman S. Williams, Essex, private Company I, rose to sergeant, and re-enlisted December 15, 1863 ; made second lieutenant Company C May 15, 1864, and first lieutenant Company I, October 29, 1864.

John G. Macomber, Westford, private Company I, promoted to first sergeant and re-enlisted in December, 1863 ; killed in action in the Wilderness May 5, 1864.

Edgar E. Herrick, Milton, went out as private in Company I ; was made corporal and re-enlisted in December, 1863 ; promoted to sergeant and sergeant-major, the latter office on January 5, 1865.

E. A. Holton, of Williston, enlisted as private ; promoted sergeant, second lieutenant, first lieutenant and captain, and was discharged August 17, 1864, for wounds received at the Wilderness.

A few other officers of this regiment from Chittenden county served short periods and resigned. The enlistments from the county are shown in the preceding table and lists.

Proceeding with the history of the Vermont Brigade, which was to win undying fame on many bloody fields, it is proper to state that the records of its early career are meager ; it saw but little of what would be termed active service until the spring of 1862, having in the mean time been stationed near the National Capitol. In the first report of the adjutant-general of the State, under date of November 1, 1862, he states that "the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Regiments have constituted the 'Vermont Brigade,' under command of General W. T. H. Brooks, and have participated in some of the severest fighting on the Peninsula, and during the recent campaign in Maryland. It is a matter of State pride that no braver troops are to be found than those from Vermont." On the 16th of April, 1862, the brigade participated in the battle of Lee's Mills, in which it won commendation in reports of commanding officers. Again on the 5th of May, in the engagement at Williamsburg, under command of Brigade Commander W. T. H. Brooks, the brigade performed important service. Previous to the beginning of the operations the brigade was bivouacked near the enemy, and had been under arms for several days. The battle was fought on the 5th, and the Third Regiment crossed the dam on Fish Creek and took an active part in the engagement. On the following day the brigade was held in reserve in support of Hancock's Brigade, and not actively engaged.

In the succeeding operations about Golding's Farm, Savage's Station, and the White Oak Swamp, the brigade was actively employed. At the first named point the Sixth and a portion of the Fifth Regiments were brought up to support the Fourth, which had become hotly engaged. The regiments first named were under heavy fire during the approach to their position. These movements occurred on the 27th, and on the 28th the brigade was subjected to heavy shelling, which became so destructive that a change of camp was made prior to the general change of base to the James River. On the 29th the brigade left its camp at Golding's Farm for this latter movement. After passing Savage's Station the division was ordered to return to that point to repel an attack. This was done, and in passing through a wood into an open field the Fifth Regiment encountered the enemy, and he was routed in brilliant style. As soon as the firing began, the Second, Third and Sixth Regiments deployed and became actively engaged. General Brooks says in his report: "The conduct of the troops in this action was generally very commendable," concluding with the mention of many individual names.

The brigade now reached the James River without further important incident. In the battle at Crampton Gap, on the 14th of September, and at Antietam, the brigade performed important service. At Antietam they lay under fire for forty-eight hours, and a number of casualties occurred from sharpshooters and artillery.

In the first battle of Fredericksburg, in December, 1862, the brigade, then under command of Colonel Henry Whiting, of the second regiment, was distinguished for its gallantry. The losses were twenty-six killed and one hundred and forty-one wounded; ten of the killed were in the Fifth Regiment. At the second battle of Fredericksburg, on the third of May, 1863, and at Banks's Ford on the 8th, the conduct of this brigade, then under command of Colonel L. A. Grant, could not be excelled. In the face of a terrific fire they stormed and carried the Fredericksburg Heights on the 3d, and the next day, while protecting the rear of the Sixth Corps in its crossing of the river, large bodies of the enemy were repeatedly hurled against them, but in vain. They were attacked by and repulsed three brigades of four regiments each, thus saving the Sixth Corps. The total killed were thirty and wounded two hundred and twenty-seven; of these the Fifth Regiment lost three killed and eleven wounded. The Second Regiment lost in killed twelve, and the entire brigade received the highest praise in the official reports.

On the 5th of June the brigade again crossed the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg and assaulted and carried the rebel works, taking many prisoners. At the battle of Gettysburg the brigade was not actively engaged. On the 10th of July, near Funkstown, Md., they met the enemy in superior force and gallantly repulsed them, holding a skirmish line of three miles in length, without supports within assisting distance, against repeated attacks by strong lines of infantry.

The brigade moved with the Army of the Potomac into Virginia in pursuit of the enemy, and were then detached and sent to New York city to aid in enforcing order during drafts of that year. Returning they were stationed near Culpepper, Va.

In summing up the operations of the Vermont Brigade thus far, the adjutant-general said: "Too much honor cannot be awarded by the people of Vermont to the officers and men of this gallant brigade. They are the men who responded among the earliest to the call of the nation for assistance in suppressing the Rebellion and restoring and preserving the national existence. They have fought gallantly in every battle in which the Army of the Potomac has been engaged since the war commenced. Distinguished alike for bravery and discipline, they have acquired for themselves an imperishable record in history, and have won for the troops of the State in the field a reputation for unflinching courage and dashing bravery, which is only equaled by the distinction which the people of the State have earned for persistent loyalty to the Union, which is their proudest boast."



The 1st of October, 1863, found the brigade encamped near Culpepper, Va., whence they marched on the 8th to the Rapidan, fifteen miles; thence on the 10th to Culpepper, fifteen miles; thence on the 11th to Rappahannock Station, twelve miles; thence on the 12th to Brandy Station, thirty miles; thence on the 13th to Bristow Station, thirty miles; thence on the 14th to Little River Pike, near Chantilly, fifteen miles, and thence on the following day to Chantilly, two miles. Here the brigade rested after these arduous marches until the 19th of October, when the march was made to Gainesville, twelve miles, where the Sixth Regiment, while on picket, had a slight skirmish with the enemy's cavalry, but without loss. On the 20th the brigade led the advance of the Sixth Corps, driving back the enemy's cavalry to Warrenton, twelve miles. Here the brigade remained encamped until November 7, when they advanced to Rappahannock Station, where the enemy was met in force. The brigade, however, was not engaged, but was under heavy artillery fire all the afternoon; no casualties. On the 8th the brigade crossed the Rappahannock and advanced to Brandy Station, where they went into camp on the 9th and remained until the 27th; on that day they moved four miles and supported the Third Corps in the battle of Locust Grove; the brigade was only under artillery fire and suffered little. On the 2d of December they recrossed the Rapidan and went into camp at Brandy Station, remaining there with little of incident until the last week of February, when they accompanied the Sixth Corps on a week's reconnoissance to near Orange Court House. The old camp was then resumed and kept until the 4th of May. With the opening of the campaign of 1864, the Vermont Brigade was again called into the most active service. It comprised the same regiments as before until the 15th of May, when it was joined by the Eleventh Regiment. The brigade recrossed the Rapidan at Germania Ford and went into camp two miles south of the ford. The 5th and 6th the brigade was actively engaged in the battle of the Wilderness. On the morning of the 5th the rebels were engaged in a movement to cut off Hancock's Corps (which had crossed the river below the ford) from the main army. To prevent this the Vermont and two other brigades were detached from the Sixth Corps. As the brigade came to the crossing of the "Brock" Road and the turnpike, they found the rebel advance driving the Union cavalry before them. The brigade was formed at the crossing and hastily threw up slight intrenchments. The order was then given to advance to the attack, a movement which the enemy was at the same time beginning. The two lines met in a thick wood, where little of either opposing force could be seen by the other, and the great battle of the Wilderness began. The Vermont Brigade held the key to the position and seemed to realize the fact. Unflinchingly they met and returned the galling fire of the enemy, while their ranks were rapidly thinning. Every assault was gallantly repulsed, notwithstanding every regimental commander in the brigade except one was either

killed or wounded. A thousand brave officers and men fell in the brigade that day, and the living slept amidst the bloody horrors of the field. The fierce struggle was renewed on the morning of the 6th, the enemy having fallen back a short distance and slightly entrenched. Again and again during the day was the Vermont Brigade assaulted with the most determined vigor, but the heroic troops from the Green Mountain State were equal to every demand upon their bravery, and after signally repulsing the last attack, retired to the entrenchments they had thrown up on the Brock Road; late in the afternoon another desperate attack was made by the enemy upon this line, but again he was repulsed and defeated. On the morning of the 7th a strong skirmish line from the Sixth Regiment was sent out and drove back the skirmish line of the enemy, revealing the fact that the main body of rebels had fallen back. Soon after dark the flank movement toward Spottsylvania was begun.

The brigade crossed the Rapidan on the 5th with 2,800 effective men; the losses in the two days' fighting were 1,232 — 45 killed, 220 wounded in the Second Regiment; 34 killed, 184 wounded in Third Regiment; 39 killed, 189 wounded in Fourth Regiment; 28 killed, 179 wounded in Fifth Regiment; 30 killed, 152 wounded in Sixth Regiment. Among these were Lieutenant Orvis H. Sweet and Colonel John R. Lewis, of Burlington, the former being mortally and the latter severely wounded.

During the whole of the night of the 7th of May the brigade was on the march, arriving at Chancellorsville the next morning; here they were detailed to guard the Sixth Corps train. About 4 o'clock P. M. they were ordered to the front; a forced march of four miles was made and the battle field of Spottsylvania Court-House reached just before dark. The 9th was spent fortifying their position, and on the 10th the skirmish line was advanced driving in the line of the enemy, the Fourth Regiment receiving high commendation for its conduct. During the day the Second Regiment, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel S. E. Pingree; the Fifth, under command of Major C. P. Dudley, and the Sixth, under Lieutenant-Colonel O. S. Hale (the whole under command of Colonel Thomas O. Seaver), formed a part of the column which charged the enemy's works, the Vermont troops being in the rear line. The Fourth and a part of the Third Regiment were engaged as skirmishers. The front lines were at first successful, capturing the works and many prisoners, but were driven back. The Vermont troops mentioned then advanced under a terrible fire and occupied the rebel works, the other regiments falling back. Orders were now given for all to fall back, but the order failed to reach the Second Regiment, which persisted in remaining at the front until positively ordered to retire. It was in this charge that Major Dudley fell of the wound which caused his death. The brigade remained almost constantly under fire through the 11th of May, and early on the 12th moved to the left to co-operate with Hancock's Corps. The latter had captured the enemy's works at that point, and the rebels were

engaged in a desperate attempt to retake them, when the Vermont Brigade marched into position under a heavy fire. Two lines were formed on the extreme left, and skirmishers thrown out under a brisk fire. Quoting from the official reports, "At this time the enemy were making the most determined effort to retake the line of works carried by Hancock and now held by the Sixth Corps, the key of the position being at the angle in the center, and that being the point at which the most desperate attacks were made. Brigadier-General Grant, with the regiments of the second line, was ordered to the right to assist General Wheaton, and Colonel Seaver was left in command of the front line and the skirmishers. General Wheaton with his brigade was endeavoring to advance through thick brush and in the face of a deadly fire from the enemy's rifle pits, and the Vermont regiments moved up promptly to his support, the Fourth Regiment taking and holding the front line. It was found impracticable to carry the enemy's works upon the right by a direct attack, and the enemy were gaining advantage in the center. Leaving the Fourth Regiment in its position, General Grant returned to the center, and being joined by Colonel Seaver with the residue of the brigade, the whole were put into the engagement except the Sixth Regiment, which was held in reserve."

This was a critical point and a critical time for both armies, and the fighting was of the most desperate character; the combatants were separated by a mere breastwork of logs and rails, and the conflict was practically hand to hand. The terrible struggle continued for eight hours, when the Vermont Brigade was relieved; the works were held, but the losses were heavy. The brigade camped for the night on the extreme right.

On the 13th the brigade with small exception was not actively engaged, and took a position towards night on the left near the scene of its former struggle. During the 14th the Vermont Brigade held the extreme left. On the 16th Colonel Seaver with his regiment and one from Massachusetts, made a reconnaissance in the direction of Spottsylvania Court-House, gallantly driving in the enemy's skirmishers and accomplishing the duty to which he was assigned. On the morning of the 18th the Second and Sixth Corps charged the enemy's works, advancing about half a mile under heavy artillery fire. The Vermont Brigade held the front line for some time, when the whole were ordered to fall back. Early on the morning of the 19th the brigade advanced with the corps about a mile and fortified its position, remaining there two days. At noon of the 21st the brigade moved about three-fourths of a mile to the rear, leaving a strong skirmish line in their works. Just before nightfall the enemy in strong force broke through this skirmish line, and Colonel Seaver was ordered out with his regiment to re-establish it; the task was gallantly performed. That night the corps marched towards Guinness's Station. The total losses of the Fifth Regiment from the line of the crossing of the Rapidan to this date were 38 killed, 229 wounded and 51 missing, a total of 318. The losses in the brigade were 1,650, more than one-half of the entire force that crossed the river.

On the 15th of May the brigade was joined by the Eleventh Vermont Regiment, which had been mustered into service September 1, 1862. Its character was changed by special order from the War Department December 10, 1862, to heavy artillery, and it was stationed during most of the succeeding year in Forts Slocum, Totten and Stevens, near Washington. It performed service in that vicinity without memorable incident until it joined the brigade, as stated. The preceding table shows the large number of Chittenden county men who went out in this regiment. None of the regimental officers were from this county.

Continuing the record of the brigade, they started on the night of the 21st of May from Spottsylvania; the brigade made arduous marches to Guinness's Station, thence to Harris's Store on the 22d; to the North Anna on the 23d; crossed the river on the 24th, and two days later advanced to Little River, destroying the railroad at that point; on the night of the 25th they re-crossed the North Anna and marched in the mud to Chesterfield Station on the Frederick Railroad; continued the march on the 26th, and on the 27th crossed the Pamunky River three miles above Hanover Town, and moved to the right two miles towards Hanover Court-House, where they remained entrenched two days. On the 29th the brigade marched to a new position on the Tolopotamy River where they remained two days, Major Chamberlain's battalion of the Eleventh Regiment being engaged in skirmishing nearly the whole of one day.

On the 1st of June the brigade marched to Cold Harbor and participated in the attack on the enemy, holding the extreme left, the Fifth Regiment being in support of a battery. A charge was made by the Second Regiment and Major Fleming's battalion and Captain Sears's company of the Eleventh, under a destructive fire, displaying great gallantry. On the following day the division containing this brigade held a portion of the enemy's works, which had been captured under a destructive fire. In the general attack on the enemy on the third, the Third and Fifth Regiments were in the front line of battle and greatly exposed; their losses were heavy. During the night the Third and Fifth Regiments and two battalions of the Eleventh, under Colonel Seaver, relieved a portion of the front line. The casualties in the brigade from the 21st of May to the 5th of June were, in the Second Regiment, 2 killed, 13 wounded; in the Third Regiment, 11 killed, 60 wounded; in the Fourth Regiment, 4 wounded; in the Fifth Regiment, 8 killed, 22 wounded; in the Sixth Regiment, 2 killed, 18 wounded; in the Eleventh Regiment, 13 killed, 121 wounded.

From the 3d of June to the 11th the brigade held the front line at two important points, and on the evening of the 12th moved back to a new line of works, a mile in the rear, leaving the Fourth Regiment in the front as skirmishers, and about midnight started on the march for Petersburg. For twelve days the brigade had been under almost incessant fire, evincing the most

heroic bravery and almost marvelous endurance. Major Richard B. Crandall, of the Sixth Regiment, a gallant young officer, fell on the 7th. From the 4th to the 10th of June the Fifth Regiment lost 3 wounded, and the Eleventh 2 killed and 17 wounded.

Regarding the conduct of the Eleventh Regiment, which was new to active service in the field, it is but just to quote from the reports of Brigadier-General Grant, who said: "Special mention ought to be made of the officers and men of the Eleventh for their gallant bearing in the charge of May 18. This was the first time they had been under fire, but they exhibited the coolness and noble bearing of the 'Vermonters,' and fairly stood beside the veteran regiments of the old brigade."

June 13 the brigade crossed the Chickahominy after a march of twenty-four miles, and encamped. The march was resumed next day and on the 17th they occupied the rebel works near Petersburg which had been captured. During the day the enemy was attacked in his new position and driven back, the Second and Fifth Regiments holding the skirmish line. The lines at Petersburg were held under heavy artillery fire until the evening of the 20th, when the brigade was moved to the left, relieving a division of the Second Corps. On the evening of June 21 the Sixth Corps was moved six miles to the entire left of the army, and on the night of the 22d the Vermont Brigade took position about a mile from the Weldon Railroad. The 23d was occupied in the destruction of the road, during which the enemy made an attack from the woods on the right and closing on the rear of the Fourth Regiment and Major Fleming's battalion, cut them off. A desperate fight ensued, and the men surrendered only when driven to the last extremity.

On the 29th of June the Vermont Brigade led the advance of the Sixth Corps to Reams's Station, on the Weldon Railroad. After one day out they occupied their former position until July 8th, when they marched to City Point, and on the 9th embarked for Washington. The casualties in the brigade from the 4th of June to the 26th were, in the Second Regiment, 2 killed, 9 wounded; in the Third Regiment, 2 killed, 3 wounded; in the Fourth Regiment, 6 killed, 23 wounded; in the Fifth Regiment, 1 killed, 4 wounded; in the Sixth Regiment, 2 killed, 5 wounded; in the Eleventh Regiment, 13 killed, 47 wounded.

On the 13th the brigade marched to Poolesville, Md., where the rear guard of the enemy was overtaken and routed; thence they marched to Snicker's Gap and on the 23d returned to the capital. On the 26th they again left Washington for Harper's Ferry, going into camp on Bolivar Heights on the night of the 29th. On the 30th they returned to Frederick City, Md. This was Sunday, and Major Aldace F. Walker, in his book on *The Vermont Brigade in the Shenandoah Valley*, says: "It was the hardest day's march we ever made. The heat was intense; the day was the very hottest of all the

season; the clouds of dust were actually blinding; the pace almost a gallop; the poor men struggled bravely, ambulances were crowded, shady spots covered with exhausted soldiers, men falling out of the ranks at every rod, overpowered by the heat and positively unable to proceed; actual cases of sunstroke by the score and by the hundred; a great scarcity of water; but no halt or chance for rest until toward night we reached Frederick City." No more vivid and truthful picture could be drawn in a few words of a forced march under a southern sun.

On the 5th of August the brigade proceeded to Harper's Ferry and up the Shenandoah valley to Strasburgh, where in a skirmish the Second Regiment lost two men on the 14th. The 16th the brigade returned to Charlestown, Va., remaining until the 21st, when the enemy attacked and the brigade was subjected to a destructive fire from 9 A. M. until dark. The casualties in the brigade were 23 killed and 98 wounded.

The brigade lay at Harper's Ferry from the 22d to the 29th of August, when they moved to Charlestown, remaining in that vicinity until September 19, making, in the *interim*, a reconnoissance to the Opequan, where a slight skirmish occurred. On the 19th the brigade crossed the Opequan in early morning and went into position, under heavy shelling, on the Winchester pike. The advance was made rapidly over a rising crest of land in face of a galling musketry fire, and the enemy was driven back in confusion. About one o'clock the brigade was forced to fall back about half a mile, having suffered severely. About three P. M. the entire line again advanced. The Vermont Brigade was exposed from the time when they reached within a mile of Winchester to a heavy musketry fire in front and an enfilading fire from artillery on the left. More than two hundred prisoners were captured by this brigade. The casualties in killed and wounded in the brigade were 246.

The brigade participated in the engagement at Fisher's Hill on the 21st and 22d, and at Mount Jackson on the 23d. On the 1st of October they were in camp at Harrisonburgh, and on the 5th moved to New Market, the 6th to Woodstock, on the 7th to Strasburgh, on the 10th near Port Royal, on the 13th to Milltown, and on the 14th to Middletown. On the 19th of October the army lay upon the easterly side of Cedar Creek, the Sixth Corps on the right, and the Vermont Brigade having but one brigade on their right. At day-break the enemy attacked in strong force on the left; the Sixth Corps was moved to that part of the line and formed nearly at right angles to its former position, there being now but one brigade on the left of the Vermont. Before the troops could take position Major Walker's battalion of the Eleventh Regiment, and the Fifth and Sixth Regiments, under command of Major Johnson, of the Second, were thrown forward as skirmishers and drove in the rebel skirmish line. The brigade then advanced with the division and were soon engaged in a desperate struggle, checking for a time the impetuous advance of



the enemy. About this time the right gave way and the division fell back a short distance, the Vermont Brigade in the center, the First Brigade, under Colonel Warner of the Eleventh Regiment, on the right, and the Third Brigade on the left. Upon this line the enemy made a desperate attack, the brunt of which fell on the Vermont Brigade. General Ricketts, commanding the corps, being wounded, and General Getty, who commanded the Second Division, taking his place, General Grant assumed command of the division, and Lieutenant-Colonel Tracy, of the Second Vermont, who was then the ranking officer of the brigade, took command of the brigade. Again the enemy assaulted the lines and were repulsed with great loss, and the left of the brigade suffered severely. The persistent and gallant resistance of the Sixth Corps, of which the brigade was a part, gave opportunity for proper preparations for the final stand in the engagement. Up to that time the tide had been against the Union forces, and the losses had been very heavy. The enemy now made a most determined attack, the Eighth and Sixth Corps receiving the heaviest of it; the whole line soon gave way and were pressed backward toward Newtown.

At this crisis General Sheridan made his memorable appearance on the field. Riding down the pike he halted in front of the Second Brigade and asked what troops they were. "The Sixth Corps!" "The Vermont Brigade!" was shouted simultaneously from the ranks. "Then we are all right!" he exclaimed, and swinging his hat over his head he rode away to the right amid the shouts of the men. Upon his return General Wright took command of the Sixth Corps, General Getty of the Second Division and General Grant of the Vermont Brigade. During the remainder of the engagement the Vermont Brigade shared in the heaviest of the fighting, holding a position much of the time far in advance of the other troops until the enemy was finally driven back and across Cedar Creek, their lines entirely broken up. Reaching Cedar Creek, the infantry was reorganized, and there also the Vermont Brigade, after a pursuit of the retreating enemy a distance of three miles, was found in advance of the remainder of the troops. The casualties in this engagement were two killed and seventeen wounded in the Fifth Regiment, and nine killed and seventy-four wounded in the Eleventh. Among the killed was Lieutenant Oscar Lee, of the Eleventh. Lieutenant Edward P. Lee, of the Eleventh, was among the wounded, and Lieutenant Thomas Kavanagh, of the Fifth.

The brigade moved to Strasburgh on October 21, and remained until the 9th of November; thence to Newtown, and thence on the 10th to Kearns town, where they performed picket duty until December 9. They were then transported to Washington and thence to City Point; thence to Meade's Station, and on the 13th moved out on the Squirrel Level Road to works occupied previously by the Fifth Corps. Here the brigade went into winter quarters; but the picket duty was very severe. On the 25th of March the corps as-



saulted an entrenched picket line of the enemy in front of Fort Fisher, and captured nearly the whole line. One man was killed in the Fifth Regiment and seven wounded; and in the Eleventh one killed and twelve wounded; one of the latter was Lieutenant Wm. G. Dickinson, of the Eleventh.

On the 2d day of April the Vermont Brigade was hotly engaged in the struggle which resulted in the evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond. In the night of the 1st the brigade moved out from camp and took position near the skirmish line entrenchments, which had been captured from the enemy a few days earlier. The Second Division was in the center of the Sixth Corps and the Vermont Brigade on the left of the division. At one o'clock the corps was in position and laid down to await the attack. About two o'clock a heavy fire was opened along the entire skirmish line, which was vigorously replied to by the enemy. During this fire Brevet Major-General L. A. Grant was wounded, and the command of the brigade devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Tracy, of the Second Regiment. At the signal agreed upon the brigade moved out of the entrenchments and pressed forward toward the enemy's line, driving in their skirmishers; then with a cheer the command charged forward towards the enemy's works five hundred yards distant. When half the distance was passed they were assailed by a heavy rain of musket-balls with an enfilading artillery fire from the forts on either hand. The line wavered momentarily, but again pushed on under terrific fire, all vying with each other in the race to be first at the works. The enemy could not withstand the assault and fled; two earth works, one on the right of a ravine, containing four guns, and the other on the left, with two guns, were captured. The honor of being first to break the enemy's line was awarded to the Vermont Brigade, and Captain Charles G. Gould is said to have been the first man of the Sixth Corps to mount the enemy's works. His regiment was in the first line of the brigade, and in the charge he was far in advance of his command. Upon mounting the works he was severely wounded in the face by a bayonet thrust and was struck by clubbed muskets; but he slew the man who wielded the bayonet, and retired only when his command had come to his assistance and the rebels were routed. Beyond the works the brigade was halted briefly to re-form, and then the pursuit of the flying enemy continued for about four miles near Hatcher's Run — a charge that must go down into history as one of the most brilliant and successful of the war. Nothing could withstand the onward-pressing troops. Brevet Major Elijah Wales, of the Second Regiment, with two men captured a piece of artillery, and turning it on the enemy, fired a charge which the rebels themselves had placed in the gun. Major Wm. J. Sperry, of the Sixth, and Lieutenant George A. Bailey, of the Eleventh, with a few men captured two guns and turned them on the routed enemy. Captain George G. Tilden, of the Eleventh, with about a dozen men captured two pieces, eleven commissioned officers and sixty-two men of the Forty-second



Mississippi. Sergeant Lester G. Hack, of Company F, Fifth Regiment, charged a squad of rebels surrounding a stand of colors, knocked down the bearer and captured the flag. Corporal Charles W. Dolloff, Company K, Eleventh Regiment, also captured a stand of colors; but there were too many deeds of individual heroism to mention here. About nine o'clock A. M. the brigade moved back along the line of works to a point about three miles south of Petersburg and formed in line of battle with the Eleventh on the right, the Second, Third, Fifth, Sixth and Fourth Regiments on its left, in the order named. An advance was made and a battery of artillery captured in the yard of the Turnbull House, where General Lee had his headquarters. Captain Robert Templeton, with a squad of men of the Eleventh, was conspicuous in planning and executing the feat. That night the brigade established its headquarters at the Turnbull House. The last stand of the enemy before Petersburg was ended.

The brigade joined in the pursuit of Lee, exhibiting the same endurance and patience on that hard march that had before characterized their movements. Reaching Farmville on the 7th, the brigade was detailed to guard supplies, and remained there until the surrender of Lee on the 9th. From there they returned to Burkesville Junction, where they remained until the 23d of April, when they left for Danville; here they remained until May 18, when they were transported to Manchester, Va., and there remained to the 24th. They then marched to Washington and remained in camp near Munson's Hill until mustered out. On the 28th of June the Vermont Brigade, one of the grandest organizations of the army, ceased to exist as an organization. Battalions of the Second, Third and Fourth Regiments, remaining in the service, were assigned to the Third Brigade, First Division of a Provisional Corps, and a battalion of the Eleventh Regiment was transferred to the defenses of Washington.

We have given this noble brigade liberally of our limited space, perhaps to the detriment of the records of other organizations; but the heroic service of this organization seems to demand that no less should be said; indeed it should be far more. Its full history is written in G. G. Benedict's excellent *Vermont in the Rebellion*, Vol. I.

The Seventh Regiment.—This organization made its rendezvous at Rutland and was mustered into the service on the 12th day of February, 1862. Company A was recruited mainly in Burlington, and the regiment received accessions from other towns of this county, as shown in the table. Company A went out under command of Captain David B. Peck, of Burlington, who rose to the rank of colonel. Edwin W. Trueworthy went out as assistant surgeon and was promoted to surgeon. Edward M. Knox, of Hinesburg, enlisted as private in Company A, was promoted to corporal, sergeant and first sergeant; re-enlisted February 29, 1864, and was promoted to first lieutenant Company A



October 28, 1864. Riley B. Stearns, of Burlington, enlisted as private in Company A, and was promoted to first sergeant February 12, 1862; promoted to first lieutenant Company A October 15, 1862, and honorably discharged May 15, 1865. Myron Owen, of Essex, a private in Company E was promoted to sergeant and commissioned first lieutenant March 1, 1866. Hiram B. Fish, of Jericho, commissioned second lieutenant January 14, 1862, resigned October 15, 1862.

This regiment was designated after it was raised for duty as a part of the expedition under General Butler, with New Orleans and vicinity for its field of action; but many of the regiment would have preferred to join the Army of the Potomac, with other Vermont regiments. Through efforts of General Butler, as believed, the regiment was placed under his command, much to its future sorrow. The regiment left for New York March 10, and after a long and uncomfortable voyage reached Ship Island early in April. Here the unjust conduct of the commanding general soon began with the arrest of the quartermaster upon a mere technicality. Little of importance occurred until May 1, when the Union forces occupied New Orleans and the regiment was soon afterwards ordered there. On the 16th of May the regiment reached Carrollton, eight miles from the city, where they were placed under command of Brigadier-General J. W. Phelps, the former colonel of the First Vermont Regiment; many of his old command were in the Seventh, and the reunion was a welcome one.¹

On the 6th of June the regiment was ordered to Baton Rouge, but did not reach there until the 15th. On the 19th orders were received to embark on transports and take part in a campaign against Vicksburg under General Williams. The force with which the capture of the city was expected to be accomplished, numbered only about 3,500 men. Vicksburg was reached on the 25th, and there Colonel Roberts rejoined the regiment and took command. Much sickness followed, and the regiment set to work on the famous "cut off," which resulted in a failure. In his history of the Seventh Regiment, Colonel William C. Holbrook refers to this period as follows: "After a majority of our entire command had been brought down with malarial diseases, from inhaling the fumes and vapors which arose from the soil as it was excavated and exposed to the air and sun, a large auxiliary force of negroes, gathered from the surrounding country, was set to work. But notwithstanding, the expedition was a failure. The river persisted in falling, and we were not able to dig fast enough to keep pace with it, and so, much to our relief, we were ordered to abandon the enterprise."

Sickness in the regiment increased until, after the first fortnight, there were seldom one hundred men fit for duty, while almost every day one or two died.

¹ General Phelps was finally forced to resign, chiefly on account of the persecution of General Butler; a long controversy followed, which was ended by a court of inquiry. The officers of the regiment were fully exonerated.



The main body of the expedition left Vicksburg on the evening of the 24th, the Seventh Regiment forming the rear guard. This organization, which had started out thirty-six days previous nearly eight hundred strong, had now less than one hundred fit for duty, and at a review that occurred a few days before the battle of Baton Rouge, two or three of the companies were not represented at all, their services being needed in burying the dead.

The battle of Baton Rouge was fought on the 5th of August. The action opened with firing from rebel skirmishers immediately in front of the Seventh, before light in the early morning. This was followed by a general attack, and the Union forces being outnumbered, they were driven from stand to stand and finally forced to fall back on the main body, when the action became general. At this stage of the engagement there seems to have been no good understanding of the character of the attack; the Seventh Regiment was drawn up in line of battle in front of its camp, and while awaiting further orders the firing on the left became very heavy. Colonel Roberts moved the regiment in that direction through the prevailing fog and smoke. Here the men were subjected to the somewhat indiscriminate firing of artillery in the rear, and to prevent casualties from this cause, Colonel Roberts moved his regiment back to its former position. It was during this movement that the brave colonel fell. When the regiment reached its former position the battle was raging furiously in its front and that of the Twenty-first Indiana. The fog and smoke were almost impenetrable to sight. Colonel Roberts had hesitated to order his men to begin firing lest the Indiana men should be hit, and at this juncture General Williams rode up in a somewhat excited manner and peremptorily ordered firing to open; the colonel promptly gave the order. Only a few volleys had been fired when it was learned that the Indiana regiment was suffering from it, as Colonel Roberts had feared would be the result; he therefore did not hesitate to give the order to cease firing. This was his last command, as he immediately fell with a severe wound in his neck; he died on the 7th, two days after the battle. The consensus of all authentic reports indicates that the Seventh Regiment performed its part in this engagement with honor to itself and to the State.

Baton Rouge was evacuated on the 20th of August, and the Seventh Regiment returned to Carrollton. This was another most unhealthy locality, and soon acquired the title of "the camp of death." On the 26th Lieutenant-Colonel Fullam resigned and William C. Holbrook was made colonel. Captains Peck and Porter were promoted, the former to lieutenant-colonel and the latter to major of the regiment. Sickness prevailed in the regiment so as to practically unfit it for duty; but they were forced to remain in the Carrollton camp until September 30, when a movement was made to Camp Kearney, a slightly more wholesome locality a short distance below. On the 4th of November the regiment was transferred to New Orleans, and on the 13th

of that month embarked for Pensacola, Fla. Here the climate and salubrious air soon improved the condition of the men. In Colonel Holbrook's history of the regiment is given the following tabular statement of deaths in the regiment from 1862 to 1866 inclusive, showing how great a mortality from sickness was reached in the first year, as compared with the casualties of subsequent years :

	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	Total.
Commissioned Officers.....	4	2	1	..	..	7
Non-Commissioned Officers.....	1	..	1	..	..	2
Company A.....	26	1	2	3	1	33
Company B.....	32	2	9	2	..	45
Company C.....	14	5	..	4	..	23
Company D.....	20	3	1	3	..	27
Company E.....	36	1	4	7	..	48
Company F.....	24	..	3	3	..	30
Company G.....	31	6	5	3	..	45
Company H.....	44	5	4	4	..	57
Company I.....	37	3	3	4	..	47
Company K.....	26	3	6	8	..	43
Total.....	295	31	39	41	1	407

The active service of the regiment until spring consisted principally of scouting and armed reconnoissances, in which there was more or less skirmishing. On the 20th of February the regiment proceeded to Fort Pickens, on Santa Rosa Island, and on the 28th of March companies A, D and G were detailed for duty as artillerists in this fort. In June Colonel Holbrook was placed in command of the troops of Western Florida, and the regiment, excepting the three companies named, was transferred to Barrancas, where a pleasant camp was established and named "Camp Roberts," in honor of the dead colonel.

On the 10th of September an accident of a serious nature occurred at the fort. The picket line had been repeatedly fired upon in front of the fort and the gunners were in training to get the range of the woods whence the firing came, when an eight-inch howitzer exploded while being served by a detachment of Company I; Private Robert Ripley of Company I had his right arm blown off and died within a few days, and Private James B. Royce was blown into the air and picked up for dead; to every one's surprise, however, he survived, with a badly shattered left arm, and other injuries. During the month of September yellow fever was developed in that region and on the 5th of November Corporal Lucius O. Wilkins, of Company B, died of the disease, and on the 17th Lieutenant Rollin M. Green, one of the best officers in the regiment, was stricken down.

The winter passed without occurrence of especial moment. On the 13th of February, 1864, 110 recruits were added to the regiment and during the same month all of the enlisted men of the regiment remaining from those originally mustered in, excepting fifty-eight, re-enlisted for three years or during the war; this action entitled them to a thirty days' furlough, which was enjoyed in a trip to their homes, occupying the period between August 10th and September 30th. Returning, New Orleans was reached by the regiment for the second time, on the 13th of October. While stationed here they were employed principally in guard duty. On the 19th of February, 1865, the regi-

ment were ordered to Mobile Point, to take part in the operations against that city. The regiment was assigned to Brigadier-General Benton's division of the Thirteenth Corps, and on the 17th of March began a march to flank the defenses of Mobile on the western shore and operate against those on the eastern shore. This march, which was one of almost unparalleled difficulties in the way of mud, rain and exposure, continued until the 23d, when the regiment went into camp on the north fork of Fish River. On the 25th another forward movement was made, which continued through the 26th, involving considerable skirmishing with the enemy. On the 27th preparations were made to attack the "Spanish Fort." Benton's Division, embracing the Seventh, moved forward in the morning, each regiment in line of battle, directly towards the fort, with other corps on the right and left. The brigade to which the Seventh was attached was not halted until within six hundred yards of the rebel earthworks, and midway between the old Spanish Fort and Red Fort, the guns of which commanded the position through a long ravine. Here the regiment lay all day long, exposed to a heavy fire of musketry and artillery. The men lay on the ground most of the time. Soon after the first halt in the morning Captain Salmon Dutton was ordered with his company (G) to relieve a portion of the skirmish line. He remained out until after nightfall, several of his men being wounded, when he was relieved by Captain George E. Croft, with Company D. They were in turn relieved by Companies I and H, both of which were exposed to heavy firing during the day. During the 28th the regiment was exposed to heavy shelling at a point a little in rear, where it had camped after being relieved by the Ninety-first Illinois. On the evening of the 28th Companies F (Captain Edgar M. Bullard) and C (Captain Henry Stowell) were ordered on the skirmish line, with instructions to advance as far as possible, entrenching as they proceeded. This duty was thoroughly performed. From this time to April 12 the siege of the fort progressed with the utmost vigor and determination, and every day the Seventh Regiment was engaged in dangerous picket duty, labor in trenches or repelling sorties by the enemy. We cannot here enter into the details of all of these operations, which are graphically described in Colonel Holbrook's history of the regiment. The chief occurrence in the Seventh was the capture of Captain R. B. Stearns with twenty men on the skirmish line on the night of the 31st, where he had with great bravery maintained a most dangerous position. Captain Stearns was paroled and sent to the parole camp, Vicksburg. After thirteen days of active operations the fort was abandoned and the works occupied by the Union forces on the 8th of April.

Early in the morning of the 9th the regiment was ordered to Blakely, which had been, since April 2, besieged by General Steele and his force from Pensacola. As the regiment drew near Steele's line heavy firing was heard, and the rebel works were subsequently assaulted and carried; but the Seventh

was not permitted to share directly in it. On the morning of the 11th the regiment marched to Stark's Landing, where they embarked on transports. During this movement news of the fall of Richmond reached the troops. On the 12th they proceeded to Mobile city, where arrangements were already completed to turn the city over to the Union forces. The following morning the Seventh formed part of a force sent in pursuit of the fleeing rebel troops. They marched rapidly to a place on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad called Whistler, the Seventh being in advance of the Fiftieth Indiana. They were soon under a heavy fire, the enemy occupying a slight eminence beyond a marsh across which was a bridge; this bridge had been fired and the Ninety-first Illinois in attempting to pass the marsh became fairly stalled. Colonel Holbrook attempted, but unsuccessfully, to re-form the Indiana regiment, and then brought forward the Seventh, which rushed ahead under a heavy fire and were soon at the bridge. Here they were changed into column and hurried across the still burning bridge. Line of battle was again formed and firing began; but the enemy was soon forced to precipitate retreat.

The regiment remained at Whistler until the 19th, when they were marched to a point on the Tombigbee River about forty miles from Mobile, where they went into camp. Here news of the assassination of the president reached them. Although Lee surrendered on the 9th and Johnson on the 27th, operations in the southwest continued. On the 2d of May the division to which the Seventh was attached returned to Mobile. Colonel Holbrook resigned on the 2d of June, and from that time until their return north the regiment was in service in Texas. The command under Lieutenant-Colonel Peck sailed for Brazos, where they arrived June 5, and went into camp, remaining until the 14th, when they moved to the Rio Grande. On the 14th of July the one-year recruits were mustered out. August 2 the regiment marched to Brownsville, about thirty miles up the river, and remained there in camp until mustered out in March, 1866, at Brownsville. The regiment proceeded to New Orleans, and thence to Brattleboro and home, where they were tendered an imposing reception.

The Ninth Regiment.—This organization was mustered into the service the 9th of July, 1862, for three years, and did gallant service under command of Colonel George J. Stannard, of Burlington. Company F received large accessions from this county and there were scattering enlistments in other companies and from nearly every town in the county, as shown in the foregoing table. Hinesburg furnished the largest number to the regiment. There were comparatively few enlistments in the regiment from Burlington.

Of the officers in the regiment from this county were the following: Herman Seligson, of Burlington, who went out as first lieutenant of Company C; promoted to captain January 1, 1863; commissioned lieutenant-colonel July 3, 1865.



Henry D. Belden, of Burlington, private Company F; made first sergeant July 9, 1862; sergeant-major March 13, 1863; wounded September 29, 1864; commissioned adjutant October 19, 1864.

Francis O. Sawyer, Burlington, quartermaster, and promoted captain and A. Q. M. August 15, 1864.

B. Walter Carpenter, surgeon, from Burlington.

Elias L. Brownell, Essex, private Company F, rose to first sergeant and promoted second lieutenant December 22, 1863; first lieutenant March 13, 1865.

George A. Beebe, Burlington, captain of Company F, died August 10, 1862, of fever.

John T. Bascom, Milton, went as a private in Company C of the Second Regiment; was made second lieutenant Company F, Ninth Regiment, June 25, 1862; first lieutenant December 22, 1863, and captain May 8, 1864.

Eugene Viele, Hinesburg, first lieutenant Company F June 25, 1862; captain December 22, 1863.

John W. Thomas, Burlington, a private of Company F, was promoted to sergeant July 9, 1862, and to sergeant-major January 1, 1865; second lieutenant March 13, 1865; transferred to Company B by consolidation of regiment and made first lieutenant July 3, 1865.

Theodore S. Peck, Burlington, regimental quartermaster-sergeant July 9, 1862; second lieutenant Company C January 8, 1863; first lieutenant June 10, 1864, and captain and A. Q. M. March 11, 1865.

James Henry Vancor, Jericho, a private in Company C, rose by successive promotion to first sergeant August 8, 1865, and was commissioned second lieutenant November 17, 1865.

The Ninth Regiment made its rendezvous at Brattleboro, whence they departed for the front on the 15th of July, 1862. Their first camp was in the vicinity of Fairfax Court-House, Va., but after about two weeks they removed to Winchester, where they remained six weeks. After the battle of Antietam was fought the regiment moved to Bolivar Heights, at Harper's Ferry, and was embraced in the large Union force that was captured by General Miles on the 15th of September, and on the 16th proceeded to Camp Parole, at Annapolis, Md. From there the regiment was sent to Chicago, arriving on the 28th; they were camped at what was called Camp Tyler until the 10th of December, when they moved to Camp Douglas, remaining until January 9, 1863, when they were exchanged. From that date to April 1 the regiment was employed in guarding prisoners; on the latter date a large body of prisoners was taken by the regiment to City Point. They then moved to Camp Hamilton at Fortress Monroe, remaining, however, but a few days, when they marched to Suffolk and participated in the siege at that point; thence they moved to Bottom's Bridge and then to Yorktown, reaching there a little before the 1st of November, 1863.



The regiment remained stationed at Yorktown until the 24th of October, suffering during that period very severely with malarial diseases, which were prevalent in that locality. Thus far in its career the regiment had seen little of actual battle in the field; but the unusual sickness which attacked the men at Yorktown was far more demoralizing than would have been an active campaign. At one time out of three hundred and fifty men present, but thirty-six privates were fit for duty.

On the 24th of October the regiment sailed for Newbern, arriving on the 29th, and were ordered into Newport barracks, at the junction of the coast mail route with the railroad, where they performed garrison and picket duty with ten detached companies of artillery and cavalry, Colonel E. H. Ripley, of the Ninth, in command of the post.

On the 12th of November a detachment of one hundred men went on a reconnoissance to Cedar Point, N. C., twenty miles distant, returning on the 15th. On the 1st of December the regiment met with a severe loss in the death of Major Charles Jarvis, who died of wounds received in a skirmish.

On the 31st of January the regiment formed part of a body of troops under Colonel Jourdan in an expedition into Onslow county, N. C., and returned after an arduous march of seventy-five miles in the mud, having captured a lieutenant and twenty-seven privates.

On the 2d day of February the enemy made an advance upon Newport with about 2,000 infantry, 400 cavalry, and a dozen pieces of artillery. The outposts, then held by Companies H and B, were first attacked, followed by an attack upon the barracks. At the time of the first attack the new recruits which had joined the regiment were still unarmed, and the Ninth itself numbered less than 200 muskets. But arms were placed in the hands of the new recruits; before they became engaged they were hurriedly instructed in loading, and with their pockets filled with cartridges, were taken on the skirmish line. A gallant resistance was made to the attack and the position held until dark, when the regiment was forced to fall back across the bridges, and burn them to escape capture; the command then retired to Morehead City by way of Beaufort. In this affair the regiment lost two lieutenants and sixty-four men in killed, wounded and missing. The official reports give the Ninth great credit for efficient service. On the 16th of March Major Amasa Bartlett died. He went out as captain of Company E, and had but a short time previous received his well-earned promotion. On the 26th of April Captain Kelley, Company B, with twenty men, captured a fishing party of six on Bogue Bank, sent out by the rebel commissary department, and on the 29th, with forty men, he made a dash into Swansboro, capturing a lieutenant and sixteen men, with horses and stores. On the 20th of June a march of seventy-five miles was made into the interior with the object of cutting the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad. On the 11th of July four companies under Major Brooks were ordered to Newbern and assigned to



duty on the various outposts, and during the succeeding ten days the remainder of the regiment followed.

On the 31st of August the regiment was ordered to Bermuda Hundreds and they soon entered upon a more active campaign. They arrived on the 15th of September and were assigned to the First Brigade, Second Division of the Eighteenth Corps. On the 17th the regiment was joined by 170 recruits, bringing its effective strength up to nearly 875.

On the 29th of September the battle was fought at Chapin's Farm. The regiment broke camp at 1 o'clock A. M. and crossed the James River at Aiken's Landing at daybreak. The advance of four miles to Chapin's Farm was made where the brigade (comprising the Eighth Maine and the Ninth Vermont Regiments) was ordered to charge one of the rebel works at that point. The Maine Regiment became entangled in a swamp and the Ninth made the charge alone, over a half mile of rough, brush-covered ground, carried the work and captured two guns and about fifty prisoners. The regiment was under fire the entire day, and every man behaved with the utmost bravery. The casualties were seven killed and thirty-eight wounded.

The Ninth Regiment remained stationed in this vicinity, with some unimportant changes, until the evacuation of Richmond. On the 27th of October they participated in the engagement on Williamsburgh road (Fair Oaks), fully sustaining the record for bravery already acquired by them. Early in November the regiment was transferred to New York city, where they performed excellent service during the troubled times of the election of that year, and on the 17th of November they returned to the brigade. During this time Colonel Ripley was in command of the brigade; in December he resumed command of the regiment.

When the reorganization of army corps occurred in December, the Ninth was attached to the Second Brigade, Third Division, Twenty-fourth Corps. At the inspection of regiments under general orders of January 17, 1865, to determine which were the best regiments in brigades and divisions, the Ninth Vermont gained the post of honor in its division. On the 20th of February the regiment was first pronounced the best in the brigade, and under provisions of a general order was excused from all picket and outside detail for one week. On the 6th of March they were again pronounced the best in the brigade, and excused again from all picket and outside duty for a week, and on the 10th of March, after careful inspection at division headquarters, they were announced in orders to be the best regiment in the division—a division comprising twenty regiments and which was, in the opinion of the corps commander, "as completely fitted for the field as a command could well be," and the regiment was again excused from details for an additional week. The officers and men of the regiment were justly proud of the distinction thus obtained, not merely on their own account, but for the honor thereby conferred upon their State.



Before the period had terminated during which the regiment had been excused from details, the men of the regiment made application to be allowed to again go upon duty to relieve their comrades of the brigade whose duties were rendered exceedingly arduous by the excuse of this regiment. This act of genuine good-will called forth another complimentary order from division headquarters.

The regiment was one of the first to enter Richmond after its evacuation and was stationed at that city until mustered out. On the 13th of June the original members of the regiment and the recruits whose terms of service were to expire before the 1st of October, were mustered out. The remaining members of the regiment were consolidated into a battalion of four companies, which was stationed at Richmond for a time, and then moved to Portsmouth, Va., and mustered out December 1, 1865.

The Tenth Regiment. — This regiment was recruited simultaneously with the Eleventh, and both were raised with unexampled rapidity. The foregoing table shows the enlistments in the regiment from Chittenden county, the majority of Company D being from Burlington and Hinesburg, although almost all of the towns contributed to it. The regiment was mustered into service on the 1st day of September, 1862, with 1,016 officers and men under Colonel Albert B. Jewett, and left the State September 6.

Following is the record of the officers in the regiment who were from this county: Wyllys Lyman, of Burlington, adjutant, August 8, 1862; severely wounded October 19, 1864; major, January 2, 1865; commissioned lieutenant-colonel June 15, 1865.

James M. Read, Burlington, went out as private in Company D, and was promoted to sergeant September 1, 1862, and to second lieutenant June 17, 1864; wounded October 19, 1864; promoted first lieutenant Company E December 19, 1864; brevet captain for gallantry in the assault on Petersburg April 2, 1865; commissioned adjutant January 2, 1865; died from wounds April 2, 1865.

Giles F. Appleton, Burlington, commissioned captain Company D August 5, 1862; resigned January 26, 1863.

Samuel Darrah, Burlington, first lieutenant Company D August 5, 1862; commissioned captain January 26, 1863; killed near Cold Harbor, Va., June 6, 1864.

George E. Davis, Burlington, second lieutenant Company D August 5, 1862; promoted first lieutenant January 26, 1863; wounded September 19, 1864 and October 19, 1864; commissioned captain November 2, 1864.

Henry C. Irish, Burlington, went as private in Company D, and was promoted corporal September 1, 1862, and first sergeant January 1, 1864; wounded severely September 19, 1864; commissioned second lieutenant December 19, 1864; discharged May 9, 1865, for wounds.



The Tenth Regiment proceeded to Washington, arriving on the 8th of September, and the next day occupied Camp Chase on Arlington Heights. There is little that we feel called upon to record in our limited space, of the work of the regiment during its first winter, excepting that it passed through a period of sickness from which many of the men suffered severely.

On the 24th of June the regiment moved to Harper's Ferry and went into camp on Maryland Heights. June 30 this position was evacuated and the regiment marched to Frederick, Md., and during the battle of Gettysburg lay at Monocacy Bridge (July 1-3), and on the 9th joined the Army of the Potomac. Severe marches of several days brought the regiment to Sharpsburgh, the last day's tramp being in a burning sun which left scarcely a battalion in the brigade when it came to a halt. More severe marches followed, and on the 26th of July the regiment reached Warrenton and a halt of five days was made in that vicinity. Beginning with August 1, the regiment lay for five weeks near the famous sulphur springs of Virginia, with light duties. On the 7th of September the Third Corps was reviewed by General Meade. September 13 the brigade crossed the Rapidan, but Meade's contemplated battle was postponed, and the command was again idle twenty-three days.

The active movements, though not of great importance, which occurred from this time to the 19th of October, need not be detailed here; on that date, while Lee had begun his retreat along the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, the brigade was in pursuit. The railroad was destroyed for thirty miles; but the Tenth aided in its energetic reconstruction, and on the 19th it was done and the rebel army was faced by the Union forces on the Rappahannock. The enemy was again driven, the Tenth doing duty in support of artillery; after dark the corps crossed the Rappahannock and the next morning advanced up the river, continuing the next day to Culpepper. From the 14th of November for one week the regiment remained here.

On the 26th the whole army was again on the move, and the Tenth Regiment crossed the Rapidan. The next day was fought the engagement at Orange Grove. In this battle the Tenth bore a conspicuous part; it was, moreover, its first real engagement, which renders its conduct still more admirable. A brilliant charge to dislodge the enemy posted behind a fence was made by the Tenth, which was especially complimented in subsequent orders. Colonel Jewett, Major Charles G. Chandler and Captain Samuel Darrah were personally mentioned for bravery.

On the following night the army was headed toward the Rapidan, and the Tenth Regiment was placed on picket far toward the front. Here they lay until two o'clock of the morning of December 2, when they cautiously crept away to escape the shots of the rebel sharpshooters who were near at hand. On the same day a march of twenty-three miles was made to Brandy Station. Here the regiment lay through the winter without especial incident. About the mid-



dle of March the Third Corps was broken up and the Tenth Regiment became a part of the First Brigade, Third Division in the Sixth Corps. Most of the members were satisfied with the change, as it would associate them, although in another division, with the famous "Vermont Brigade." The other regiments of the new brigade were the Eighty-seventh Pennsylvania, the One Hundred and Sixth New York, the One Hundred and First New York, and the Fourteenth New Jersey.

On the 25th of April Colonel Jewett resigned, much to the regret of the regiment, and a few days later, on the 4th of May, began the movement which opened the great battles of the wilderness. From this date until the 18th, through the Wilderness fight and at Spottsylvania, the regiment was under fire every day, and yet its losses from surrounding circumstances were comparatively small. On the second day of the battle the First Brigade was held in reserve; one officer and six men were killed in the brigade and twenty-one taken prisoners, and not a gun fired by them. This is one of the severest tests of the soldier's courage. During the three days' fighting the regiment lost only three killed and nine wounded; but its services were none the less important.

In the first three days at Spottsylvania the position of the Third Division was on the right of the corps, on a crest from which their line extended into a valley, and although constantly under fire, the losses were not heavy. On the 11th the Tenth Regiment was placed on the skirmish line. On the 12th the corps was moved to the left to support General Hancock in his famous assault, but was held in reserve, and the losses were not heavy — twenty-three killed and 133 wounded during the entire action. On the morning of the 13th the Third Division took its old position on the right, and on the following day the corps was moved around to the extreme left of the army. A charge was made by the First Brigade at dusk on the 4th, the men wading the Ny River to their arm-pits, and gallantly carrying the crest of a hill which had been stubbornly held by the rebels against a brigade of the First Division. From that time until the 21st the brigade was not brought into serious collision with the enemy, and then while withdrawing from the works to cross the North Anna, the First and Second Divisions were struck on the flank and a number of prisoners captured; the rebels were quickly driven into retreat.

At Cold Harbor on the 1st and 3d of June the Tenth Regiment and its immediate associates were engaged and suffered severely. In the engagement the First Brigade was on the left of the division. The advance at this point was made through a belt of pine woods where the enemy had erected slight works. Sergeant, afterward Captain, S. H. Lewis, of the Tenth, sprang over these works and single-handed captured a major, a lieutenant and several men; and later the regiment captured the entire Fifty-first North Carolina Regiment. On the 3d of June, in the general assault on the rebel line, the Tenth



suffered severely; on the 6th Captain Samuel Darrah, of Burlington, was killed by a sharpshooter. In these engagements the regiment lost 27 killed and 140 wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Henry was wounded on the 1st and the command of the regiment devolved upon Major Charles G. Chandler. Lieutenants Ezra Stetson and Charles G. Newton were killed on the 1st, and on the 3d Captain Edwin B. Frost was killed.

The Tenth had now acquired the experience of veterans and had uniformly acquitted itself with honor, as shown by the published reports. At sundown on the 13th the regiment crossed the Chickahominy and on the 15th embarked on transports for City Point; without disembarking there they proceeded to Bermuda Hundreds, arriving on the 16th. Here a position was occupied in rear of Butler's fortified line. On the 19th of June the regiment crossed the Appomattox and moved around to the rear of Petersburg. On the 22d and 23d they took part in the well-known raid on the Weldon Railroad, but without loss, and on the 6th of July the Third Division was detached from the Sixth Corps of the Army of the Potomac and ordered to Harper's Ferry, to meet the rebel advance into Maryland. The division went *via* City Point and Baltimore and at eight o'clock of the 9th was at Monocacy Junction, where it shared in the battle that ensued. In this engagement, the details of which are too lengthy for these pages, the Tenth was actively engaged and lost 4 killed and 26 wounded. The night of the 9th the regiment marched to New Market, where it joined the division, and the next day was sent to the Relay House, and on the 11th to Baltimore.

On the 14th of July the regiment took the railroad for Washington and the next day marched on through Georgetown, crossed the Potomac on the 16th and camped on the Leesburg pike. On the evening of the 17th the regiment joined the remainder of the Sixth Corps and the next day marched through Snicker's Gap and reached the Shenandoah River. The 20th the rebels on the opposite side of the river having disappeared, the regiment crossed and the same night reformed the stream and started for Washington and thence to Harper's Ferry. Another severe march brought the regiment to Frederick, where it remained to the 5th of August, when it moved to Monocacy Junction, where the Shenandoah valley campaign was inaugurated.

The movements in which the Tenth took part in the valley, up to the battle of Winchester, cannot be followed in detail; they are matters of general history. The battle of Winchester was fought September 19. Orders reached this brigade on the 18th to be ready to march at a moment's notice, and early on the following morning the troops were on the move. In the engagement the Third Division was in the front line of battle, and in the onset were thrown into confusion and became mingled with the second, with which they then moved forward. The battle waged hot and at one time seemed lost, but General Russell, with the First Division and Upton's Brigade, came up and



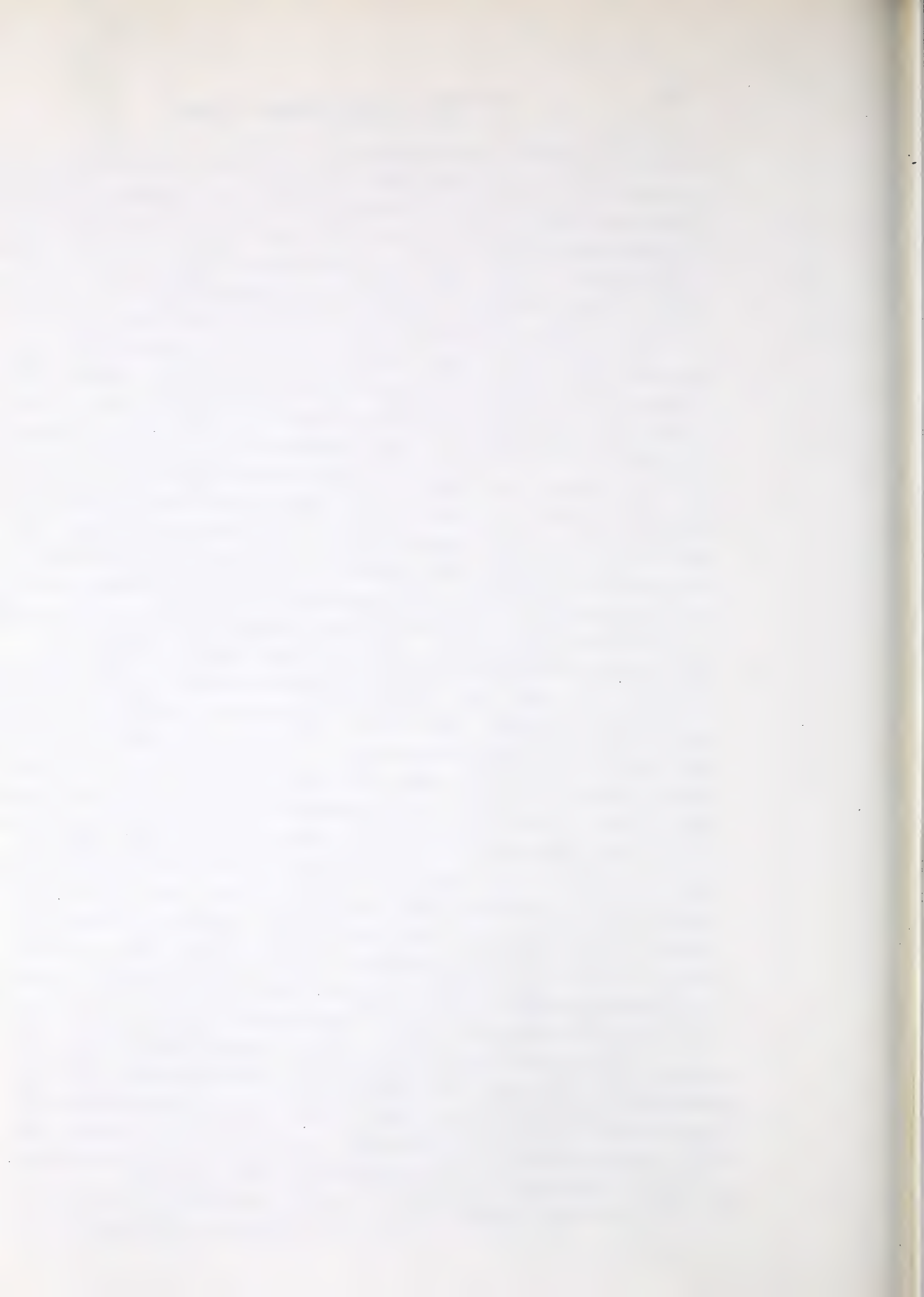
charged the enemy on the flank, driving them back. General Russell was killed. At three o'clock the enemy had taken a new position near Winchester, where they were vigorously attacked by Crook's command, with Merritt's and Averill's divisions of cavalry on the flank, and the main army in front, with Sheridan cheering them on. A simultaneous charge was made in front, flank and rear, and the enemy broke and fled through the town in hopeless rout. Among the killed in the Tenth was Major Edwin Dillingham, a brave officer. Lieutenant Hill was wounded and died a few weeks later in hospital.

The engagement at Fisher's Hill followed closely on the 21st, 22d. Here the enemy was posted on the crest of the hill behind lines of works. On the evening of the 20th the Sixth Corps filed into the woods north of Strasburgh and lay there over night; the 21st was spent in reconnoitering the position. The next day the Third Division formed the extreme right of the army; Sheridan's line covered a mile and a half in length, but was not continuous; thus the opposing armies confronted each other on the morning of the 22d. General Crook was sent on a flank movement, to cover which the Third Division was swung out from the right, cleared away the rebel skirmishers and formed a line threatening their flank. The following narration of the actual incidents of the engagement is from Chaplain Haynes's history of the regiment:

"Say now it is four o'clock. Crook has toiled with his command westward up the steep side of the Blue Ridge, and then moved south far enough to gain the rear of the rebel works; then, facing east, crawled stealthily yet rapidly to his assigned position. He is now in the edge of the timber, his whole column lapping the enemy's flank, ready to rush upon his rear. An instant more, wholly unexpected, he dashes out and leaps forward. At the same time Ricketts's Division, seconding Crook's command from the position taken in the morning, and, in anticipation of this very thing, sprang forward, quickly traversed the field before them, mounted the rebel works in front and cleared them instantly. The work here was done. The rebels, those who did not at once yield themselves as prisoners, fled terrified, leaving everything that might encumber their flight. In the mean time the troops on our left were nobly carrying out their part of the programme. Under a heavier storm of deadly missiles—and they were under it, for it was quite impossible that the rebels should keep up a perfect range on this uneven ground—they rapidly closed in and helped to complete the victory. For the enemy it was a terrible rout.

. . . . We captured sixteen pieces of artillery, sixteen stand of colors, and eleven hundred prisoners. Our division claimed to have captured four hundred prisoners and six pieces of artillery. The Tenth Regiment lost only five wounded and less than that number killed. Captain John A. Hicks, acting on the First Brigade staff from this regiment, was severely wounded."

After the succeeding operations in the valley, principally by the cavalry arm, the Sixth Corps started on the march for Washington on the 10th of Oc-



tober, but returned in time to take part in the battle of Cedar Creek. In that battle, fought on the 10th, the Tenth Regiment was engaged with seventeen officers and two hundred and sixty men. It shared in the heaviest fighting of the day and suffered casualties to the number of fourteen killed and sixty-six wounded. Among the killed were Captain Lucian D. Thompson, and the brave color-sergeant, William Mahoney, one of the first to reach the enemy's guns, who fell in the final charge. Among the wounded were Adjutant Wyllys Lyman, First Lieutenant George E. Davis, and Second Lieutenant James M. Read, of Company D; Second Lieutenant B. Brooks Clark, Company E, who subsequently died of his wounds; Captain Chester F. Nye, Company F; First Lieutenant William White, and Second Lieutenant Charles W. Wheeler, Company I; First Lieutenant George P. Welch and Second Lieutenant Austin W. Fuller, Company K.

The regiment moved to City Point and went into camp near Warren Station, on the 5th of December. In this immediate vicinity they remained, without important action, until the 25th of March, when the grand closing movement of the army began. On that date 230 of the Tenth participated in an attack on the enemy's picket lines in front of Forts Fisher and Welch, losing two killed and four wounded. On the 2d of April the regiment assisted in the assault on the field-works in front of Fort Welch, the brigade making a rapid advance through abattis and over rough ground, capturing line after line of strong earthworks and many prisoners. It was a day of trying service, and the colors of this division which were first inside of the captured works, were those of the Tenth. The casualties were three killed and forty-one wounded. Among the latter was Adjutant James M. Read, of Burlington, who died four days later, winning undying honors as a brave officer and a martyr to his country. Major Wyllys Lyman received especial mention by the commanding officer as having been the first to enter the rebel works with the color-bearer.

From Petersburg the regiment marched with the Sixth Corps to Sailor's Creek, where it was engaged on the 6th of April, taking active part in the decisive flank movement which closed the action. The regiment then marched to Appomattox Court House, where the rebel army surrendered on the 9th of April; thence they returned to Burkesville Station, and thence to Danville, where they remained three weeks. At the end of this time they proceeded to Washington *via* Richmond, and went into camp near Ball's Cross Roads; here they remained until mustered out. The original members of the regiment, and the recruits whose terms of service would expire before October 1, 1865, were mustered out on the 22d of June and arrived at Burlington on the 27th. The remainder of the regiment were transferred to the Fifth and were mustered out with that regiment on the 29th of June.

Twelfth Regiment.— This regiment was recruited for nine months and was mustered into the service October 4, 1863. As stated on an earlier page, the



original Howard Guards, of Burlington, went out in almost their original form as Company C, of the Twelfth. The following officers of the regiment were from Chittenden county: Lemuel W. Page, commissioned captain August 23, 1862; mustered out July 14, 1863. Heman R. Wing, commissioned first lieutenant August 23, 1862; mustered out July 14, 1863. William Loomis, commissioned first lieutenant January 23, 1863; he went out as second lieutenant of Company C, and was mustered out with the regiment. George G. Benedict went as a private in Company C; commissioned second lieutenant January 23, 1863, and mustered out with the regiment. George H. Bigelow, regimental quartermaster-sergeant, commissioned second lieutenant May 15, 1863; mustered out with the regiment.

This regiment was brigaded, during its term of service, with the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth, and will be further alluded to in connection with those organizations.

Thirteenth Regiment.— This regiment was mustered into the service October 10, 1862. It received large accessions from Chittenden county, as seen by the preceding table. The officers in the regiment from this county were as follows: Joseph Sargent, Williston, chaplain; died April 20, 1863. Wm. D. Munson, Colchester, captain Company D; wounded July 3, 1863; commissioned lieutenant-colonel May 5, 1863. John Lonergon, captain Company A. George Bascom, Milton, first lieutenant Company D, September 6, 1862; commissioned captain June 4, 1863. John L. Yale, Williston, captain Company F, resigned February 6, 1863. Lucius H. Bostwick, Jericho, first lieutenant Company F; commissioned captain March 3, 1863. Justin Naramore, Underhill, second lieutenant Company F, commissioned first lieutenant March 3, 1863. Wm. L. Blake, Milton, private in Company D, promoted to sergeant October 10, 1862; commissioned second lieutenant February 23, 1863. John M. Rolfe, Colchester, second lieutenant Company D, resigned January 30, 1863. Arnold C. Fay, Richmond, private Company F, promoted first sergeant October 10, 1862; second lieutenant March 3, 1863.

The Fourteenth Regiment.— This organization was mustered into the service October 21, 1862. Company I received eighteen recruits from Charlotte, and Company G twenty-eight from Hinesburg. There were no other enlistments in the regiment from this county. Azro M. Plant, of Burlington, went out as assistant surgeon and was mustered out with the regiment. John H. Allen, of Hinesburg, was captain of Company G. Milo A. Williams, of Charlotte, was second lieutenant of Company I and promoted to first lieutenant January 16, 1863.

The Fifteenth and Sixteenth Regiments of nine months' men, which with the Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth constituted the brigade, did not include recruits from Chittenden county. These regiments were brigaded together as the Second Vermont Brigade and placed under command of Briga-



dier-General Edwin H. Stoughton. He was soon after captured, when the command was assumed by Colonel Asa P. Blunt, of the Twelfth Regiment. In April, 1863, Brigadier-General George J. Stannard was assigned to the command and held it until the expiration of the term of service of the brigade.

Until June, 1863, the brigade was stationed in front of Washington, the various regiments being located in the vicinity of Fairfax Station and Wolf Run Shoals, and engaged principally in picket duty. On the 25th of June the brigade left the line of works, under orders to report to Major-General Reynolds, commanding the First Corps. On the evening of July 1 the brigade joined that corps at Gettysburg, after an exhausting march of seven days, during which they made more than one hundred and twenty-five miles. The Twelfth and Fifteenth Regiments were ordered to the rear to protect wagon trains and did not participate in the battles of the 2d and 3d, although the Fifteenth, under Colonel Proctor, was advanced to the field after the first order to the rear; to the Twelfth and Fifteenth the order was given that the regiment numbering the most men should go to the front, and the Fifteenth slightly out-counted the Twelfth, but the service of the latter proved fully as important as that of the other; the Fifteenth being again sent to the rear the next day. On the evening of the 2d of July the remaining regiments of the brigade were moved to the front line, to fill the place of troops that had been shattered by the onslaughts of the enemy. To give the reader an idea of the very important and gallant service of this brigade in the Gettysburg battle of the 3d we cannot do better than reproduce a portion of the official report of General Stannard, as follows :

“ Before reaching the ground, the Twelfth and Fifteenth Regiments were detached by order of General Reynolds as a guard to the corps wagon train in the rear. The Fifteenth rejoined the brigade next morning, but was again ordered back for the same duty about noon of that day. After the opening of the battle of the 2d the left wing of the Thirteenth Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Munson, was ordered forward as support to the skirmishers in our front. While stationing them Captain A. G. Foster, assistant inspector-general of my staff, was seriously wounded by a ball through both legs, depriving me of his valuable services for the remainder of the battle. Just before dark of the same day, our army line on the left of the center having become broken under a desperate charge of the enemy, my brigade was ordered up. The right wing of the Thirteenth Regiment, under command of Colonel Randall, was in advance and upon reaching the breach in the line was granted by General Hancock, commanding upon the spot, the privilege of making effort to retake the guns of Company C, Regular Battery, which had just been captured by the enemy.

“ This they performed in a gallant charge, in which Colonel Randall's horse was shot under him. Four guns of the battery were retaken, and two rebel



field pieces, with about eighty prisoners, were captured by five companies of the Thirteenth in this single charge. The front line thus re-established, was held by this brigade for twenty-six hours. About two o'clock of the 3d instant the enemy commenced a vigorous attack upon our position. After subjecting us for an hour and a half to the severest cannonade of the whole battle from nearly one hundred guns, the enemy charged with a heavy column of infantry. The charge was aimed directly upon my command, but owing apparently to the firm front shown them, the enemy diverged midway and came upon the line on my right. But they did not thus escape the warm reception prepared for them by the Vermonters. As soon as the change of the point of attack became evident, I ordered a flank attack upon the enemy's column. Forming in the open meadow in front of our line, the Thirteenth and Sixteenth Regiments marched down by the flank, changed front forward at a right angle to the main line of battle of the army, bringing them in line of battle upon the flank of the charging column of the enemy, and opened a destructive fire at short range, which the enemy sustained but very few minutes before the larger portion of them surrendered and marched in, not as conquerors, but as captives. They had hardly dropped their arms before another rebel column appeared charging upon our left. Colonel Veazey, of the Sixteenth, was at once ordered back to take it in its turn upon the flank. This was done as successfully as before. The rebel force, decimated by the fire of the Fourteenth Regiment, was scooped almost *en masse* into our lines. The Sixteenth took in this charge the regimental colors of the Second Florida and Eighth Virginia Regiments, and the battle flag of another regiment.

"The Sixteenth was supported for a time, in the now advanced position it occupied after the charge, by four companies of the Fourteenth under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Rose. The movements I have briefly described were executed in the open field under a heavy fire of shell, grape and musketry, and they were performed with the promptness and precision of battalion drill. They ended the contest on the center and substantially closed the battle.

"Officers and men behaved like veterans, although it was for most of them their first battle; and I am content to leave it to the witnesses of the fight whether or no they sustained the credit of the service and the honor of our Green Mountain State."

Little need be added of the brilliant part taken by this brigade in that memorable battle. It is still characterized as a most important feature of the engagement. The total killed in the brigade was reported as thirty-nine, and wounded two hundred and forty-eight; of these the Thirteenth Regiment lost eight killed and eighty-nine wounded; the Fourteenth seventeen killed and sixty-eight wounded; and the Sixteenth fourteen killed and eighty-nine wounded.

The term of service of the regiments in this brigade soon expired and they



were mustered out, the Twelfth on the 14th of July; the Thirteenth July 21; the Fourteenth July 30; the Fifteenth August 5; and the Sixteenth August 10.

The Seventeenth Regiment.—This regiment was recruited in the latter part of 1863 and early in the year 1864, and made its rendezvous at Burlington. It was mustered in by companies, and the preceding table shows the enlistments in its ranks from this county.

The officers of the regiment from Chittenden county were the following: Wm. B. Reynolds, Milton, went out as first lieutenant of the Sixth Regiment and was promoted to captain January 18, 1862; was made major of the Seventeenth April 12, 1864; killed in action before Petersburg July 30, 1864.

Buel J. Derby, Huntington, quartermaster; mustered out with the regiment.

Arnold C. Fay, Richmond, first lieutenant Company K, September 22, 1864; brevet captain April 2, 1865, for gallantry in the assault on Petersburg; captain June 26, 1865.

John L. Yale, Williston, captain Company K, mustered out with the regiment.

Joseph W. Townshend, Charlotte, private in Company B; was made corporal, sergeant and then first sergeant of Company G July 14, 1865; first lieutenant June 26, 1865.

Edward L. Hibbard, Charlotte, first lieutenant Company B; mustered out October 19, 1864, for physical disability.

Alonzo K. Danforth, Charlotte, second lieutenant Company B, discharged for disability June 3, 1864.

William Cronan, Burlington, private in Company B, promoted sergeant July 20, 1864; wounded July 30, 1864; first sergeant May 1, 1865; commissioned second lieutenant July 10, 1865.

Frank Keith, Burlington, private in Company B, promoted sergeant March 1, 1864; transferred to Company F and made first sergeant June 23, 1865; commissioned second lieutenant July 10, 1865.

Companies A, B, C, D, E, F and G left the State on the 18th of April under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Cummings and arrived at Alexandria on the 22d, where they were assigned to the Second Brigade, Second Division, Ninth Corps. They marched on the 27th to Bristow Station and thence on the 4th of May to Bealton Station. On the 5th they crossed the Rappahannock and Rapidan and at 2 A. M. on the 6th advanced toward the Wilderness battle field. At sunrise the regiment was in line of battle on the right of the brigade. At 9 A. M. they advanced through a dense pine thicket and drove the enemy from behind a fence which they had occupied during the morning, and held the position during the forenoon under a sharp fire of musketry and artillery, repulsing a charge made by the enemy upon both flanks to



regain the position. At noon the regiment was moved about a mile to the left and placed upon the right of an extended line, then forming for a charge upon the enemy. Here the regiment was exposed to a galling musketry fire, during which Lieutenant-Colonel Cummings was wounded and the command devolved upon Major William B. Reynolds. At 2 P. M. the charge was ordered and the enemy driven from his position. Major Reynolds says in his report that "no colors were advanced beyond those of this regiment." The casualties in this engagement were nine killed, sixty-four wounded and seven missing. Owing to prevalence of measles the regiment numbered only 313 on the morning of the engagement.

On the 10th of May the regiment advanced toward Spottsylvania and on the 11th arrived before the entrenchments of the enemy. Early on the morning of the 12th they advanced to the attack and met the enemy in line of battle. The engagement continued two hours, when the ammunition of the regiment was exhausted and they were relieved by the Forty-Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. Another advance was made on the enemy's works at 11 A. M., after which the regiment withdrew to its former position. This they held through the day, against several attempts of the enemy to dislodge them. At night the position was made secure by a slight parapet of rails, logs and earth, and was occupied by the regiment under constant fire until 2 A. M. of the 19th, when they were withdrawn about three miles to the left. The casualties were severe—ten killed; three officers and fifty-seven men wounded.

On the 26th of May the regiment marched easterly and crossed the Pamunkey at Dabney's Ferry, near Hanover Town, reaching their destination on the night of the 28th. On the 3d of June the Second Brigade was brought up to the support of the First Brigade in a vigorous assault upon the enemy's entrenched position. The Seventeenth was on the right of the line, which was wheeled forward at right angles with the main line. A sharp engagement ensued, in which officers and men behaved gallantly. The losses in the regiment from May 20 to the 6th of June were two officers wounded, one of whom subsequently died, and two enlisted men killed and thirty wounded, of whom three died immediately after.

On the 8th of June Company H joined the regiment with fifty-seven effective men. On the 12th of June the Ninth Corps left their entrenchments near Cold Harbor, and at noon on the 16th arrived near Petersburg. At 6 P. M. the Second Brigade, to which the regiment was attached, was drawn up in line of battle to support a portion of the Second Corps, then about to make a charge. This proved unsuccessful, and the regiment was moved to the right, and at 3 o'clock the next morning the enemy's works were charged and carried. In this charge the Seventeenth had a part of the front line and displayed the most heroic gallantry. They captured two guns, a caisson, six horses, seventy prisoners and the colors and adjutant of the Seventeenth Tennessee. The cas-



ualties were five killed and sixteen wounded. The regiment continued in advanced works, and most of the time under sharp fire, until the 20th of June. The casualties from June 8 to June 20 were ten killed and twenty-five wounded.

We need not follow the regiment in detail through the remainder of this decisive campaign; but it was constantly in active service and suffered loss nearly every day. The casualties between July 20 and July 29 were five killed and twenty-seven wounded.

On July 30 the Seventeenth, under command of Major Reynolds, constituted part of the force which made the gallant but unfortunate charge upon the enemy's works, after the blowing up of the famous Petersburg mine. The regiment behaved with its accustomed gallantry and lost severely. The brave Major Reynolds fell while leading his men. Lieutenants Wm. E. Martin and John R. Converse also were killed. Of the eight commissioned officers who went into the engagement not one returned. The casualties were six killed and twenty-four wounded.

On the 13th of August the regiment was increased by the addition of Company I, numbering eighty-seven men. The regiment remained in the lines in front of Petersburg, and on the 30th of September the Second Division was attacked by the enemy, and the Seventeenth again met with severe loss. The casualties were—killed three, wounded and missing, seventy-three. Among the wounded and missing was the brave Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Cummings, and subsequent reports from rebel sources gave information of his death within a few hours after he was captured. His loss was deeply felt.

The heavy losses and the hardships of the campaign had now reduced the regiment to one officer and eighty-five men, but Company K was soon afterward added (October 8, 1864). On the 27th Colonel Francis V. Randall assumed command. After the battle of Hatcher's Run the Ninth Corps was transferred to the right of the Army of the Potomac. Colonel Randall was assigned to the command of Fort Davis, with the Seventeenth Vermont, Thirty-first Maine and Fifty-sixth Massachusetts regiments and two batteries of artillery. In this fort and near by the regiment remained through the winter until April 1, and engaged almost daily in skirmishing on the picket line and near the fort. In this service several men were wounded.

During the night of the 1st of April the regiment, with the Second Maryland, pierced the line of rebel pickets and then swept to the left, capturing the entire picket line of the enemy, to where the Ninth united with the Sixth Corps.

In the general assault on the morning of the 2d of April the brigade, including the Seventeenth, carried the first line of rebel works and participated nobly in the severe fighting until Petersburg was evacuated. The casualties during the day were eight killed and thirty-nine wounded. The regiment



shared in the pursuit of Lee's army until his surrender, and then returned to Burkesville. Here and at City Point and at Alexandria the regiment was employed in arduous guard duty the greater part of the time until the 14th of July, when they were mustered out and returned to Burlington.

The Eighth Regiment received so small a contribution from this county that it is not deemed necessary to give any account of its service, further than that its major, John L. Bartow, was from Shelburne, and afterwards became governor of the State.

Artillery.—Three batteries of artillery went out from this State, and in their ranks were about seventy-five Chittenden county men. The first battery was mustered into the service for three years, on the 18th of February, 1862. Edward E. Greenleaf, of Colchester, whose record in the service dated from December 10, 1861, when he went out as a private and rose by promotion to second lieutenant, was commissioned captain of this battery on the 14th of February, 1864.

The battery spent its term of service in New Orleans and became distinguished for its thorough discipline and drill and efficiency in the field. The original members were mustered out August 10, 1864, and the recruits were transferred to the Second Battery.

The Second Battery.—This battery was mustered into the service for three years, on the 16th and the 24th of December, 1861. None of its officers was from Chittenden county. It also was stationed in the Department of the Gulf, and a large part of its service was in the vicinity of Port Hudson, La. Its original members, not veterans, were mustered out September 20, 1864. The remainder were mustered out July 31, 1865.

The Third Battery.—This battery was mustered into the service January 1, 1864. Among its officers was Aaron P. French, of Colchester, who was commissioned second lieutenant on the 2d of January, 1862, and honorably discharged for disability October 10, 1864. The battery left Burlington on the 17th of January, 1864, and reached Washington on the 18th, and were finally attached to the Ninth Corps. They remained with the Army of the Potomac in its broad field of operations down to the surrender of the Confederacy. Its services in front of Petersburg were especially severe. On the 3d of June, 1865, their equipment was turned over to the Ordnance Department, and on the 5th the battery started for Vermont, arriving at Burlington on the 9th. They were mustered out on the 13th.

Sharpshooters.—There were three companies of sharpshooters raised in the State, to which Chittenden county contributed about forty men. The First Regiment was mustered into the service on the 13th of September, 1861. Of Company F, which was mainly recruited in Rutland county, Charles W. Seaton, of Charlotte, went out as first lieutenant and was promoted to captain on the 2d of August, 1862. This regiment performed brilliant and efficient ser-



vice with the Army of the Potomac, as fully detailed in the history of its operations published by its colonel, William Y. W. Ripley, to which we must refer the reader. Of Company F twenty-one men were killed on the field and eleven more died of wounds received — a fact which speaks eloquently of its severe service. The original members were mustered out September 13, 1864, and the veterans and recruits were transferred to the Second Regiment of Sharpshooters.

The Second Regiment of Sharpshooters, of which nearly twenty men were from the rural districts of this county, was mustered into the service, Company E, on the 9th of November, 1861, and Company H on the 31st of December, 1861; they were mustered out three years later. These companies served with great gallantry and severe losses with the Army of the Potomac. Of the officers in these two companies who were from Chittenden county were Seymour F. Norton, of Burlington, first lieutenant Company E, promoted to captain September 14, 1863; William H. Humphrey, of Underhill, first lieutenant Company E.

In speaking of the services of the men in this arm of the service, the adjutant-general says in his report: "They have proved themselves to be a most valuable arm of the service. Constantly upon the skirmish line and deployed as sharpshooters, they are always put forward to seek danger, and, like the cavalry, perform the most arduous service, with the least opportunity of recognition."

First Vermont Cavalry.—This organization was recruited in the latter part of 1861, and went into camp at Burlington. It was mustered into the service on the 19th of November, 1861, with 966 officers and men, under command of Colonel Lemuel B. Platt, of Colchester. About 220 of the regiment were from Chittenden county. The officers in the regiment from this county were the following: Lemuel B. Platt, Colchester, resigned February 27, 1862. Edgar Pitkin, Burlington, adjutant, mustered out September 10, 1862. Archibald S. Dewey, quartermaster, mustered out September 11, 1862. Edward B. Nims, Burlington, assistant surgeon, mustered out August 9, 1865. John H. Woodward, Westford, chaplain, resigned July 17, 1863. John E. Goodrich, Burlington, chaplain, mustered out August 9, 1865. Frank A. Platt, Colchester, captain, resigned July 18, 1862. Joel B. Erhardt, Burlington, captain by promotion from first lieutenant July 16, 1862; resigned February 7, 1863. Ellis B. Edwards, Colchester, second lieutenant Company A October 11, 1861; first lieutenant Company A July 16, 1862; commissioned captain February 7, 1863. Ebenezer K. Sibley, Westford, captain Company B; transferred to Company C June 21, 1865. Hiram H. Hall, Williston, private Company L, promoted second lieutenant Company E February 1, 1863; first lieutenant March 17, 1863; commissioned captain June 4, 1864; killed in action June 23, 1864, at Nottaway Court-House, Va. Alexander G. Watson, Bur-



lington, second lieutenant Company L; promoted first lieutenant January 5, 1864; wounded May 11, 1864, and October 19, 1864; commissioned captain February 28, 1864. John W. Woodward, Burlington, captain Company M; killed in action at Hagerstown, Md., July 6, 1863. William L. Greenleaf, Colchester, private in Company L, promoted sergeant September 29, 1862; wounded July 13, 1863; first sergeant March 1, 1864; second lieutenant Company L February 28, 1864; wounded June 23, 1864; commissioned first lieutenant February 9, 1865; honorably discharged May 15, 1865, for wounds received in action. George Miller, Williston, private Company L August 15, 1862, sergeant September 29, 1862; first sergeant January 1, 1865; mustered out as first sergeant June 21, 1865. George C. Lewis, Underhill, private Company M; promoted sergeant December 31, 1862; first sergeant February 1, 1864; second lieutenant July 7, 1864; commissioned first lieutenant February 9, 1865; honorably discharged for disability.

The history in detail of a cavalry regiment which saw three years of the active service that fell to the lot of the First Vermont would make a volume, and is of course beyond the limits of this work. The history of cavalry regiments is replete with stirring incidents, rapid marches, fearless and brilliant charges, and desperate encounters, which would require ample space for their description. We are therefore compelled to confine ourselves to the mere statistics of engagements.

The regiment left the State on the 14th of December, and in the report of the adjutant-general at the end of its first year's service, he says: "They have participated in many engagements, and have distinguished themselves greatly for their dashing bravery. At times their service has been very severe." Again he says: "During the campaign in Maryland and Pennsylvania, in June and July, the regiment under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Preston participated in a series of engagements, in which both officers and men behaved most gallantly." The casualties from June 30 to July 8 of that year were nineteen killed and forty-four wounded. In the campaign of 1864-5 the regiment performed the most efficient service, lost many of its best men, and captured many of the enemy. Colonel Preston was killed on the 3d of June; he was considered one of the best cavalry officers in the service. On the same day Captain Oliver T. Cushman was killed, and on the 23d of the same month Captain Hiram H. Hall was killed. From the 1st of February, 1865, Lieutenant-Colonel Josiah Hall was in command of the regiment, and the services performed from that date until the close of the war were of the most brilliant and efficient character.

The long list of engagements in which the First Cavalry shared honorable and often the most important part, tells the brief story of what they did and endured. Beginning with Mount Jackson, they served in engagements of more or less importance at Port Republic, April 27, 1862; Middletown, May 24,



1862 ; Winchester, May 25, 1862 ; Luray Court-House, July 2, 1862 ; Culpepper Court-House, July 10, 1862 ; Orange Court-House, August 2, 1862 ; Kelley's Ford, August 20, 1862 ; Waterloo Bridge, August 22, 1862 ; Bull Run, August 30, 1862 ; Ashby's Gap, September, 1862 ; Broad Run, April 1, 1863 ; Greenwich, May 30, 1863 ; Hanover, Pa., June 30, 1863 ; Huntersville, Pa., July 2, 1863 ; Gettysburg, July 3, 1863 ; Monterey, July 4, 1863 ; Lightersville, Md., July 5, 1863 ; Hagerstown, Md., July 6, 1863 ; Boonesborough, Md., July 8, 1863 ; Hagerstown, July 13, 1863 ; Falling Waters, July 14, 1863 ; Port Conway, August 25, 1863 ; Port Conway, September 1, 1863 ; Culpepper Court-House, September 13, 1873 ; Somerville Ford, September 14, 1863 ; Raccoon Ford, September 26, 1863 ; Falmouth, October 4, 1863 ; James City, October 10, 1863 ; Brandy Station, October 5, 1863 ; Gainesville, October 18 and 19, 1863 ; Buckland Mills, October 19, 1863 ; Morton's Ford, November 28, 1863 ; Mechanicsville, March 1, 1864 ; Piping Tree, March 2, 1864 ; Craig's Church, May 5, 1864 ; Spottsylvania, May 8, 1864 ; Yellow Tavern, May 11, 1864 ; Meadow Bridge, May 12, 1864 ; Hanover Court-House, May 31, 1864 ; Ashland, June 1, 1864 ; Hawe's Shop, June 3, 1864 ; Bottom Bridge, June 10, 1864 ; White Oak Swamp, June 13, 1864 ; Malvern Hill, June 15, 1864 ; Reams's Station, June 22, 1864 ; Nottaway Court-House, June 23, 1864 ; Keyesville, June 24, 1864 ; Roanoke Station, June 25, 1864 ; Stony Creek, June 28 and 29, 1864 ; Reams's Station, June 29, 1864 ; Ridley's Shop, June 30, 1864 ; Winchester, August 17, 1864 ; Summit Point, August 21, 1864 ; Charlestown, August 22, 1864 ; Kearneysville, August 25, 1864 ; Opequan, September 19, 1864 ; Front Royal, September 21, 1864 ; Mooney's Grade, September 21, 1864 ; Milford, September 22, 1864 ; Waynesborough, September 28, 1864 ; Columbia Furnace, October 7, 1864 ; Tom's Brook, October 9, 1864 ; Cedar Creek, October 13, 1864 ; Cedar Creek, October 19, 1864 ; Middle Road, November 11, 1864 ; Middle and Back Road, November 12, 1864 ; Lacy's Springs, December 20, 1864 ; Waynesborough, March 2, 1865 ; Five Forks, April 1, 1865 ; Namozine Church, April 3, 1865 ; Appomattox Station, April 8, 1865 ; Appomattox Court-House, April 9, 1865.

The total losses in this regiment during the term of service embracing the above list of actions was three hundred and ninety-seven by death ; sixty-three of these were killed in action. No other cavalry regiment bears a better record than the First Vermont.

After the surrender of Lee the regiment returned to Petersburg, and on the 10th of May started for Washington, where they arrived on the 16th. On the 9th of June the regiment left for Vermont, arriving at Burlington on the 13th. The recruits whose terms of service would expire previous to the 1st of October were mustered out on the 21st of June, and the remainder on the 9th of August.



CHAPTER XVII.

HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF BOLTON.

BOLTON is an irregularly-shaped, mountainous township lying in the extreme eastern part of Chittenden county. It is bounded on the north by Underhill, on the east by Waterbury and Duxbury—towns in Washington county—on the south by Huntington and on the west by Richmond and Jericho. The surface of the town is very much broken; high hills and rocky ravines, mountains and gorges are everywhere. The town always reminds one of the landscapes of the Yosemite region; here, indeed, is the “wild pomp of mountain majesty.” A part of Camel’s Hump, one of the highest peaks (4,088 feet) of the Green Mountains, lies in Bolton. Other peaks in town are Bone Mountain in the eastern, Stimson’s Mountain in the central, and Robin’s Mountain in the western part. The highest hill is Blueberry Hill, in the extreme eastern part. These several mountains are separated from each other by deep gorges running at right angles to each other, through which numerous brooks tumble along. Pinneo Brook, short and noisy, rises in the western part of the town, flows a southerly course, and unites with Winooski River near the town line. Joiner Brook rises in the northern part, flows a southerly course between Bone and Stimson’s Mountains, and reaches Winooski River not far from the center of the town. Duck Brook—so called from the wild ducks that formerly made their nests in the wood along its banks—rises in the northwestern part of the town, flows a southerly course of about four miles, and joins Winooski River in the western part of the town. It is fed by numerous cold springs, and far-famed for trout, as are also the other brooks in the town. Preston Brook rises in Huntington, flows a northerly course and pours into Winooski River. Mill Brook rises in the northern part of the town, and takes an easterly course into Jericho, furnishing fine water-power to several saw and shingle-mills. These streams, with other minor ones, are short and rapid, and, in the spring when the snows melt, frequently swell to mountain torrents. There is one small pond in the township, Sanborn Pond, lying a little north of Blueberry Hill. The largest stream of water in Bolton is Winooski River, which flows westerly through the southern part of the township. Bolton is somewhat noted for the winds that pass through the valley of Winooski River and around the mountains. To this fact it is owing that in summer it is always four or five degrees cooler in Bolton than in the surrounding towns. Bolton is also celebrated for her bears, and Bruin has probably been more extensively slaughtered here than in any town in the State; hundreds have been killed, and still there is a sufficiency remaining, and nearly every year the flock of some farmer suffers. Only a few years ago the bears



came down from the mountains and slaughtered ten sheep in one night within half a mile of the village of West Bolton. This was, however, an unusual raid, and some people suggested that the bears should not be too much blamed in this case, as they were tracked to Washington county, and it might be after all, county jealousy or "sectional prejudice" that made Bruin turn a border ruffian. Although Bolton has been denominated the land of "boulders and bears," and the business to-day to a great extent is lumbering, the town is no wilderness. The soil is, indeed, rocky, but it is good, and there are many fine farms, especially along Winooski River. Both hard and soft woods grow in the town, there being many large tracts of spruce and hemlock. All the grains and fruits of our climate are raised in good quantities.

The principal highways in Bolton are as follows: A road running through the entire township, keeping close to Winooski River, being the old turnpike leading from Burlington to Montpelier; a road running through the "Notch," as it is called, from West Bolton and meeting the first mentioned road at a point two miles north of Bolton Station; a stage road running westerly from West Bolton to the village of Jonesville, in Richmond. The town is crossed by the Central Vermont Railroad, which keeps close to Winooski River. There is one station called Bolton.

Bolton was chartered June 7th, 1763, by Benning Wentworth, colonial governor of New Hampshire, to Thomas Darling, and seventy-one associates. The original grant was thirty-six square miles, or 23,040 acres. The original charter is now in the possession of Joseph Smith, of West Bolton. The following is an exact copy from the "first book of town records":

"Province of New Hampshire.

"GEORGE the Third By the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland KING, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Persons to whom these Presents Shall come, Greeting: Know ye that we of our special Grace certain knowledge and meer Motion for the due Encouragement of settling a New Plantation within Our said Province by and with the Advice of Our Trusty and Well-beloved Benning Wentworth, Esq., Our Governor and Commander in Chief of our said Province of New Hampshire in New England and of our Counsel of the Said Province, have upon the Conditions and Resolutions hereinafter made, Given and Granted, and by these Presents for us Our Heirs and Successors do give and grant in equal Shares unto Our loving Subjects Inhabitants of Our Said Province of New Hampshire and Our other Governments and to their heirs and Assigns forever whose Names are entered on this Grant to be divided to and amongst them into Seventy-Two equal Shares all that Tract or Parcel of Land situate, lying and being within our Said Province of New Hampshire containing by Admeasurement 23,040 Acres, Which Tract is to contain Six Miles Square, and no more out of which an Allowance is to be made for High Ways and unimprovable lands by Rocks Ponds Mountains and



Rivers One Thousand and Forty Acres free according to a Plan and Survey thereof, made by Our Sd Governor's Order, and returned into the Secretary's Office, and hereunto annexed butted and Bounded as follows, Viz. Beginning at the southeast Corner of Jerico on the northerly side of Onion River (so Called) from thence Easterly Running up said River so far as to make Six Miles on a Line Perpendicular with the Southeasterly line of Said Jericho, from thence Running Six Miles Northerly upon a Parallel line with the line on the easterly Side of Jerico from thence Running westerly about Six Miles to the Northeasterly Corner of Said Jerico, from thence Southerly by Jerico to where we Began.

“And that same be and hereby is Incorporated into a Township by the Name of Bolton and that the Inhabitants that do or shall hereafter inhabit said Township are hereby declared to be Enfranchised with and Intitled to all and every the Privileges and Immunities that other Towns within our Province by Laws Exercise and Enjoy. And further that the said Town as soon as there shall be Fifty Families resident and settled thereon shall have Liberty of holding Two Fairs one of which shall be held on the ——— and the other on the ——— Annually which Fairs are not to continue longer than the respective ——— following the said ——— and that as soon as Said Town Shall Consist of Fifty Families a Market may be opened and kept one or more Days in each Week as may be thought advantageous to the Inhabitants. Also that the first Meeting for the Choice of Town Officers agreeable to the Laws of our Said Province shall be held on the Twenty-Seventh Day of July next which said Meeting Shall be Notified by Mr. Thomas Darling who is hereby also appointed the Moderator of the said first Meeting which he is to Notify and Govern agreeable to the Laws and Customs of our Said Province, and that the annual Meeting forever hereafter for Choice of such Officers for the said Town shall be on the second Tuesday of March annually.

“To have and to hold the said Tract of Land as above expressed together with all Privileges and Appurtenances, to them and Their respective Heirs and Assigns forever upon the following Conditions viz.

“Ist That every Grantee his Heirs or Assigns Shall Plant and cultivate five Acres of Land within the Term of five years for every fifty acres contained in his or their Share or proportion of Land in said Township and continue to improve and Settle the same by additional Cultivation, on Penalty of the forfeiture of his Grant or Share in the said Township and of its reverting to Us our Heirs and Successors to be by us or them Regranted to such of Our Subjects as shall effectually Settle and Cultivate the same.

“IInd That all white and other Pine Trees within the said Township fit for masting Our Royal Navy, be carefully preserved for that use and none be cut or felled without our special Lisence for so doing first had and obtained upon the Penalty of the forfeiture of the Right of such Grantee his Heirs and As-



signs to us Our Heirs and Successors as well as being subject to the Penalty of any Act or Acts of Parliament that now are or hereafter shall be Enacted.

“ III^d. That before any Division of the Land be made to and among the Grantees, a Tract of Land as near the Center of the said Township as the Land will admit of, shall be reserved and marked out for Town Lots, one of which shall be allotted to each Grantee, of the Contents of one Acre.

“ IVth. Yielding and paying therefor to Us, Our Heirs and Successors, for the space of Ten Years to be computed from the Date thereof the Rent of (one) Ear of Indian Corn only on the Twenty-fifth day of December Annually if Lawfully demanded the first payment to be made on the Twenty-fifth of December, 1763.

“ Vth. Every proprietor Settler or Inhabitant Shall yield and pay unto Us, Our Heirs and Successors yearly and every year forever from and after the expiration of Ten Years from the abovesaid Twenty-fifth of December namely on the Twenty-fifth day of December which will be in the Year of Our Lord 1777 one Shilling Proclamation Money for every Hundred Acres he owns Settles or Possesses, and so in proportion for a Greater or lesser Tract of said Land, which Money shall be paid by the respective Person abovesaid their Heirs or Assigns in our Council-Chamber in Portsmouth or to such Officer or Officers as shall be appointed to receive the same ; and this to be in Lieu of all other Rents and services whatsoever.

“ In testimony whereof, we have caused the Seal of our Said Province to be hereunto affixed.

“ Witness,

“ BENNING WENTWORTH.

“ Our Governor and Commander-in-Chief of our Said Province the Seventh Day of June, In the Year of our Lord Christ one Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty Three and in the Third Year of Our Reign

“ By His Excellencys Command with advice of the Council.

“ B. WENTWORTH.

“ T. ATKINSON, Jr., Secy.

“ Province of New Hampshire June 7 1763 Recorded in the Book of Charters Page 437: 438.

“ Pr T. ATKINSON Junr Sec'y.”

The Charter has the following endorsement, and a list of the grantees :

“ His Excellency Benning Wentworth Esq., A Tract of Land to contain Five Hundred Acres marked ‘ B. W.’ on the Plan which is to be accounted two of the within shares.

“ One whole share for the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts.

“ One share for the Gleeb of the Church of England as by law established.



“ One share for the first settled Minister of the Gospel and one share for the Benefit of schools in said Town.

“ Province of New Hampshire June 7 1763. “ T. ATKINSON Jr Secy.”

Following are the names of the grantees :

George Bunnell, Josiah Broadwell, Nathaniel Bunnell, John Bunnell, Alexander Simpson, William Broadwell, Thomas Darling, Isaac Clark, Henry Broadwell, Bethual Person, Ezekiel Johnson, Joel Osborn, Israel Ward, Jacob Merrill, Lawrence Wilson, David Ward, Thomas Millidge, Ebenezer Coe, Seth Babbitt, Ebenezer Haulbart, Samuel Hinds, Wilber Clark, Elisha Frazee, Nathaniel Cogswell, Daniel Cogswell, Crowell Wilkinson, John McGiliver, Enoch Beach, Seth Crowell, jr., Stephen Day, George Day, Paul Day, William Darling, Thomas Day, esq., Stephen Moore, Nathan Wilkinson, Alexander Carmichael, Isaac Tuttle, Stephen Tuttle, Jonathan Wilkinson, Christopher Wood, Daniel Wood, Thomas Osborn, Gilman Freeman, Thomas Kiney, John Johnson, Ephraim Hayward, Philip Hathaway, Thomas Throope, Elisha Weak, Benjamin Coe, Richard Minthorn, Benjamin Day, Matthias Clark, Joseph Winget, Joseph Ward, David Samson, Timothy Day, Samuel Averill, Partridge Thatcher, esq., Hon. Richard Webard, John Downing esq., Daniel Warner, esq., Colonel Joseph Smith, Peter Gilman, esq., Zebulon Giddins.

The area of the chartered tract remained the same until October 27, 1794, when a part of the town of Huntington was annexed to Bolton ; but, titles being questioned and law suits resulting, the same was re-annexed to Huntington on the 10th of November, 1808. Another change was the annexation of a part of Bolton to Richmond, on the 25th of October, 1804.

It appears that the Indians found Bolton an excellent hunting and fishing ground ; their regular trail from Connecticut River to Lake Champlain led through the town and there was generally an Indian village in the adjoining town of Richmond. A number of small arrow-heads, such as are used in killing birds, have been found in town.

The first white man to visit Bolton was John Barnet, who, with a party of twenty-four, set out to explore the country from Connecticut River to Lake Champlain. Following the Indian trail along Winooski River, he passed through the town into Richmond, where the party was attacked by Indians and Tories, and Mr. Barnet killed. On the 10th of May, 1770, the first proprietors' meeting was held at the house of Samuel Canfield, of New Milford, Conn., at which time Samuel Averill, of Kent, was chosen proprietors' clerk. There were other meetings, but the Revolution interrupted surveys and settlements. However, soon after the close of the war Robert Kennedy, Amos Palmer, Peter Dilse, Daniel Pinneo, Augustus Levaque and others, came into town and began to chop down the forests. A considerable settlement was soon established, and the first census, taken in 1791, showed eighty-eight inhabitants, which number had increased to 219 in 1800.



Samuel Barnet, of Newbury, Vt., one of the early settlers of Bolton, was one of Washington's guards during the War of the Revolution. At the close of that struggle he came to Bolton, built a little log cabin, and began to make a clearing. Soon after his arrival crops suffered greatly from frosts, and it was with difficulty that he raised sufficient corn and turnips for his sustentation. He was present at the battle of Plattsburgh and died about four weeks afterward, aged sixty-eight years.

John Kennedy, one of the first settlers in town, was born in Massachusetts and when a young man came to Newbury, Vt. He was with Ethan Allen at the bloodless reduction of Ticonderoga, and received \$80 as his share of the prize money. During his twelve-month service in the continental army he became personally acquainted with General Washington. After "the wars were all over," he returned to Newbury, but soon purchased lands in Waterbury, Vt., where he worked one summer, harvesting his corn and putting it in a crib. He then returned to Newbury, and on coming back in the spring found that his corn had been stolen, and the title to his lands claimed by others. Upon this he came to Bolton, where he continued to reside until his death, in 1820.

John Sabin came at an early day with his family from New Hampshire to Duxbury, Vt., and soon removed to Bolton. He had a family of eight children; many of his descendants are now living in town. He remained in town until his death, when he was seventy years of age.

John Bone, a native of France, was one of the very first settlers. While clearing his land he boarded with Augustus Levaque. He was killed about 1798 by falling from a precipice on Bone Mountain (named after him), 400 feet in height. John Morse came from Massachusetts to Waterbury, Vt., in 1782, and removed to Bolton the next year. He lived in town the remainder of his life, had five children, and was a well-to-do farmer. R. J. Morse is his son. Joseph, Samuel and Asa Lewis came from Bradford, Conn., about 1802, and bought farms in town. Asa was at the battle of Plattsburgh. He was very eccentric, and figured connectedly as a farmer, a poet, a soldier and a Methodist. His death occurred in 1835. Moses L. Colton came to Bolton when it contained but few families and little business. He built the first saw-mill at West Bolton, and continued in the lumber business until his death, in 1850. He was one of the first men in town affairs, being representative six years and justice of the peace twenty-five years. He came originally from New Hampshire, and married Susan Pond, of Jericho. E. N. Colton, of West Bolton, is his son. Jonathan Bohannon came early from Connecticut and settled in this town. His farm was on the "Notch Road." He was twice married, and lived in town until his death, which occurred some twenty-five years ago. Elijah Hinckson was another pioneer of Bolton, living at the junction of the "Notch" and



River roads. He was widely known as a bear-hunter, having killed more than sixty in his day. He died in town in 1860, in his seventy-second year. Merrill Fellows came to Bolton "when the town was new," and engaged in lumbering. In 1830 he erected a saw-mill. He was a soldier in 1812 and witnessed the battle of Plattsburgh. He died in Richmond about twelve years ago. Solomon Fay came to town at an early day from Ohio. He carried on a farm at West Bolton, where P. F. Webster now resides. He died twenty-five years ago. Asher Hall was still another early cultivator of the earth in Bolton. He was twice married, his first wife, Chloe Smith, leaving him two children, sons. His second wife was Hopa Lyman, by whom he had four daughters and five sons. Mrs. Joseph Smith, of West Bolton, is his daughter.

The first birth recorded in town is that of James Blair. The record reads: "James Blair, Born in this Town July the third one Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety-one. Bolton, Febu'y 27, 1792."

The first town meeting was held on the second Tuesday in March, 1794, at the house of James Moore. At this meeting Samuel Bell was chosen moderator; Jabez Jones, town clerk; Francis Joiner, William Rogers and Samuel Bell, selectmen, and Robert Kennedy, constable. The first representative of the town was Jabez Jones, elected in 1794. The first justice of the peace was Stephen Royce, who held the office from 1794 to 1805. The first settled minister in town was Rev. William L. Hurlburt. The first hotel keeper was James Moore, who came from Connecticut and for a number of years kept a locally famous hostelry. The early settlers of Bolton were sturdy, hard-working men, and engaged in both lumbering and farming. Saw-mills of their own they had, but patronized the Jericho tanneries, distilleries and asheries. The first settlements in town were effected along the sinuous Winooski; while the region of the "Notch" was next in time and prominence — was early opened and the road worked. The settlers suffered much from the cold season in 1816, and but lightly from the epidemic of 1813.

The building of the Central Vermont Railroad, which crosses the town from east to west along the northern bank of Winooski River, added much to the business interests of Bolton, about 300 workmen being employed.

C. P. & G. W. Stevens's lumber-mills at Bolton Station were established five years ago by the present owners. The firm do a business of \$15,000 per annum, employing twenty-five hands and cutting 1,000,000 feet of lumber. Packing-boxes, spruce clapboards and winding-boards are also manufactured and shipped to all parts of New England, besides which the company have a large retail trade.

J. G. Tomlinson's butter-tub and cheese-box factory, at West Bolton, was established eight years ago by Mr. Tomlinson. He employs five hands, doing a business of \$2,000 per annum, and some years manufacturing as many as 12,000 butter-tubs. He saws also large quantities of rough lumber, for which



his market is Burlington. He cuts in all from 75,000 to 100,000 feet per annum.

G. W. Giles's circular saw-mill at West Bolton was put in operation by himself seventeen years ago. He employs four men and cuts 500,000 feet of lumber a year. He also manufactures boxes, cuts chair stock, and does planing.

Nathan Giles's estate's saw and shingle-mill, located at West Bolton, cuts 100,000 feet of lumber every year, the market being Burlington and Winooski. Basswood furniture stock and shingles are also cut. The business was founded six years ago. G. A. Pease is manager.

E. N. Colton & Son's circular saw and shingle-mill at West Bolton cuts 300,000 feet of lumber a year, turning out from 800,000 to 1,200,000 shingles. In 1824 the business was established by Mr. Colton's father, and continued by him until 1847, when he was succeeded by the present senior proprietor. His son, H. J., assumed an interest in the concern in 1882. From six to twelve hands are employed.

D. W. Tracy's circular saw-mill on Joiner Brook cuts 200,000 feet of lumber annually. Whitcomb & Willard built the first mill on this site. Mr. Tracy purchased the property in 1872 and has since operated the mill.

F. W. Hall, of West Bolton, keeps a general dry goods and grocery store. He began business eight years ago, and carries a full line of merchandise. He also deals in lumber and hides. His store is the only one in town and he does a large business.

J. F. Whalen, of Bolton Station, deals in watches and clocks, and does all kinds of repairing.

Bishop's Hotel, at Bolton Station, was a public house forty years ago. The present proprietor, Solomon Bishop, purchased it of Julius Hodges twenty years ago. The house accommodates thirty guests. H. H. Bishop is the manager, and many city boarders stay with him during the summer season.

Post-Offices.—The post-office at Bolton was established in the first quarter of the present century. As early as 1824 James Whitcomb was postmaster, and in 1829 was followed by Almon Whitcomb. The successive incumbents of that position since his retirement in 1836 have been as follows: Joseph Smith, 1836–53; A. Smith to 1854; E. W. Bates to 1858; J. M. Bates, 1859; E. W. Bates to 1861; C. E. Whitcomb to 1865; E. R. Morse to 1868; Mrs. Sarah Bishop to 1871; Dan Shaw to 1877; E. W. Bruce to 1881; James F. Whalen to and including the present. Soon after 1850 the increasing population of the town, and the consequent inconvenience occasioned to the inhabitants of the western part of the town, demanded the establishment of a separate office at the little village of West Bolton, which accordingly took place by the appointment of F. D. Colton. His consecutive successors have been: Moses L. Colton from 1855 to 1862; R. Harris to 1867; B. M. Morse



to 1870; Smith A. Hall to 1872; H. Webster, 1873; R. Harris to 1875; C. C. Stevens to 1877; R. Harris, 1878; F. W. Hall to 1886; and the present official, G. A. Pease.

The present officers of the town are as follows: F. J. Whalen, clerk and treasurer; E. M. Stevens, constable and collector; John Phillips, P. L. Towers, T. B. Whalen, selectmen; F. W. Hall, superintendent of schools; T. S. McGinnis, town agent. Bolton adopted the town system of schools some six years ago, being among the first in the State to manifest its desire to remain in the van of intellectual progress. The system has given great satisfaction and reduced the number of schools from six to five. The total cost to the town of its schools for 1855 was \$683.48. The school directors are: F. W. Hall, J. H. Smith, E. H. Sabin, C. F. Sabin, John Phillips and M. V. Hayden, the first named gentleman being chairman.

The Baptist Church of West Bolton.—This church was organized on the 16th of February, 1848, with forty-three members, as the Second Baptist Church of Jericho, many of the members living in that town. In 1862 a Baptist society was formed in connection with the church, and until 1875 the organization was known as the Baptist Church and Society of West Bolton. In 1875 the church was chartered under the laws of Vermont as the Baptist Church of West Bolton. The following pastors have served the church in the order named: Revs. W. S. Hurlburt, H. C. Leavitt, L. L. Wood, L. B. Steele, W. S. Hurlburt, A. A. Davis and P. C. Abbey. The officers of the church are: Otis B. Church, of Underhill, and Rufus Harris, deacons; E. R. Davis, F. W. Hall and Hobart Pease, committee on finance; E. R. Davis, treasurer; Mrs. R. W. Gile, collector; Mrs. Rufus Harris, clerk; Mrs. Fred Fuller, superintendent of the Sabbath-school. The church now has sixty members and the Sabbath-school forty. The church edifice, a pleasant wood structure, was erected in 1867 at a cost of \$3,000, and will seat 250 people. The church is at present without a pastor.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HISTORY OF THE TOWN AND CITY OF BURLINGTON.

THE old town of Burlington, almost from the beginning the shire town of the county, and lying near the center of its west line, was originally bounded as follows:

“Beginning at the southerly or southwest side of French or Onion River, so called, at the mouth of said river, thence running up by said river until it comes to a place that is ten miles upon a straight line from the mouth of the



river aforesaid, then runs upon a line perpendicular to the aforesaid ten miles line southerly so far as that a line to Lake Champlain, parallel to the ten miles line aforesaid, will, within the lines and the shore of the said lake, contain six square miles."

By legislative enactment this area was diminished, on the 27th of October, 1794, by annexation to Williston of all the land lying east of Muddy Brook; the next change occurring on the 22d of November, 1864, when the city was chartered.

In addition to the many material advantages of the place in situation, the variety of soil and surface, the water privileges, and the shipping facilities which were afforded by Lake Champlain long before the era of railroads, the city of Burlington, like its parent township, is most happy in the indescribable beauty of scenery presented by lake, island and mountain, river, valley and forest. Almost every description of the beautiful in nature has here been embellished by the tasteful hand of man. Irregularities of surface have been diminished, marshes drained, and tangled woods of evergreen and deciduous trees replaced by blossoming parterres and colonnades of graceful elms. But the grandest beauty of the Champlain valley will never be enhanced nor marred by human effort. Centuries will not suffice to still the ceaseless motion of the lake, or move the bases of the commanding temples that surround it. These, by their distance, are clothed with all the grandeur of sublimity without its terror. "Age cannot wither or custom stale their infinite variety." To-day they stand boldly out from the horizon, range succeeding range in grim procession, until the most distant have melted from the reach of human vision; to-morrow they will loom up before the eye vague as the Satan of Paradise Lost, with the perspective only of shadows, their massive shoulders magnified by the involuntary excursions of the imagination. The emotions of the beholder are increased, moreover, by the historic associations that cluster about every portion of the landscape, from the battles between the aboriginal savages, recorded alone by the weapons now occasionally discovered in our fields, to the struggles of the Revolution, of the last war with Great Britain, and the peaceful and profitable rivalries of the trade and commerce of recent years.

The Town of Burlington.—The name of Burlington was probably derived from the Burling family of Westchester county, New York, who were extensive landholders in the several towns that were chartered at the same time with Burlington, although they were not original grantees of Burlington. The town of Colchester was granted to Edward Burling and others, among whom were ten of that name. It seems not impossible, therefore, that the name of Burlington was intended for Colchester, and was by a clerical error given to the town that afterwards transmitted it to the Queen City of Vermont. [Russell S. Taft, in his admirable sketch in the *Vermont Historical Magazine*, further suggests that, "no doubt the name of Williston was intended for Burlington, as it



was chartered on the same day with Burlington, which was granted to Samuel Willis and others, there being four of that name among the grantees."

The grantees were: Samuel Willis, Tunis Wortman, Thomas Dickson, John Willis ye 3^d, Stephen Willis, Daniel Bowne, Thomas Cheshire, Jr., John Birdsall, Benjamin Townsend, Thomas Youngs, Samuel Jackson, Gilbert Weeks, Zeb^a Seaman, Ju^r, John Whitson, William Kirbee, Joseph Udell, John Wright, Ju^r, Abraham Van Wick, Minne Suydam, Jacobus Suydam, Edmund Weeks, Nicholas Townsend, Samuel Van Wick, John Willis, Jr., Thomas Alsop, Thomas Pearsall, Jr., William Frost, Sen^r, Thomas Frost, William Frost, Jr., Penn Frost, Zebulon Frost, William Cock, Thomas Van Wick, Harmon Lefford, Thomas Jackson, Thomas Udell, John Wright March, Daniel Voorhees, Joseph Denton, George Pearsall, John Wortman, Ju^r, Benjamin Birdsall, John Birdsall, Jr., Jacob Kirbee, Benj^a Fish, Lawrence Fish, John Whitson the 3^d, Nathan^l Fish, Richard Seaman, Morris Seaman, Jon^a Pratt, Nathan^l Seaman, Jr., Rich^d Jackson, Jr., Solomon Seaman, Israel Seaman, Jacob Seaman, Sen^r, Jacob Seaman, Richard Ellison, Ju^r, Richard Ellison, Third, Samuel Averhill, The Hon^{ble} Jn^o Temple, Theodore Atkinson, M. Hunting Wentworth, Henry Sherburn, Eleazer Russell, Esq., and Andrew Clarkson, sixty-six rights.

The charter was granted on the 7th of June, 1763, by the province of New Hampshire, the admeasurement being 23,040 acres, or six miles square, of which 1,040 acres was allowed for "highways, ways, and unimprovable lands by rocks, ponds, mountains and rivers."

The charter granted the inhabitants, as soon as they numbered fifty families, the privilege of holding two fairs annually, and also of keeping a market on one or more days in each week, as they might deem most advantageous. The usual requirements and reservations were inserted in the charter. The grantees were required to improve five acres of land for each fifty acres owned by them, within the next five years after the date of the grant; to reserve for the government all white and other pine trees fit for masting the royal navy; to reserve near the center of the town a tract of land for town lots of one acre for each grantee; and to pay one ear of corn annually, if lawfully demanded, for the space of ten years, and after the said ten years the sum of one shilling, proclamation money, for every 100 acres owned, settled or possessed.

Besides the shares allotted to the grantees above named the charter contained the following grants of shares for the purposes mentioned: To his excellency, Benning Wentworth, Esquire, a tract of land to contain 500 acres as marked B. W. in the plan, which is to be accounted two of the within shares; one whole share for the incorporated society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts; one share for the Glebe for the church of England, as by law established; one share for the first settled minister of the gospel; and one share for the benefit of a school in said town; making in all seventy-two shares or rights of land of 320 acres each.



The earliest record of a proprietors' meeting is dated at Salisbury, Conn., not until the 23d of March, 1774. Burlington was there referred to as "a Township lately granted under the great seal of the province of Newhampshier now in the province of New York," thus constructively admitting the claim to jurisdiction which New York had set up. Colonel Thomas Chittenden was chosen moderator of this first meeting, Ira Allen was the first proprietors' clerk.

At an adjourned meeting held at the same place on the next day it was,

"1^{ly} Voted, That Whereas, Ethan Allen, Remember Baker, Heman Allen, Zimri Allen, and Ira Allen known by the name of the Onion River Company, who are Proprietors in this Township of Burlington on said River (a Township lately granted by the Governor and Counsel of Newhampshier and is now in the Province of New York) have expended large sums of money in cutting a road through the woods from Castleton to said River seventy miles, and clearing off *encamberments* from the said lands in them parts, clearing and cultivating and settling some of these lands and *keeping possession* which by us is viewed as a great advantage towards the settlement of these lands in general, especially the township of Burlington.

"Whereas, The said Ethan Allen, Remember Baker, Heman Allen, Zimri Allen and Ira Allen have laid out fifteen, hundred acre lots in said Township bounding on said river. Therefore in consideration of these services done by them, in consideration of their settlement of five families on said lots with those that are already on, and girdling five acres on each one hundred acre lot in two years from the first day of June next, improving same.

"It is voted; if proper Survey bills be exhibited to the Proprietors' Clerk of said Town and recorded in this Book by the first day of June next the said lots are confirmed to them as so many acres of their rights and shares in said Township said fifteen lots are to be laid seventy rods wide on the river."

It was further voted that each proprietor should have liberty at his own cost to pitch "and lay out to himself" one hundred acres on one whole right or share, the lots to be not less than seventy rods wide, exclusive of what had already been granted to be laid in the town. Another vote was passed "that there shall be for each one hundred acres to be laid out in the town of Burlington one hundred and three acres laid, which three acres shall be improved for the use of said town for public highways if needed, in the most convenient place of said lot." All records of deeds of sale and survey bills of land in the new town were to be recorded with the proprietors' clerk, and were to have priority, not according to the dates of the deeds or bills, but according to the dates of their recording. Ira Allen was appointed surveyor to lay out said town. The meeting was then adjourned to "Fortfradreck in Colchester on Onion River," on the first Monday in the following June. The last meeting recorded at this place was held on the 1st of May, 1775, and was probably the last



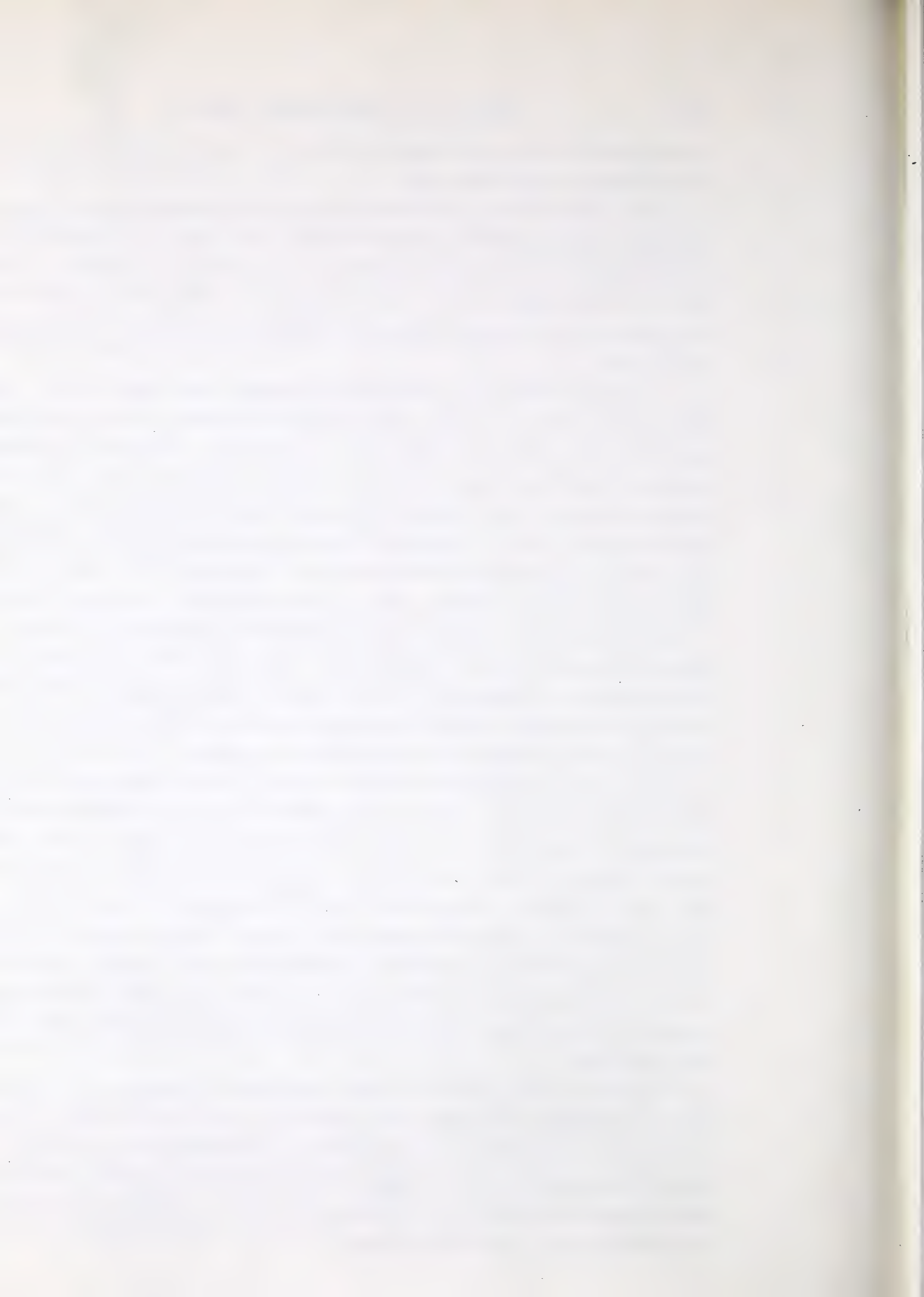
meeting before the general exodus from this part of the country, because of the approach of the British army.

The Allen brothers and Remember Baker, by purchase from the original grantees, became extensive land owners along Onion River. It is said that at different times Ira Allen owned five-sevenths of the town of Burlington, situated principally in the eastern and southern parts. Allen made the first surveys ever made within the limits of the town in the year 1772, and was engaged the greater part of the next two years in exploring and surveying this portion of the State.

Early Settlements.—The first settler in Burlington was Felix Powell, who came here in 1773. He used to go to mill at New Haven, at the lower falls in Otter Creek, within the present limits of Vergennes. On the 22d of October, 1774, he purchased of Samuel Averill of Litchfield, Conn., for thirty pounds, a tract of land which consisted, in addition to the village lots, of 103 acre-lots occupying the whole of Appletree Point, and extending northerly nearly to Onion River. He afterward cleared a part of the land on the Point, and erected a log house, but soon removed to Manchester, Vt., and sold his land on the 19th of August, 1778, to James Murdock, of Saybrook, Conn. This deed is the first one recorded that recognized the authority of Vermont.

Stephen Lawrence was the next settler, who, in November, 1774, bought of Remember Baker lot No. 10 on Onion River. The same year John Chamberlin, Ephraim Wheeler, Stephen Clap, Ichabod Nelan and Benjamin Wate made contracts for the purchase of lands in Burlington from different members of the Allen family, but they did little towards establishing a settlement before they were forced by the war to relinquish their labors here. Lemuel Bradley and several others came next, and in 1774 and 1775 made clearings in the northern part of the town on the intervale, and near the falls opposite the Allen settlement in Colchester. In the fall of 1775 some of the new comers went to the southern part of the State, while a few passed the winter in the Block Fort in Colchester. After Sullivan's retreat from Canada in the summer of 1776, the final abandonment of the town was completed. Lemuel Bradley represented the town in the first general convention of delegates from the several towns of Vermont, held at the inn of Cephas Kent, at Dorset, Vt., on the 25th of September, 1776. The town was apparently not represented in the subsequent session of January, 1777, when the Declaration of Independence of Vermont was proclaimed.

Previous to the Revolution, and for years after, the usual route by which the settlers came to Burlington, when they came by land, was the road cut by Baker and the Allens in 1772, from Castleton to Colchester, which crossed Otter Creek near the lower falls, where Vergennes now stands, passed Shelburne Falls in Shelburne, and thence directly to the falls at Winooski. This road, with the block forts at Vergennes and Winooski, was a great protection to the early settlers on the "Hampshire Grants."



On the 29th of January, 1781, the proprietors of Burlington were again assembled at the house of Noah Chittenden, in Arlington, Vt., but accomplished nothing beyond a ratification of the proceedings of former meetings.

After the close of the Revolutionary War the town was rapidly settled. Stephen Lawrence, before mentioned, moved here with his family in 1783. John Doxey, John Collins and Frederick Saxton came the same year. Doxey settled on the intervale, in the north part of the town, but was driven out by a freshet, and removed to the road now leading from the High Bridge to Hinesburg. Stephen Lawrence, Samuel Lane and John Knickerbacor settled near the High Bridge. John Collins, Job Boynton, Gideon King and Stephen Keys settled at the lake on lots 11-15, while Frederick Saxton and Phineas Loomis formed a settlement at the head of Pearl street. Isaac Webb was one of the first settlers in the south part of the town. John Van Sicklen settled in the southeast part of the town. The early surveyors were Thomas Butterfield, William Coit, Caleb Henderson, Ira Allen, Nahum Baker, Nathaniel Allen, Abel Waters and Edward Allen.

The first marriage record reads as follows :

"Samuel Hitchcock and Lucy Caroline (daughter of Gen. Ethan Allen), married May 26th, 1789."

The first births recorded are as follows :

"Loraine Allen Hitchcock, daughter of Samuel and Lucy C. Hitchcock born June 5th, 1790."

"John Van Sicklin Jr son to John Van Sicklin and Elizabeth Van Sicklin was born June 11th, 1790."

John C., son of John Doxey, was born February 22, 1788, though his birth is not on record.

Town Organization.—The town was organized, by proper election of town officers, March 19, 1797, at which meeting Samuel Lane was chosen town clerk ; Job Boynton, constable ; and Stephen Lawrence, Frederick Saxton and Samuel Allen, selectmen. The first justices of the peace were Samuel Lane and John Knickerbacor, elected in 1789. Samuel Lane was also the first representative in the Legislature, chosen in 1786. The first meeting for the election of State officers and councilors was held at the house of Benjamin Adams, on the first Tuesday of September, 1794, when the vote for governor stood as follows : Isaac Tichenor, twenty-three ; Thomas Chittenden, seventeen ; Ira Allen, three ; and Nathaniel Niles, one. The first election for representative to Congress (on record) was held at the same place on the last Tuesday in December of the same year, when the ballot stood as follows : Israel Smith, seven ; Isaac Tichenor, seven ; Matthew Lyon, four ; William C. Harrington, two ; Nathaniel Chipman, one ; and Noah Smith, one.

When Vermont was declared to be a free and independent jurisdiction, in 1791, the site of Burlington was a forest. The village then consisted of three



dwelling houses at the lake or "bay," at the foot of Water (now Battery) street. Captain Job Boynton lived in a broad, low, framed house; Captain Gideon King kept an inn at the northeast corner of King and Water streets, in a two-story building with the kitchen in the rear.¹

Captain John Collins lived in a framed house near the present corner of Battery and King streets. A Scotchman or Englishman named Grant kept there a small single-room store, built of logs. The wharf consisted of a few logs fastened to the shore of the lake. In the vicinity of the square, which was then covered with bushes and shrubbery and an occasional pine tree, were several temporary huts of lumbermen. A few small houses had been erected here and there at the head of Pearl street and along the road to the falls, where the two-story "mansion" of Ira Allen stood. Three years later John Fay and Elnathan Keyes were the only attorneys practicing in the County Court; Samuel Lane and William Coit were justices of the peace, and John Fay was postmaster. Concerning the appearance of Burlington at this early day, the best description which can be found or given is contained in the article before quoted from, by Russell S. Taft, esq. It is written in the language of Horace Loomis, who had been a continuous resident of the place since 1790. He came here with his father's family on the 17th of February of that year, and took up his residence with them in a log house that stood east of the old store of Luther Loomis on Pearl street, in the vicinity of and nearly opposite the present residence of Edward C. Loomis. On the 8th day of July, 1790, the house now occupied by Edward Loomis was raised by quite a concourse of people from Shelburne, Essex, Colchester, and Burlington. In the latter part of November of that year the family moved into the new house, which has ever since been the home of some member of the Loomis race.

Soon after this time there were but four buildings on what are now Battery and King streets. Boynton, Collins, and King lived in houses before mentioned, and there was a blacksmith shop a little north of the Collins place on the opposite side of the street. Colonel Fr derick Saxton had made a beginning of the old Pearl street house the year before, and sold to Phineas Loomis the twenty acres of land that embraced his new house. Daniel Hurlbut lived in a log house near the site of the building now occupied by A. C. Spear, at the head of College street on College Green. "Benjamin Boardman lived in a log house a little north of the brick house on the intervale farm of J. N. Pomeroy, occupied by J. Storrs. Mr. Spear, either Dearing or his father, lived in a log house on the intervale near the river, on land recently owned by Philo Doolittle. There was a house on the Ethan Allen farm occupied by Mr. Ward. There was also a log house on the Bradley farm occupied by Moses

¹ The correctness of this belief has been questioned, but all doubts must be dispelled by the fact shown by the town records, that the annual town meeting for 1795 was held at ten o'clock in the morning, at the house of Gideon King, "*inni-holder*."



Blanchard. There were a number of little plank and log houses at the falls, and among the occupants were Judson ; and Mr. Spafford was lumbering there, and William Munson was tending the saw-mill, and James Hawley tended the grist-mill, such as it was. Alexander Davidson lived on the shore opposite the Theodore Catlin place. A man by the name of Lockwood lived above the falls, near what since is called the Rolling Place, near the foot of the hill, afterwards occupied by Dr. Fletcher. Daniel Castle lived about half a mile east of Davidson's. There was a shanty on the site of J. N. Pomeroy's red farm house, built by a Frenchman by the name of Monté, which he had occupied while he was getting out masts and rolling them into the river at the Rolling Place on the hill above, where the brick house of J. N. Pomeroy stands. Under the hill where Eliab Fobes lived, near the High Bridge, Stephen Lawrence and his mother lived. John Knickerbocker boarded with Joel Harvey, who with his family lived near the present site of George B. De Forest's house on Tuttle street. Elisha Lane lived on a part of what was afterwards my father's farm, above the High Bridge on the intervalle ; he bought out Elisha, Samuel, and Samuel Lane, jr., who lived on the land when we came. Jock Winchell and Barty Willard lived over the river on the Stanton and Weeks farm. Barty Willard moved here the second year afterward. Peter Benedict lived on the old Eldredge place. Samuel Allen lived on the hill this side of Muddy Brook. John Doxey lived where Alexander Ferguson now lives, about half a mile south of the Eldredge place. There was quite a little settlement of the Frenches and others in that part of the town which was set off to Williston. Nathan Smith lived on the Fish farm, and John Van Sicklin lived on the farm which his son now owns. A man by the name of Marvin lived under the hill just this side of John Van Sicklin. Avery, that framed my father's house, lived at the falls. Nahum Baker lived with him, and helped to frame the house. William Coit lived in Colchester, at Ira Allen's, and the next year built a house on the corner of Water and South streets, on which was built Court-House Square, facing to the south, and was afterwards, about 1802, sold to Amos Bronson, and by him moved to the north side of the square, and was long occupied by Bronson, Arza Crane, John Howard, Newton Hayes, successively, and afterwards by John Howard as a hotel."

Stephen Pearl, who had formerly been a merchant of Pawlet, Vt., came to Burlington from Grand Isle about 1794, and occupied the house erected by Frederick Saxton several years before, at the head of Pearl street. Saxton, Stackhouse, Burt, Dubartis Willard, Jock Winchell, and Stephen Lawrence came here in June, 1783. Three of them built a shanty near the spring above Sidney Barlow's in Maria Loomis's lot, and Saxton erected a log house above the site of Luther Loomis's store, where Phineas Loomis first lived with his family, and in 1791 Isaac Webb and afterwards Dr. John Pomeroy, who lived there from the spring to the fall of 1792. Colonel Pearl is described

as a large, portly man, generous and genial to a fault, successful as a farmer, but too free with his goods for a merchant of those days. He died on the 21st of November, 1816, at the age of sixty-nine years. His brother Timothy was a shrewd business man, and for some time judge of probate of Alburgh District.

Colonel James Sawyer, a native of Massachusetts, and the son of a sturdy soldier of the Revolution, himself rendered important service for the American cause in the Revolution, and became father to a number of martial sons. He came to Burlington from Brandon in 1796, where he passed two years as a merchant, and succeeded Stephen Pearl as sheriff. He died in Burlington in 1827, aged sixty-five years.

It was in the year 1793 that Prince Edward of England, afterwards Duke of Kent, passed through Burlington on his way from Canada to Boston. He came by the way of Chazy and Grand Isle in sleighs, in the month of February, and stayed over night at the house of Phineas Loomis, now occupied by Edward C. Loomis. Colonel Stephen Keys, "a gentleman of the old school, who wore a cocked hat, kept a hotel on Water street, and was collector for the district of Vermont," paid his respects to the prince in the evening, with Elnathan Keyes, Joshua Stanton, Levi Henre and Zaccheus Peaslee. It is related that although the prince respectfully acknowledged an introduction, he excited the anger of the colonel by abruptly leaving his guests and retiring to his room. Frederick Saxton, Abram Stevens, Jira Isham, and Jason Comstock took the prince and party on to Boston.

The old town of Burlington made a considerable stride in settlement from 1790 to 1800. At the time that Vermont was admitted into the Union, Samuel Lane was town clerk and first selectman; Captain Daniel Hurlbut, a rough, powerful man, one of the men fitted to build up a new country, who aided in the construction of bridges, of the college, and of turnpikes, who frequently rafted lumber to Quebec, was selectman, and John Knickerbacor selectman and town treasurer. Elisha Lane, a shoemaker, who lived on the site now covered by the rear of Bacon's block on Church street, was constable; Daniel Castle, Peter Benedict, John Knickerbacor, Lemuel Bottom, and Stephen Lawrence, were listers; Samuel Lane was leather sealer; Frederick Saxton and Nathan Smith were grand jurors; Phineas Loomis, pound-keeper, with his barn for a pound; John Doxey, Richard Holcomb, and Gideon King were "tidingmen"; Daniel Castle, David Stanton, and Barnabas Spear were fence viewers; Frederick Saxton, Daniel Castle, Stephen Lawrence, Lemuel Bottom, Nathan Smith, and Moses Blanchard, surveyors of highways; Daniel Hurlbut was sealer of weights and measures; and Phineas Loomis, committee to hire preaching. At the meeting during which these officers were chosen it was "Voted to raise a tax of two pence on the list of 1790 to hire preaching the year ensuing." At this period the principal streets leading out of town were



the old road running eastward from the south end of College Green, and the Shelburne road, which was a continuation of St. Paul street south. The principal business of the inhabitants, after attending to their domestic affairs, was the building of roads and bridges. The surface of Burlington was much more irregular than now. The ravine that is still distinctly traceable from Pearl street south and west across College, Main and Church streets, was then in many places impassable. The site of Court-House Square was reached from the present corner of College and South Union streets by the way of Pearl and Church streets. This ravine was very early bridged on Pearl and Main streets, at the latter place by a bridge nearly two hundred feet long and very high. The early records betray the scarcity of money at the period under consideration by a vote passed in the following language (September 3, 1763): "That the town will pay the expence of repairing sd bridge [over Onion River,] in good pork at 25 [shillings] pr hundred, beef at 20 [shillings] wheat at 4 & corn at 3 pr bushel."

At a town meeting held at the house of Gideon King, inn-holder, at 10 o'clock A. M., on the 26th of March, 1795, Peter Benedict, Colonel William C. Harrington, and Benjamin Adams were chosen a committee "to hand round subscriptions for the court-house." At an adjourned meeting at the same place on the 16th of the next month, it was "Voted, that a committee of five be appointed to appropriate the subscriptions for building a court-house in Burlington agreeable to law." The committee were Captain Daniel Hurlbut, Colonel Stephen Pearl, William Coit, esq., Elnathan Keyes, and Ira Allen. The next March meeting was held in the court-house. This building stood near the center of the square. The famous pine tree whipping-post was a little to the north and east of the present fountain. The jail was on the site of the Strong block.

At this time and for years afterwards the Legislature required every town to be as plentifully supplied with ammunition as possible. On the 16th of April, 1795, the town voted, "That the selectmen be hereby directed to procure half a hundred of powder, one hundred and fifty weight of lead, and a due proportion of flints for the town stock."

In the following year there was great alarm and excitement throughout the State caused by the ravages of small-pox, which was as yet but little understood and therefore the more superstitiously feared. On the 24th of March, 1796, at the meeting held in the court-house, a vote was passed, "That the Town recommend to the select Men that provided any Physician that will erect a Building in such place as they the select men shall approve of as retired, They grant full liberty for a permanent place for having the Small pox, under certain restrictions as they shall consider safe and it is further recommended that they would Grant no Indulgence of Innoculation unless such person go into the pest house prior thereto—and Continue there until he is perfectly Clensed."



No other records appear until the year 1804. Among the items of the meeting held in the spring of that year is an account of five dollars allowed to Ebenezer T. Englesby for sundries delived to James B. Harrington in sickness, under direction of the selectmen, and the same amount allowed to Dr. Matthew Cole for medical attention to "Peter the Frenchman." In 1805 the town petitioned the Legislature to grant a turnpike road from the line between Vermont and Canada to meet some turnpike road in the State of New York leading to Troy, and another turnpike road from Burlington to Montpelier. As will be seen by reference to the chapter on internal improvements, this petition resulted in the establishment of these turnpikes according to the wishes of the petitioners.

In this year "Barty" Willard delivered himself of a rhyiming witticism which, we believe, has never been published. He was a wheelwright and blacksmith, and from 1793 to the time of his death, in 1815, at the age of sixty-eight years, lived on the site of the large brick house, now unoccupied, west of the southwest corner of Pearl and Willard Streets. At some time during the year 1805 a company of lawyers, among whom were General Levi House, Thaddeus Rice, Elnathan Keyes, E. D. Woodbridge, John Fay and his brother, Moses Fay, who were engaged in gaming and drinking, according to the custom of the times, invited Barty to take a seat at their table, and insisted on his asking a blessing, whereupon he improvised the following :

"Lord bless this clime, haste on the time
When death makes lawyers civil;
O, stop their clack, and send them back
Unto their master, Devil.

"Let not this band infest our land,
Nor let these liars conquer;
O, may this club of Beelzebub
Torment our world no longer.

"As bad, indeed, as the thistle-weed
That chokes our fertile mowing,
Compared, nigh, the Hessian fly,
That kills our wheat when growing.

"O, sullen death, now stop their breath,
Refine them all in brimstone;
Let them repair to h—l, and there
They'll turn the devil's grindstone."

Burlington during the War of 1812. — During the first twelve years of the present century the town grew even more rapidly than before. The forests, which had hardly been cleared in 1800, were laid low, and in their place might be seen at the proper season fields of grain and orchards of young and promising trees. Clusters of houses took the place of the evenly distributed dwellings of twenty years before, and the town was possessed of several hamlets. When war was declared, and the friends and the opponents of the national administration had laid aside their animosities to contribute equally to the com-



mon defense, Burlington became a point of considerable interest. Troops were stationed here under command of Gen. Macomb, and in 1813 Gen. Wade Hampton occupied the town with 1,400 men; troops also encamped in the easterly part of the town. Colonel Clark went from Burlington with 102 men and attacked a British force at St. Armand, killed nine, wounded fourteen, and took 101 prisoners, whom he brought to Burlington. The military authorities took possession of the college buildings and used them for an arsenal and barracks. Meanwhile it was suspended as an institution of learning. In 1813 the enemy threatened Burlington, so that the public stores at Plattsburgh were brought hither. The British fleet came up the lake and fired a few shot at this town, but retired when cannon on our shores began playing upon them. They made their approach from around Juniper Island with two gun-boats and nine row-galleys. Notwithstanding the slight repulse with which they met at Burlington, they commanded the lake for some time, and took every craft that they could find. They entered Shelburne Harbor and took the schooner of Captain Robert White, replying to his remonstrances with the explanation that they had nothing against him and wished him no personal injury, but were under strict orders to take everything that floated on the lake, and destroy what could not be utilized.¹

Embankments were thrown up on the lake shore north of the foot of Pearl street, now called the Battery, and barracks were built between Pearl street and Battery Place, and along the latter to the lake. These barracks were two stories high and were half surrounded by a piazza along the second story. Here were a store and medical and surgical departments complete. In 1813-14 Captain Lyon, then a boy of ten years, was employed there as waiter for two officers. The fatal epidemic of 1813 was dreadfully effective at this camp. Captain Lyon, who lost his father and other relatives and friends by this disease, describes its first symptom as being usually a pain in the left side, which would rapidly extend over the whole body, and in the brief space of a few hours cause a painful death. Women were little afflicted by it, but it was not uncommon for fifty men in this camp to die in one day.

Around the barracks was a camping ground about twice as large as the present Battery. Water street then extended from the Battery to Maple street, and during the war presented a scene of the greatest activity. The movement against the liquor traffic not having begun, soldier and civilian united in unconcealed successions of hilarious sprees. This thoroughfare was lined with little wooden buildings which had been converted into cheap boarding-houses,

¹About the beginning of the war, Mark Rice evinced the general uneasiness caused by the proximity of the enemy, by erecting a dwelling on Main street, which at a moment's warning could be converted into a little fort and made almost impregnable. The basement of this house he made a perfect dome of heavy stone and cement, with small windows like port-holes. Mr. Rice was a cabinet-maker, and built a little shop just west of his house. The shop long ago disappeared, but the dwelling is still standing and is in a good state of preservation. It is occupied by Mr. W. H. S. Whitcomb.



taverns and rum shops. One of the larger taverns, kept by one Chandonette, a Parisian, was a square, framed house, two stories high, painted white, and surmounted by a gambrel roof, and stood on the northeast corner of Main and Water streets, facing south. It was continually crowded with soldiers and camp-followers, who spent their time in drinking and carousing. Another tavern stood on the east side of Water street, fronting west, occupying the present site of the building owned by Drew & Conger. It was a long, low story-and-a-half building, with dormer windows projecting from the roof. About 1821 Russell Harrington, brother of William C. Harrington, was the proprietor of this house. Mayo's store stood directly opposite this resort.

This mercantile establishment was in the hands of two brothers, Nathaniel and Henry Mayo under the firm name of N. & H. Mayo, the father and uncle respectively of Henry Mayo, now residing in Burlington. It was the only store on the street. It was a brick building two stories high, about thirty feet north from the store that now stands in the vicinity. It presented its side to the street, and was entered by a door near the center on the Water street side. The proprietors did all the baking for the army and navy stationed at Burlington during the war. They had a bakehouse in the basement of the store and a wooden building for the same purpose a few feet southwest of it, down the bank. They also erected a building—the same one now occupied by Thomas Arbuckle as a dwelling—on Maple street and near its present site, in which they baked hard bread for the navy. During the first two years of the war Nathaniel Mayo occupied as a dwelling the house that now stands on the northwest corner of Main and Prospect streets, and was followed in the year 1814 by a Mr. Cushman. Opposite this residence, on Main street, was the store of Thaddeus Tuttle.

There were no manufacturing concerns on Water street nor on the lake shore. Indeed, there was little manufacturing of any kind here at that early date. Just west of Water street was a steep bank, verging directly to the water's edge. The principal thoroughfare to the lake, from the interior, was by way of Maple street. There was considerable travel, also, on Main street to Water, thence to Maple and the lake. Maple street was open only to St. Paul. Leaving what was then called Court-House Square, towards the lake on College street, the traveler was obliged to begin a descent about where E. T. Englesby then lived, into a ravine forty or fifty feet deep, as steep as he could safely descend, and cross on a plank a little brook that flowed south and west from Pearl street. This part of College street was then little more than a foot-path. It was a favorite coasting-place for the boys in winter. East of the square on College street, and between the present site of Howard National Bank and the store of A. N. Percy & Co., was a steep hollow, bridged, and east of that the street was almost impassable by reason of the ravine. This was not filled up for many years; the site of the city market building being



about the deepest part of this depression, and remaining impassable until the Vermont Central Railroad filled it up with the intention of passing over it to Main street. The boys who then attended school in the brick structure on the site of the present high-school, passed through this hollow on College street, crossing the bottom on a plank. Bank street extended to Water street, but was occupied only by dwelling-houses, most of them of small dimensions. No street extended west of Water street. Champlain and Pine streets were opened from Maple to Pearl, and occupied only by dwelling-houses. St. Paul, or Shelburne and Willard streets, were the only outlets of the town south. Winooski avenue did not reach north of Pearl street, that entire region being covered by a heavy growth of pine. The avenue was afterward opened north of Pearl street by Wyllys Lyman and George P. Marsh, under an agreement with the town, they being evidently desirous of increasing the value of their possessions in that neighborhood. Union street, with the exception of a narrow lane between Main and College streets, was pasture and meadow land. North Prospect street was a part of a large farm afterward owned by Governor Van Ness. There was no travel on South Prospect, though the thoroughfare in front of the College Park had very much the same appearance that it now presents—a number of the first houses still occupying the old sites. Colchester avenue, which then contained about one-tenth of the dwelling-houses that it now has, was considerably used by the wayfaring men between Burlington and Winooski Falls. The ravine on Pearl street was spanned by a bridge of about the same dimensions as the bridge across the same depression on St. Paul street, near King.

There was still but one dock at the lake—a small affair covering a part of the area now occupied by the south wharf, and owned by Curtis Holgate, or Hulgate, who had built it several years before the period of which we are speaking. Owing to the shallowness of the water at the end of this alleged dock—the depth was not more than six feet—the larger craft on the lake could not reach it, and were obliged to unlade the merchandise which they brought from the upper end of the lake, and to lade the produce of the country which they took south to exchange for merchandise, by means of lighters, while the lighters were filled and emptied by means of wagons driven a short distance into the water. Liquor casks and molasses barrels, the former more frequently than the latter, were thrown from the vessels into the water and floated ashore.

Burlington then presented a far less pleasing aspect to the sightseer on the lake than it now affords. The original forests, which had been cleared away, were not yet replaced by trees of growth sufficient to obstruct the view. The irregular terraces which have since been made beautiful by persistent grading, the rough ravine, and several monotonous groups of small old-fashioned dwelling houses, constructed with a view to affording protection from sun and storm,



without a thought of the ulterior and beneficent uses of beauty — all relieved only by two or three splendid structures like that of Thaddeus Tuttle, were exposed to the sight. The pine grove, before mentioned, at that time concealed a considerable portion of the town north of Pearl street. South of Main street and embracing the site now occupied by the residence of J. D. Kingsland, was the famous and beautiful sugar grove of William C. Harrington. Lombardy poplars had been planted here and there for shade, mingled with an occasional locust, which not long after suffered extermination from borers.

At the lake, near the foot of King street, lived Captain Gideon Lathrop, afterward commander of the *Congress*. Captain Winans, the builder of the *Vermont*, lived in the same neighborhood, as did also Curtis Holgate, the builder and owner of the old wharf. Admiral Richard Fittock lived close to the water's edge, at what is now the foot of Maple street. The jail limits of the town were defined on the west by the water line, and Fittock was once disturbed when his house was invaded by the lake, lest the submerged portion should be guilty "of breaking the jail bonds." Joseph King, brother of the "Admiral," lived with him in the house formerly occupied by their father, who died in 1804. Hamlin Johnson had a slaughter-house on King street, on the site of the present Powers house. Consider Severance, a cooper, lived in a small house on the southeast corner of King and Pine streets, where John Brooks now lives. His shop was just south of his house on Pine street. He afterwards moved to the rear of the old white church on White street, now Winooski Avenue. Elias Nye lived across from him on the corner of Pine and King streets. Justus Warner occupied a little wooden building on the south side of King street, on the site of the house in which Miss Louisa Howard recently died. George Robinson, a "witty, fun-loving, kind, generous-hearted lawyer," born at Taunton, Mass., on the 26th of August, 1775, who came to Burlington about the year 1800, began the study of law in the office of Elnathan Keyes and afterwards earned the title of "honest George Robinson," lived at the time of which we are speaking on the northwest corner of King and St. Paul streets, in the house now occupied by William H. Lane, and at a later day moved to Pearl street. He held many important positions in the town and county—was town clerk and judge of probate for years. He went to Michigan about the year 1833, and died there on the 15th of December, 1838.

Peter B. Smith, a tailor, lived on the southwest corner of King and St. Paul streets, and Silas Moulthrop was in company with him. Stephen Mix Mitchell, a lawyer, lived on the north side of Main street below the square. Dr. John Pomeroy occupied a brick building, still standing, on the east side of Battery street, about half way between Main and King. He was a leading physician, well known throughout the State, and always had eight or ten students in his office. About this time James Van Sicklen was one of his



students. Samuel Collamer, father of Senator Jacob Collamer, was a carpenter and joiner, and lived in a house which stands to-day where it did then, on the northwest corner of Main and Battery streets. He had a large family and was poor. The story is told that one of his sons, afterward the famous senator, who was an early student at the college, was reproved by one of the professors for coming to college barefooted, and told that he must wear shoes. This the boy succeeded in doing; but economized by carrying the shoes in his hand until he reached the college park, and there putting them on for the day. Elnathan Keyes occupied a house that stood on the northeast corner of Main and Pine streets. He was one of the first two lawyers to practice in the county, and was a man of very unusual ability. Shortly after this period he removed to New York, near Rochester, where he remained until his death. He was a brother of Mrs. Dr. John Peck.

On the southwest corner of Main and Pine streets, just west of the Van Ness house, lived Nathan B. Haswell, in the house which he built, and which stands there yet. Mr. Haswell was a prominent man in Burlington for many years, and deserves more than a passing mention. He was born in Bennington on the 20th of January, 1786. His father, Anthony Haswell, a native of Portsmouth, England, established the *Vermont Gazette* at Bennington, in 1783. After having had experience in a printing office and as a student of law, young Haswell came to Burlington with the object of finishing his education in the University; but the loss of his father's newspaper and press by fire determined him to engage in active business at once. In 1805 he received from Dr. Jabez Penniman, collector of customs, the office of inspector, which he retained until 1809, and then resigned. In 1812-13 he was the issuing commissary for the distribution of army rations. He was also a part of the time the public storekeeper, and superintended the taking of an inventory of the public property of Burlington. In 1814 he actively assisted in forwarding troops to Plattsburgh. From 1818 to 1836 he was respectively county clerk, clerk of the Supreme Court, notary public, master in chancery, etc. In 1836-7 he represented Burlington in the Legislature, and in the same year was appointed by the United States government agent to build the breakwater and to superintend the cleaning of the channel between North and South Hero. For more than forty years he was an active member of the Masonic order, and held the highest offices within its gift. He died at Quincy, Ill., on the 6th of June, 1855, while there on a business visit. His remains were buried in Burlington. "Amiability and kindness were his characteristics." In personal appearance he much resembled Martin Van Buren. For many years he carried on an auction store on the north side of City Hall Park, near the site of the Commercial Bank building. David Russell, whose influence was instrumental in bringing Mr. Haswell to Burlington, lived on the ground now occupied by the dwelling house of Joel H. Gates.



Opposite David Russell's, on the southwest corner of Main and Pine streets, lived another prominent man in Burlington, Samuel Hitchcock. He came to Burlington in 1786, and began the practice of law. He died before the war was over—November 30, 1813, aged fifty-eight years. He held all the highest offices which the town could bestow upon him, and ever acquitted himself to the satisfaction of his constituents.

A small private house, occupied either then or a little later by a musician named Harvey Milliken, stood on the site of the Van Ness house. Moses Jewett, a saddler, had erected what now forms the west end of the American Hotel, where he lived. He plied his trade in the upper story of a building which occupied the site of the Merchants' National Bank, on the north side of the square. David A. Smalley, a brief sketch of whom appears in the chapter devoted to the history of the legal profession, was one of Mr. Jewett's apprentices in the saddlery trade. Jewett afterwards sold his dwelling house to C. P. Van Ness. East of this house was Mills' Row, from which the *Northern Centinel* was issued for years. This was a long row of two-story buildings facing Main street, white, wooden and surrounded by a balcony. Here many of the soldiers and officers were quartered during the war. The site of the court-house and post-office buildings was occupied by Seth Pomeroy, who shortly afterwards sold the place to his brother, Dr. John Pomeroy. The house was a small cottage building facing Main street, from which it was separated by a neat yard. Behind it was a large garden and an orchard. It was after this time that the Mills brothers (Samuel and Ephraim) built the house now standing on the corner of King and Church streets. The ravine at this place had not been filled with earth. William C. Harrington resided some distance back from Seth Pomeroy's in a large building still standing, which was afterwards the middle seminary building on Church street. As Church street was not then open south of Main, Mr. Harrington was obliged to reach Main street by the way of Shielburne or St. Paul street.

Where the Exchange block now is was then a small story-and-a-half, unpainted, wooden, dwelling house. It occupied a knoll eight or ten feet high, faced Main street, and stood forty or fifty feet away from it. North of it was a garden, and a little south of the corner on the site now occupied by the store of A. N. Percy & Co., were the barns for the tavern kept then by Major Abram Brinsmaid, and afterwards by Captain Henry Thomas. Abbott & Wood were the first to build there after this, their building still standing on the same site. This inn stood on the ground now covered by the Strong block, and was a little, square, wooden, white, two-story house. The old framed court-house was where the Fletcher Library building now stands, fronting west, and was remarkably well suited to the purposes of its construction. South of the court-house, near the southeast corner of the city hall, was a small pond or marsh about a hundred feet long, filled in summer with willows and cat-tails and in winter affording a place on which the boys could skate.



Church street was far from being the main business street of the village. There were no blocks and few dwelling houses, only five or six stores and tin-shops. The more substantial business of the place was transacted around the square and at the head of Pearl street, though considerable mercantile business was done along the western part of Pearl street, as it was then counted, viz., in the vicinity of the present residence of Edward C. Loomis. Although the square was the liveliest portion of the place, it presented to the stranger an altogether different appearance from what it now has. The most popular resort for strangers and those who loved not the life of the soldier was the comfortable hostelry of "Uncle John Howard." John Howard came here from Addison in 1812, and exchanged his Addison farm for the tavern with Arza Crane, the preceding proprietor. This building was already an old structure and could hardly be entitled to a more dignified appellation than that of a country tavern. Although three stories in height, it was not so high as many buildings now are at a two story altitude. Being very old it was of course a framed house. It occupied about the site now covered by the store of B. Turk & Brother, next east from what was then the shoe shop of Lemuel Page. In the rear of the main building extended two wings, one behind the other. The principal entrance was reached from College street by an ascent of several steps; but on the west side was a smaller entrance, which could not, in those days of respectable reveries, have much significance. There was a broad covered piazza in front of the second story, and the summit of the roof was surmounted the whole length by a platform surrounded by a balustrade. Immediately east of the main building was a covered driveway, separating the tavern from a little two-story building just beyond. As early as 1825 a dancing-hall was built over this driveway. The spacious tavern yards and barns were reached by this opening. What anecdotes were related and side-splitting jokes played in that old inn; what comedies of real life were enacted there; what laughter at the keen witticisms of Barty Willard came from the lips of the old-time guests who arrived by the latest stage from Boston, Troy, Montpelier, or perhaps Canada, we can never know; but from the hearty, genial nature of John Howard, and the smiles that illumine the faces of the "old settlers" whenever they hear or tell of the place, we are safe in assuming that a Boswell's life of Uncle John would be well worth the reading. The back yard of the inn took up nearly an acre of ground. The shoe shop of Lemuel Page, before mentioned, which was on the corner west of the tavern, was only one of several shops situated in a square hip-roofed building, erected years before by James Simmons.

On St. Paul street west of the park was a brick building, still standing, next north from the site of the Evarts House, erected and then owned by Gideon King, who used the upper story for a sail-loft. This room was afterward occupied as a Masonic lodge room. The building now occupied by N. K. Brown, still farther north, was the store of Samuel Hickok, who dwelt in a two-story



framed house built many years earlier by Moses Catlin, on the site now covered with the ruins of the Evarts House. Mr. Hickok was born in Sheffield, Berkshire county, Mass., on the 4th of September, 1774, and at the age of eighteen years came to Burlington from Lansingburgh, N. Y. After the death of his brother and partner, William, he succeeded to a trade carried on in a little store that stood near the site afterward occupied by the Rutland depot. His second store stood on the site of the present dwelling house of Hon. Daniel Roberts. He soon after erected the large brick building next east from Mr. Roberts's, where he resided for some time and until his removal to the corner. At the same time he built the brick store now occupied by Mr. Brown, which by good authorities is said to be the oldest brick building now in the city. He was always one of the foremost in every undertaking for the public good, and was highly and justly esteemed by his townsmen. He died on the 4th of June, 1849.

On the southwest corner of College and St. Paul streets was the general store of Ebenezer T. Englesby, an extensive land owner possessed of a farm in what is now the southwest portion of the city, still owned largely by his lineal descendants. A brief sketch of his life appears on a subsequent page of this chapter. Mr. Englesby had a keen wit, and when once urged to purchase stock in a proposed railroad company when railroads were first projected, on the ground that the enterprise would add to the value of his land, is said to have replied that the ground of the proposition was no inducement, as the value of his land had been so great for years that no one could be persuaded to buy it.

Thaddeus Tuttle then lived in the house of his own construction, lately occupied by Lawrence Barnes. Tuttle was a very wealthy man and built this house in 1804. He afterwards sold the entire property to C. P. Van Ness, who rendered it historic by his entertainment of General Lafayette in 1825. Mr. Tuttle kept store in a house which he built on the site of the present residence of William L. Burnap; the walls of which have never been taken down. Tuttle was at one time in New York trading, so the story runs, and was asked by his mercantile friends what per cent. profit he made on the goods which he purchased of them. "One per cent.," answered he. "No more than that!" exclaimed his questioner; "we cannot give you credit on so small a profit." "Wait a minute," said Mr. Tuttle; "my method is this: What I buy for a dollar I sell for two dollars, and easily live on the profit." He obtained credit. Mr. Tuttle was a large property owner in the towns of Westford and Shelburne, and sold the farm on Shelburne Point to Nathan White, a soldier of the Revolution, whose descendants have ever since been prominent in all the affairs of that town.

College street towards the lake was very sparsely populated, and, as we have said, did not answer the description of a street at all. On the site of the



house now occupied by Dr. L. M. Bingham, and in a building which still forms a part of that house, lived during the war Phineas, a brother of Ebenezer Lyman. Church street north of College was sparsely inhabited and possessed few business houses. Trade had but just begun to set that way. Samuel H. Peaslee, a saddler, had a shop on ground now covered by Scully's store. South of him some distance, and about on the site of the old buildings recently torn down by Mrs. Wheeler, Lewis Curtis had opened a jeweler's store. He lived with his father on the corner of Bank and Church streets, across from the Union block. Between this part of Church street and the lake were a few houses occupied as dwellings. On the corner of Pine and Bank streets, where Mrs. Cole now lives, dwelt a man named Nathaniel Doak. Moses Bliss lived on the southeast corner of Bank and Pine streets, where Mr. Lucas now lives. He was a very prominent man in the county and was deputy sheriff and also sheriff for years. On the southeast corner of Cherry and Champlain streets, in a low and time-stained building, lived one Richard Corning. John B. Wetmore lived on the east side of St. Paul street, not far from the present residence of Mrs. Van Namee. Nearly opposite the house now occupied by Captain Anderson, on St. Paul street, Dr. Truman Powell dwelt. Willard Rockwell, a cabinet-maker, lived on the northeast corner of Bank and St. Paul streets. Judge John Law lived on Champlain street about three houses south of Pearl, nearly opposite the present grocery store. Opposite the present residence of General Henry, at the foot of Pearl street, were the four "Pell houses," all alike, built and occupied by William F. Pell, and also occupied to some extent by the officers of the forces here during the war. Dr. Lazarus Tousey built the house now occupied by Albert Pierce on the corner of Church and Pearl streets, and kept an "apothecary shop," in the building next west of the Baptist chapel. The site of the Unitarian Church was then a part of the pine wood before described. Beyond the wood, in the house now occupied by Albert E. Jones, towards Mallet's Bay, Stephen Russell lived. Near the mouth of the Winooski River lived two brickmakers by the name of Farwell. They settled on the well-known Bigelow farm, and were here some time previous to 1812. On what is now the northeast corner of Pearl street and Winooski avenue was the distillery of the popular and energetic sheriff, Daniel Staniford. He lived in a stone house, still standing, on the northwest corner of Winooski avenue and Grant street, though then it was a solitary building not very near any street, but facing Pearl, some distance from it. On the southwest corner of Winooski avenue and Pearl street dwelt Job Reed, a hatter, who afterwards drowned himself in the lake. Another hatter, and a more prosperous one, William I. Seymour, had a large business at his house on the south side of Pearl street, a little north and east of the First Congregational parsonage. Farther east on the same side of Pearl street, Horace Loomis had a tannery and leather store just opposite his dwelling. This leather store was built of stone, and remained on the ground for



many years after the period of which we speak. In the house east of Phineas Loomis, the same building now occupied by Miss Diantha Taft, Dr. Elijah Harmon lived and practiced in an office then standing just west of the house. He erected these buildings and set out the splendid elm tree that now casts its shade over that part of the street. Dr. Harmon was postmaster some time while the office was on Pearl street, and afterwards moved to Chicago, in time to be counted an early settler in the then infant Queen City of the West. The house in which Mayor Woodbury now lives was after this time erected by George Moore, a brother of Luther Moore.¹

The farm which then embraced the place now owned by Mr. Woodbury, was then the property of Moses Fay, attorney. On the site of the Vilas house, so called, opposite the Catholic College, Adolphus Wallbridge kept a tavern. The house now owned and occupied by Henry Loomis was after this built by Luther Loomis, who then lived with his father, Horace. On the north side of Pearl street, where Willard street now leads, and including the land owned by Mrs. Tucker, Eleazer H. Deming kept a store and lived directly west of it. Ozias Buell, another prominent merchant of the times, was then engaged in mercantile business in the house yet standing on the Henry Hickok lot on the north side of Pearl street. Colonel Buell was born in Litchfield, Conn., April 8, 1769, and died in Burlington August 5, 1832. After receiving a thorough business education under his uncle, Julius Deming, of Litchfield, he first established himself in Kent, Conn., where he remained ten or twelve years, and in 1804 removed to Burlington. Being a man of great energy of character, he and his brother-in-law, Moses Catlin, exerted a beneficial influence on the moral and business growth of the place. He was the leading spirit and contributor in the erection of the first house of worship in 1812, and was also treasurer for twenty-one years of the University of Vermont. He was a man of fine personal appearance, and in the days when riding on horseback was common was conspicuous for his skill and grace on horseback. His brother-in-law, Moses Catlin, was born in Litchfield, Conn., in 1770, and early married Lucinda, daughter of Heman and niece of Ethan Allen. Mr. Catlin came to Burlington with his family several years before

¹ Eli Barnard, afterward the proprietor of the Green Mountain House, was step-father to William, Polly, Luther and George Moore, two or three of whom are well remembered, and who leave numerous descendants in Burlington and elsewhere. George Moore was born in 1789, and while yet a young man he and the others named came to Burlington and moved into the Green Mountain House. He was a merchant on Pearl street, his store being between the site of the Vilas House and that owned and occupied by Mayor U. A. Woodbury. He had nine children, of whom four, Horace Loomis Moore, of Burlington, Charles T. and Jacob Williams Moore, of Rochester, N. Y., and Samuel C. Moore, of Williamsport, Pa., are now living. George Moore was a commissary in the War of 1812-15, and was interested in all enterprises looking to the improvement of this place. He was one of the originators of the woolen mills at Winooski. William Moore, brother to George, went from here to Jericho, and thence to Lyons, N. Y. He died at Geneva, in that State. Luther Moore built the structure known as the Vilas House, on Pearl street, and lived there some time. He died in Washington, D. C.



Colonel Buell, and erected the house on the west side of the square, afterwards the residence of Samuel Hickok, where they lived several years. They then removed to an eminence back of the university grounds, near the present site of the Mary Fletcher Hospital. By erecting the mills and manufactories at Winooski Falls he gave the first impetus to the growth of that flourishing little place. He was kind and gentle in his domestic relations, and was a man of active and discriminating benevolence. He died in 1842. His younger brother, Guy Catlin, who was intimately associated with him in all his business and public affairs, was born in Litchfield in 1782, and died in Burlington in 1853. He took an active interest in the affairs of the University of Vermont.

On the northeast corner of Pearl and North Prospect streets was the store of Colonel James Sawyer. His house stood between the store and the site of the Medical College. Alvan Foote, a prominent attorney, lived on the south side of Pearl street opposite the present residence of Colonel Peterson, but he subsequently removed to the site of Colonel Peterson's residence. John Storrs lived in the first house west of the Green Mountain House. George Robinson afterwards married his widow and removed to the same house. Hon. Daniel Farrand occupied the same house on Prospect street now occupied by G. G. Benedict. Just south from him dwelt Dr. John Perrigo, who erected the house that stands there now. In a small white house on the site of the present dwelling of Charles Ripley on Prospect street, lived the famous Dr. Daniel Coit, inventor and industrious circulator of "Coit's Pills," then deemed a panacea. Advertisements for Coit's pills were published in almost every paper in the State. It occupied nearly a column in the *Rutland Herald* of those times. William Coit, father of the doctor, surveyed and laid out the village in the spring of 1790. John Johnson, a surveyor, and one of the ablest and most prominent men of the times, from 1807 to his death, in 1842, occupied the large brick house at the northeast corner of College Green, overlooking the whole length of Main street to the west.¹ On the north side of College Green and south side of Pearl street, just opposite the site of the Medical College, was the large two-story white building built by Giles T. Chittenden and used by him for a store. It was an elaborate structure, which those who remember say was decorated with extensive interior galleries. Eddy, Munroe & Hooker, the prominent merchants and lumbermen of later days, followed Chittenden in the occupation of this building. South of the store of Thaddeus Tuttle there was only one house on Prospect street, viz., the little house of Noadiah Kellogg on the east side of the street.

Some of the most prominent residents of that portion of the town now comprised within the limits of South Burlington were the following: Eliab

¹ A sketch of Mr. Johnson appears in later pages of this work in connection with that of his grandson, Charles E. Allen, who occupies the old homestead.



Fobes, Pelatiah Holbrook, John Eldredge, Samuel Blinn, Nathan Smith, Thomas Comstock, Ebenezer Brown, Samuel Fuller, Theodore Catlin on the farm now owned by Lemuel S. Drew, Rufus Crossman, Gershom Holmes, Levi Johnson, and Alexander Davidson, the hermit.

The prominent offices then held by residents of the county were distributed as follows: Chief judge of the County Court, Heman Allen, then of Milton, afterwards of Burlington; assistants, Joel Brownson and John Jackson; judge of probate, Truman Chittenden, of Williston; sheriff, Heman Lowry, of Burlington; State's attorney, George Robinson; high bailiff, James Enos; justices of the peace for Burlington, Samuel Hitchcock, David Russell, Ozias Buell, Rufus Crossman, Ebenezer Brown, John Eldredge, John Johnson, Ellick Powell, George Robinson, and Amos Weeks. Martin Chittenden, of Jericho, it will be remembered was governor of the State, and issued a proclamation ordering the troops from Vermont to Plattsburgh, which met with a sharp reception in the rendezvous across the lake. William C. Harrington was one of the councilors, and George Robinson was representative from Burlington. The practicing attorneys in Burlington were as follows: William C. Harrington, Samuel Hitchcock, Elnathan Keyes, George Robinson, Stephen Mix Mitchel, Alvan Foote, Cornelius P. Van Ness, Phineas Lyman, Moses Fay, Charles Adams, Warren Loomis, James L. Sawyer, Archibald W. Hyde, David Stone, John Brownson. Rev. Daniel C. Sanders was president of the University of Vermont. Nathaniel Chipman, of Tinmouth, was chief judge of the Supreme Court, and Daniel Farrand was one of the assistant judges. The grand list of Burlington was \$23,768.20.

Soldiers of 1812.—We have not been able to obtain the complete list of soldiers enlisting from Chittenden county during this war. Of the companies made up at Burlington we have the names of two which were composed of residents of Burlington and two neighboring towns. One company, commanded by Captain Samuel Bliss, was made up partly of the following men from Burlington and Williston: Samuel Bliss, Truman Hawley, Asahel Spear, Chester Bliss, Jonathan Lukan, Joshua Read, jr., Jed Higbe, Samuel Fairpoint, John Lyon, Zacharias Drew, John Johnson, Samuel Minor, Benjamin Bitgood, Heman Vanornam, John Hadley, Samuel Payn, Lyman Davis, Truman Davis, Jonathan Bliss, Aloe Parmer, William Pitcher, Adryas Bliss, Joseph Tucker, David Straw, John Meaker, Silas Hartshorn, Joseph Jones, John Dearn.

Another company, commanded by Captain John Parmer, was made up partly of the following men from Burlington and Shelburne: John Parmer, Edmund Sherman, Moses Allen, Charles Hubbell, Jonathan Cole, Simon Goodwin, Elisha Keelar, Dyer Wistcott, William Barker, Benjamin Simons, Stephen Runnels (Réynolds), Andrew Currier, Amos Castle, Benjamin Wistcott, Chas. Martin, David Smith, Edmund P. Stedman, Elijah Peas, Eli Haskins, Hyson Rick, Herman Herlbret, John Kent, John Frazier, John Wistcott, Stephen



Loomis, jr., John Tucker, John Eddy, Lyman Hollis, Milo Byington, Ora Dugget, Reuben S. Martin, Roger Roseford, Richard Turner, William Martin.

Smuggling.—From the earliest period after the admission of Vermont into the Union until the present date there has always been more or less open and defiant evasion of the revenue laws, though for many years the practice has ostensibly diminished and almost disappeared. During the War of 1812–15, however, smugglers were very bold and active, and there is a current belief among those who are old enough to remember the times that privateers were fitted out and even granted letters of marque and reprisal with the apparent two-fold object of embarrassing the movements of the British on the lake and of running down and exterminating smugglers from the Canadian markets; which, nevertheless, connived with the smugglers and even aided and abetted them under agreements for a division of the profits. Undoubtedly much of this evil was done away with at the close of the war.

Cold Season of 1816.—The year 1816 is remarkable in the annals of the entire Champlain valley as well as of other portions of the country, for the fact that frosts occurred every month in the year and a heavy snow storm took place on the 9th of June. Corn, which was then the principal crop in Vermont, was wholly destroyed, and vegetables and cereals generally were extremely scarce. Owing to the fact that transportation was then slow and laborious, and money, by reason of the effects of the recent war, was more of a curiosity than a legal tender, the inhabitants of the entire valley suffered privations which cannot be described. Many families which in ordinary times were counted well-to-do, would resort to the grist-mills of their neighborhood and collect the dust that fell from the stones, from which a little nourishment could be obtained. The following summer produced greater suffering still. Wheat was sold in small quantities at \$3.50 per bushel, and was brought up from Connecticut and other parts of the "south." There were hardly enough potatoes for seed. The scarcity of corn produced a scarcity of pork. A barrel of what was called "whole-hog pork" sold for \$40 a barrel, four times what it was worth in ordinary times. The sailors on the lake, who, in the summer of 1816 wore overcoats and mittens every evening, were accustomed to traverse all parts of Grand Isle county for provisions in 1817, and could seldom obtain at any price anything besides milk. These hardships moderated considerably after the harvest time of 1817, and interrupted activities were resumed.

Burlington in 1825.—Between the close of the War of 1812–15 and the year 1825 many changes took place in the general appearance of Burlington and in the amount and nature of business transacted within its limits. Ten years of peace had proved a benefit to the place. The most important change was to be noticed in the appearance of College street and vicinity. Business houses of considerable importance had been established and were increasing



the value of real property in the entire neighborhood, and indeed in the town. The other streets were not so much changed. Water street had fallen into its normal inactivity, while upper Pearl street retained its former volume of business.

George Robinson was still town clerk; he and Alvan Foote and Samuel Hickok were selectmen; Nathan B. Haswell and George Moore, overseers of the poor; John N. Pomeroy was treasurer; Alvan Foote, Philo Doolittle and John Van Sicklen, jr., were listers; Phineas Atwater was first constable and collector; highway surveyors were Philo Doolittle, district No. 1; John Peck, No. 2; Simon Willard, No. 3; Stephen Johnson, No. 4; Abel Owen, No. 5; Joseph Bostwick, No. 6; Thomas Atwater, No. 7; Stephen Russell, No. 8; Dwight Dean, No. 9; the fence viewers were Eleazer H. Deming, Luther Loomis and John Van Sicklen, jr.; James H. Platt was pound-keeper; Lemuel Page and Luther Moore were sealers of leather; Jesse J. Starr was sealer of weights and measures; John N. Pomeroy, Benjamin F. Bailey and Elijah D. Harmon were tythingmen; John M. Morse, Himan Lane, John Abbott, Joseph Browning, Harry Hatch, William F. Wicker, John Lathrop and John W. Partridge were haywards; John Eldredge was trustee of schools; Samuel Nichols, Jasper Beck and Samuel R. Brown were sextons.

The names of the grand jurors and petit jurors of this year are the names of the most prominent men of that period, many of them having been prominent through the period of the then last war. The grand jurors were Ozias Buell, Horacé Loomis, Samuel Hitchcock, Ebenezer T. Englesby, Luther Loomis, Guy Catlin, John Peck, Job Reed, Wm. I. Seymour and John Howard. The petit jurors were Henry Mayo, John Van Sicklen, jr., Samuel Mills, George Moore, Philo Doolittle, William C. Harrington, Abel Owen, J. J. Starr, Henry Thomas, Samuel Dinsmore, John Herrick and Sion Earl Howard.

Montpelier had been the State capital for seventeen years. The governor was a Burlington man, Cornelius P. Van Ness, at that time residing in the house lately owned and occupied by Lawrence Barnes, on Main street, where Thaddeus Tuttle resided in 1812. Two years later John C. Thompson, of this town, was one of the governor's councilors. The representative of Burlington for the year ending in the fall of 1825 was Charles Adams; his successor, Benjamin F. Bailey. Hon. Timothy Follett was chief judge of the Chittenden County Court; Heman Lowry was sheriff; Moses Bliss, high bailiff; Benjamin F. Bailey, State's attorney; and George Robinson, judge of probate for the district of Chittenden.

The justices of the peace were Daniel Farrand, David Russell, George Robinson, Alvan Foote, Nathan B. Haswell, John N. Pomeroy, John C. Thompson, Andrew Thompson, Isaac T. Hyde, Samuel Clark, Benjamin F. Bailey, James L. Sawyer, Truman Seymour, Phineas Lyman, John Van Sicklen, jr., Charles Adams, and Henry Mayo.



David Russell was then clerk of the Supreme Court and Nathan B. Haswell clerk of the County Court. William A. Griswold was United States district attorney for the District of Vermont. The practicing attorneys were Daniel Farrand, George Robinson, John N. Pomeroy, Alvan Foote, Charles Adams, James L. Sawyer, Luman Foote, William A. Griswold, John C. Thompson, Benjamin F. Bailey, Gamaliel B. Sawyer, William Brayton, Jacob Maeck, George F. Porter, Warren Loomis, and George Peaslee.

There were three churches in town ; the First Calvinistic Congregational, with Rev. Willard Preston for pastor, the Unitarian, George G. Ingersoll, pastor, and the Methodist society, Truman Seymour, local preacher. The only church buildings in the place were owned by the first two, the Unitarian house of worship being very much as at present, and the Congregational house being the old "white church," which had given the street now known as the southern end of Winooski avenue the name of White street. It stood about on the site of the present chapel of this church and fronted towards Pearl street. Burlington was then but six years possessor of its first bank, the old Bank of Burlington, which occupied the site of the Howard Opera House.

Lafayette's Visit.—It was on the 29th of June, 1825, that General Lafayette favored the village of Burlington with a visit, which has become a part of the history of the place. The *Northern Centinel* of July 8, 1825, contained a description of the event, of which the following is an abstract :

The general and his suite arrived about two o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, accompanied by Governor Van Ness, his secretary and staff, and a deputation from the committee of arrangements, who had waited upon him at Montpelier, and in behalf of the citizens of Burlington requested the honor of a visit from him on his passage through the State.

A detachment of cavalry under command of Major Erastus Meech met the general at Williston and escorted him to the heights near the college, where he was received by the committee of arrangements and the "Independent Greys," under command of Captain H. Thomas. The arrival was announced by a salute from the artillery under the direction of Captain Corning, the ringing of bells and hearty cheers from an immense multitude assembled on the occasion. A procession was formed under the direction of the sheriff of the the county, Heman Lowry,¹ marshal of the day, assisted by fourteen deputy marshals, in the following order : 1. escort of cavalry ; 2. instrumental music ; 3. military band ; 4. Independent Greys ; 5. General Lafayette and his excellency in an open barouche drawn by four elegant gray horses ; 6. George Washington Lafayette, Mr. Le Vasseur, the general's secretary, and the governor's secretary and staff in a coach drawn by four bay horses ; 7. committee of arrangements ; 8. judges of courts and civil authority ; 9. president and

¹ Mr. Lowry then lived in the house still standing on the lower part of Main street, opposite the present residence of Joel H. Gates.



officers of college; 10. Revolutionary officers and soldiers; 11. students of the college; 12. citizens generally.

The procession then moved to the head of Pearl street, down Pearl to Church street, then to North street, now Bank, thence to First, now Champlain street, thence south to Main and east to Court-House Square. On arriving in front of Gould's Hotel, known as Howard's Hotel¹ (on the site now occupied by the clothing store of B. Turk & Bros.) Lafayette alighted and, supported by the governor's aids, proceeded to the apartments which had been provided for his reception. Pursuant to arrangement, General Lafayette and his suite appeared shortly after on the piazza, accompanied by the governor and his suite, where William A. Griswold delivered an address of welcome. The Revolutionary soldiers, numbering about 100, were directly in front of the piazza, surrounded by a vast concourse of people. After Lafayette's reply to the address of welcome, the soldiers were introduced to him in Mr. Gould's long room. Then followed the usual addresses. Dinner was given by Mr. Gould, at which Horace Loomis presided, supported by Timothy Follett, Samuel Hickok, Guy Catlin, A. W. Hyde, and John C. Thompson, vice-presidents. After dinner the party repaired to College Hill, and were received in front of the north wing. After the ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the college the general returned to Gould's Hotel. He passed the evening at the residence of Governor Van Ness (in the house recently owned and occupied by Lawrence Barnes, on Main street), who generously opened his doors for the reception of the public. The reception lasted from about eight o'clock until eleven, and was a brilliant affair. The "court-yard" presented an elegant appearance, lamps and chandeliers being suspended from the branches of trees and shrubbery, and a transparent arch thrown across the gate at the foot of the avenue leading to the house, bore the inscription, "Welcome to Lafayette." At eleven o'clock the general was escorted to the wharf, where the *Phoenix* was in waiting under Captain G. Burnham. The *Phoenix* and *Congress*, the latter under Captain J. R. Harrington, greeted the hero with salutes. The guest then went to Whitehall on the *Phoenix*, accompanied by Governor Van Ness and secretary and council, and the committee of arrangements.

At the time of this reception the Van Ness place on Main street embraced a tract of land which extended south far enough to include the mansion of Colonel Cannon and thirty acres of land adjacent, in all eighty-one and a half acres. Governor Van Ness purchased the property of Thaddeus Tuttle on the 9th of April, 1824, and owned it until July 12, 1845, when he deeded it to Henry Leavenworth, who opened streets through it.

Business Centers in 1827. — The following description of the square and Pearl street, and other portions of Burlington in 1827, is substantially the same as given by Mr. Frederick Smith, who made Burlington his home in that year. North of Pearl street there was not more than half a dozen houses, and they

¹This tavern was then kept for a short time by Royal Gould.



were small. The only street that was opened north of Pearl was North avenue, which was then inhabited chiefly by several colored families in shanties of the most rude construction. Water street was also inhabited by the lowest families between the Battery and Main street, while south of that were a number of the most respectable families in town. There were the same two hotels mentioned in the description of the street of a former period, kept in 1827 by the father of the late Miles Evarts, and by Cady & Doolittle, respectively. The principal store on the street was that of Mayo & Follett, which occupied the site now covered by the stone store of Van Sicklen, Seymour & Co. The square was surrounded by some of the most important of the business houses in town. Lemuel Page still occupied the old two-story framed dwelling house that stood on the northeast corner of College and St. Paul streets, and made shoes after the fashion of those times. The next building east of that was Howard's tavern. After passing the driveway just east of this hotel the visitor would see the story-and-a-half framed store building of Isaac Warner, which was entered by a short stairway. On the site of the Merchants' National Bank was the two-story brick store built by Jireh Durkee, and occupied until about this time by him. He was soon after succeeded by Burdick & Southgate. The next building east was of about the same proportion, and was occupied by Dr. John Peck, who at that time occupied it solely as a drug store.

Dr. John Peck was a native of Litchfield county, Conn., and came to Burlington in 1804. He always lived on the premises now owned and occupied by his son, Edward W. Peck, No. 326 College street. At first his dwelling was a framed house, but he built, after years, the house in which his son now lives. He was one of the most extensive land owners in the town, and at different times had title to the best land in all parts of the town. At one time he owned a tract of about twenty-five acres, embracing the corner of Maple and Willard streets, and the residence of Hon. E. J. Phelps. He bought it of William C. Harrington. In the spring of 1816 he made his first purchase of land on the north side of the square, and from about that time until 1830 conducted an extensive drug business. In that year he enlarged the building which he had before occupied, or rather rebuilt it entire, with such an outlay of pains and expense that the block was called the best in the State. It then, as now, included the buildings east and west of the store, which he and two of his sons occupied under the firm name of J. & J. H. Peck & Co., viz., the building now occupied by R. B. Stearns & Co. and that occupied by the Merchants' National Bank. From this block E. A. Stansbury issued the *Burlington Courier*, and afterwards Saxe the *Sentinel*. Stimulated by the sharp rivalry between the square and Water street, between the wholesale store of Follett & Bradley at the south dock and that of J. & J. H. Peck & Co., at the square, the latter became the most extensive house in Vermont, and scenes of great business activity were frequently presented, while the six-horse and eight-horse "land-ships" were lading for the different interior towns of the State. About 1854 this firm was



succeeded by E. W. Peck & Co. In 1868 the fourth story was added to the building by the present owner, who also lowered the front in the spring of 1875. Dr. John Peck died in 1863, aged seventy-seven years.

Emerson & Orvis occupied the next store to the east as a dry goods store. Frederick Orvis, who managed the business, occupied the same dwelling house in which we found Moses Jewett during the war, on the corner now occupied by the American Hotel. From the store of Emerson & Orvis to the corner of Church street would have been a vacant lot but for a little 8 x 12 barber shop kept by James Southard. Even as late as 1830 it was a fashion universally observed for the men to be closely shaven. No beards were to be seen, so that we may suppose Mr. Southard had the opportunity for making a comfortable living from his occupation. A second story was added to this building in later days, which extended over a greater area than the first. The structure now stands on the south side of Battery street just above Maple.

The northeast corner of Court-House Square was occupied by the tavern of Captain Henry Thomas. Church street ended at College street, and Captain Thomas's barn stood south of the store of A. N. Percy & Co.; south and west of the barn was the frog pond mentioned before.¹ There was a deep hole, still to be seen north of this barn on College street, and to the east some distance was a knoll the summit of which was about on a level with the square. On this elevation were two buildings, the one on the south side being a little framed carpenter shop, and across from it the brick building which stands there yet, the property now of S. Beach, who occupies the basement as a bakery and confectionery store.

South of Thomas's Hotel was a driveway running east and west from the hotel barn to the square. Captain Thomas had by this time obtained license from the town to build a public or dancing hall over and a little south of this driveway, which was already quite a popular resort during winter evenings for dancing parties and dancing-schools. A few yards south of this hall was the old court-house, facing west. The pine tree whipping-post was still there, though it was not frequently called into requisition. The site of the present city hall had been taken up by Nathaniel Mayo, who had built a little brick meat market there and carried on the business himself. The place formerly occupied by Seth Pomeroy on the site of the post-office building was at this time in the possession of John N. Pomeroy. Mills' Row was the same as

¹This pond was a quagmire composed of quicksand, so yielding that at one time Captain Lyon easily drove an iron rod into the earth at that place a depth of eighteen feet. He is authority for the statement that the city hall virtually floats on this plot of quicksand. He was one of the building committee at the erection of the city hall, and employed J. D. Allen to solve the problem of building a house on the sand that should not yield to the first attack of wind and rain. Mr. Allen accordingly calculated that the surface of Church and Main streets must be made sufficiently stiff to resist the pressure from beneath that would inevitably follow from the weight of the walls of the proposed structure. The surface of the streets was therefore hardened with small stones and cement. The wisdom of this proceeding was afterwards demonstrated, when, upon the breaking of the surface of Main street for the laying of a sewer, the city hall was found to have settled for the first time.



during the war. Charles Adams had erected a small brick dwelling just south of it where he dwelt, Harvey Milliken lived across St. Paul, then Shelburne street, from Frederick Orvis, on the site of the Van Ness house, Samuel Hickok still resided on the northwest corner of Main and St. Paul streets, and carried on a mercantile business two doors north of his house. Haswell's auction store was at this period between Hickok's dwelling and store. The next building north of Hickok's store was used by Philo Doolittle as a store. Next was the store of E. T. Englesby, while a small harness shop was on the corner. E. T. Englesby had now completed his garden, which he laid out in 1819. It was called the finest garden in the State and took up the entire block north and west of the house. Mr. Englesby came to Burlington from the city of New York in November, 1797, after a journey by way of Whitehall and the lake of eleven days, and began a mercantile career as clerk in the store of Captain Thaddeus Tuttle, with whom he boarded. Several of his mother's brothers bore a conspicuous and honorable part in the Revolution. The family came from Massachusetts. In the spring of 1798 Mr. Englesby was initiated into the first degree of Freemasonry in the Washington Lodge at Burlington. He remained with Captain Tuttle two years and then formed a partnership with Joshua Isham, of Shelburne Falls, a store being opened at both Shelburne and Burlington. He assumed sole control of the business in the spring of 1802, and, from a position in the rudiments of financial success, in a few years attained wealth and prominence. He was made president of the Bank of Burlington in 1820 and officiated in that capacity until 1849, retiring then with the confidence and regards of his associates. He was four times married, his first wife being a sister of John N. Pomeroy, his second and third wives, daughters of Colonel E. S. Keyes, and his fourth wife, the mother of L. B., E. C., and Rosalind P. Englesby, was Adela Brush, of Massachusetts. Mr. Englesby died in February, 1854, aged seventy-seven years.

The first building north of College street on the west side of Church street was the same one now occupied by H. E. Adams & Son, jewelers.

North of the ground where the Chinese laundry now is was the jewelry store of Pangburn & Brinsmaid. A little way north of that was the tailor shop of Uriah Dubois, in the same building now occupied by Brinsmaid & Hildreth. Next was the low, two-story white framed store of Sion E. Howard, who was really the first proprietor of a cash store in Burlington. Previous to the system which he inaugurated here, the custom was for purchasers to run accounts with the several stores for a period of not less than six months, and to pay their bills in farm products, such as wheat, cattle, etc., at the market prices. Money was scarce, and our ancestors, civilized though they were, were forced to resort in their trade to the exceedingly primitive method of barter, without the intermediation of money. Howard's store stood about on the site of Frederick Burritt's drug store. The building was a small one with low rooms,



and "bull's-eye" windows. Mr. Howard lived on the site of the brick house still occupied by his widow, on the southeast corner of St. Paul and Bank streets.

On the corner of Bank and Church streets, next north of Howard's store, was the historic Bank of Burlington, which had elegant furniture, and the chairs of which are now distributed among the heirs of the old directors. These chairs were equal in number to the directors of the bank, and were decorated on the back with paintings of the most prominent buildings in the town, chiefly residences of the directors themselves. The bank building was constructed of brick, with the entrance to the bank on Church street. In the rear were apartments elegantly fitted up for the home of the cashier, who at this period was Andrew Thompson. The entrance to this part of the building was from Bank street.

On the northwest corner of Bank and Church streets was the handsome two-story dwelling house of William A. Griswold. It was constructed of brick and faced Church street. The next building north was the little wooden tin-shop of Jesse J. Starr, who then dwelt in the same building in which James A. Shedd now lives on the southwest corner of Church and Cherry streets. The widow of Hawley Durkee, recently deceased, kept tavern in what is now Rowe's Hotel. North of that on Church street were several small houses devoted to various purposes, the only dwelling being the same building now standing on the southwest corner of Church and Pearl streets.

South from Pearl street, on the east side of Church, the first building was the same one now standing in the same place, on the southeast corner of Church and Pearl streets. Some time after this George P. Marsh dwelt in this house. On the southeast corner of Church and Cherry streets was a brick building used by John Morse as a paint shop. The jail was the next structure, and appeared nearly the same as it does now excepting that it was a trifle smaller. Between the jail and Bank street were a number of little shops, and the dwelling house of Dubois the tailor stood on the corner. Just across Bank street, in a wooden building, Samuel H. Peaslee carried on his trade as a harness-maker, or "saddler." The jewelry establishment of Curtis & Dunning was in the brick building that stood next south from Peaslee's, and beyond their store was another cluster of rookeries. In a framed house on the corner now occupied by the Howard National Bank lived a grocer named Samuel Wainwright, who conducted his trade in the basement of this house.

The old store on the north end of College Green, erected and first occupied by Giles T. Chittenden, and afterwards occupied by the firm of Eddy, Munroe & Hooker, was vacant in 1827. The framed house of Colonel James Sawyer stood on the site of the Medical College, and his store was just west of his house on the corner. Harry Bradley subsequently carried on trade in a large brick store on this ground. On the northwest corner of Pearl and North



Prospects streets, where the Vilas house now stands, afterwards lived Luther Moore, who carried on his business of harness-making in a brick building west of his dwelling. Arabart Forbes had a store immediately west of this harness-shop, and some time later George Moore, brother to Luther, conducted a store in a two-story brick building west of Forbes. George Moore subsequently lived in a large framed house on the site of the present residence of Hon. U. A. Woodbury. Continuing towards the lake, the next house was the brick dwelling house of Truman Seymour, wheelwright, whose shop was some distance farther south on the same side, near the ravine. On the site of Henry Loomis's present dwelling was the framed house in which Luther Loomis lived, whose store was just west of his house. Forty or fifty rods north of this store Mr. Loomis carried on a distillery, a perfectly respectable business in those days. Harry Bradley was some time after this a partner with Loomis in the distilling of whiskey. Horace Loomis lived next west of the store of Luther Loomis, in the same building now occupied by his daughter, Mrs. Brooks. Farther west was the store formerly owned by Eleazer H. Deming, in 1827, conducted by Sidney Barlow. This was a large brick structure, which stood about where Willard street now crosses Pearl. E. H. Deming's house was the next building west, and was the first one east of Seymour's wheelwright shop. Colonel Ozias Buell lived a short distance west of Seymour's shop in a fine looking framed house, and carried on a mercantile business west of his house. Across from the old white church, and about on the site of the present residence of L. G. Burnham, was the furniture shop of Smith & Pangburn, an old, unpainted two-story building, with "the sign of the table," as they advertised.

Let us now start west from the head of Pearl street and enumerate, as well as possible, the buildings on the south side. The old Green Mountain House was then at the summit of its popularity, under the proprietorship of Eli Barnard, an inventive man, who was ever trying to invent what would now be called a "Keely motor." Mrs. Follett, mother of Timothy Follett and of Mrs. E. H. Deming, lived in the next house, a small one built of brick. The little framed house next west, which stands yet, was occupied by George Robinson. Dr. Harmon's drug store and dwelling, which was described in a former page, were next. Then the eye of the visitor fell upon the old landmark, then as now bearing the stains and wrinkles of antiquity, the residence of Phineas Loomis, and now of Edward C. Loomis, his grandson. The Loomis tan-yard was just west of this house. About 1796 or '97 Horace Loomis built a tannery just west of the present garden of E. C. Loomis, where a series of depressions now indicate the location of the old vats. The tannery building was of stone, two stories and a half in height, with a frontage of about twenty-five feet and a depth of about twenty. A brick currying shop adjoined it on the west, and a wooden extension was added to the rear. Horace Loomis operated the tannery from the time that it was erected until 1832, when his son, E. C. Loomis, took



charge of the business and operated it until about 1872. It was after that used several years for a basket factory, and finally torn down. Somewhere "in the sixties" steam-power took the place of the old style of operation.

Below the tan-yard stood the house in which George P. Marsh, and afterwards President Wheeler, lived at different times. West of Willard street was the building then occupied by Frederick, son and partner of Colonel Ozias Buell. He died soon after this. The house is now occupied by Edward Hungerford, whose wife is a daughter of Frederick Buell. Where Mrs. Marcia B. Follett now lives was then the home and office of Benjamin F. Bailey. The next house, now occupied by Dr. Carpenter, was then the residence of William I. Seymour, the hatter, whose shop was still in the building next east of the church grounds, now occupied as a residence. On the southwest corner of Pearl street and Winooski avenue, in the house now occupied by Dr. S. Wager, lived a Mr. Wadsworth, which stood immediately east of the residence of Rev. George G. Ingersol, pastor of the Unitarian Church. There was no other building between that and Church street except the one already mentioned, on the corner.

Many of the prominent citizens living here during the War of 1812-15 had passed away by this time, and a few had emigrated to other parts. Elnathan Keyes had removed to New York State. During the year 1813 had died Samuel Hitchcock, Dr. Cassius F. Pomeroy, General Ira Allen, and William C. Harrington. Dubartis Willard and Colonel Stephen Pearl died in 1815 and 1816 respectively. Job Reed and Daniel Farrand passed away in 1825; Captain Gid. King died in 1826. This year, 1827, was quite fatal too, carrying away Colonel James Sawyer, aged sixty-six years; the brilliant young attorney, Warren Loomis, aged thirty-nine years; Harvey Durkee, former proprietor of the hotel on the northwest corner of Church and Cherry streets, and others.

The Glass Factory.—The year 1827 was remarkable for the introduction of the first extensive manufacturing concern in the town, the Champlain Glass Company, of which that pioneer in all kinds of enterprise in Burlington, Dr. John Peck, was president, and Professor James Dean was treasurer. The erection of the buildings was begun in the fall of 1827, on the northeast corner of Battery street and Smith's lane, now occupied by the dwelling house of Frederick Smith. The buildings, numbering about a dozen, covered two acres of ground. John S. Foster, of Boston, was the superintendent of the works, and had under his control about 100 hands. In 1834 Frederick Smith, after an absence of two years, hired the concern for three years, and during that time made the establishment a decided success. The result was that in a few years he bought the property. He took in with him several partners, and conducted the business under the several names of Loomis, Smith & Co., Janes, Smith & Co., Smith, Wilkins & Landon, and Smith & Wilkins. They manufactured glass for many cities of the West, and had an agent in Chicago for years. In



1850, however, owing to the high prices of fuel, the enterprise was abandoned. This business was the prime cause of the extension of the village to the north. Under the pressure of necessity, the town contracted with Mr. Smith for the laying out of Battery street, north of Pearl, in 1842, and of Front street, and the several avenues then opened. The greater number of inhabitants of Burlington now live north of Pearl street.

Burlington in 1850.—During the period intervening between 1827 and 1850 Burlington had suffered many changes, some of which seemed to be adverse to her prosperity and growth. At this time the railroads had but recently been opened, and the event seemed ominous for the future of the town. During the previous years Burlington had attained great importance throughout the northern part of the State by reason of her natural position on the lake. Everything that went from Montreal or New York, or even Boston, to the interior towns was unloaded at Burlington and transhipped to its destination. From the earliest history of the mercantile business of Burlington until that time, it had been the custom of most of the merchants throughout the county, and even as far east as Montpelier, to order their goods of Burlington merchants. All this was changed by the new system of traffic, and the commercial importance of the town, it was feared, was ruined forever. The railroads even discriminated adversely to the best interests of Burlington, and the wholesale houses of Canada, New York and Massachusetts, began to prosper at the expense of this village. Real property depreciated to ruinous prices. For example, when Henry Leavenworth erected in 1847 the block that bears his name, the value of the property was \$20,000; in 1860 the same property sold for \$5,200.¹ Fortunately the erection of the Pioneer Mechanics' Shops, and the creation of a lumber market here averted the calamity that was dreaded, and introduced a period of unprecedented prosperity, which it may be hoped has but just begun.

Other changes have taken place. The men that were in their prime a quarter of a century before, had relinquished their activity and bequeathed to their sons the business which they had established. Many, it is true, still lived who were prominent when Lafayette visited the village, but only a few of these had continued in the practice of their vocations. E. H. Deming died in 1828, at the age of forty-three years; Hon. William Brayton died the same year at the age of forty-one years. Among those who had passed away between 1830 and 1850, we may mention the following: Hon. John C. Thompson, 1831, aged forty-one years; Benjamin F. Bailey and Colonel Ozias Buell, in 1832, aged respectively thirty-six and sixty-three years; Captain Thaddeus Tuttle in 1836, aged seventy-eight years; John M. Eldredge in 1839, aged

¹ Much of this difference in value, however, must be ascribed to the change of plan as to the location of the station. The block was erected in the belief that the site of the city market was to be occupied for a station, and the railroad filled up the depression in that place for that ostensible purpose.



sixty-three years; John Van Sicklen in 1840, aged eighty-one years; Hon. Stephen Haight in 1841, aged fifty-eight years; Luther Loomis in 1844, aged sixty-three years; Dr. John Pomeroy, 1844, aged eighty years; Hon. William A. Griswold, 1846, aged seventy years; and Samuel Hickok, 1849, aged seventy-five years. Among the more prominent men who had wholly or partly relinquished the active pursuits of life were Hon. Heman Allen, Dr. William Atwater, John Howard, E. T. Englesby, Nathan B. Haswell, Hon. Timothy Follett, and Phineas Atwater.

The year 1850 will be remembered as a part of the period of agitation of such political questions as free soil and loco-focoism; when the slavery question was complicating all political calculations. At the beginning of the year Zachary Taylor was President of the United States, and Millard Fillmore succeeded to this position on Mr. Taylor's decease, in July. Southern senators were pushing forward bills for the restitution of fugitive slaves. The schemes for the invasion of Cuba had but recently subsided. The people were not yet quieted in their apprehensions concerning the cholera, which had raged with fearful fatality during the preceding summer throughout France and England, in New Orleans and New York, and most of the principal cities of the country. Even Burlington was visited by this pestilence, and fourteen deaths had occurred here from cholera. Small-pox added its terrors to the ravages of cholera. Burlington had nine cases, though none of them was fatal. The California gold fever (not altogether so dreadful in its effects) was at its height. Notwithstanding all this, however, Burlington continued to grow. Between the years 1840 and 1850 the population of the town increased more than three thousand souls, and during the ten years following 1850, the population increased, but only about 125 persons.

On the 5th of March, 1850, at the "town room" under the court-house, the following officers were chosen for the year ensuing: C. F. Davey, town clerk; Henry B. Stacy, Seth Morse, William Weston, selectmen; Isaac Sherwood, constable; Alvan Foote, treasurer; John B. Hollenbeck, Samuel B. Isham, Bostwick Towsley, listers; John N. Pomeroy, Philo Doolittle, Nathan B. Haswell, auditors; Joseph D. Allen, Burrell Lane, John W. Pattridge, fence viewers; Charles Adams, grand juror; D. M. Varney, sealer of weights and measures; Samuel H. Peaslee, sealer of leather; Edward Parady, pound keeper; Charles Adams, town agent; D. K. Pangburn, Nahum Shattuck, — Doxey, William Seymour, sextons; George B. Shaw, Carlos Baxter, Joseph Hatch, trustees of the surplus revenue deposited in Burlington; John K. Converse, H. I. Parker, and Solon W. Bush, town superintendents of schools.

Business Interests in 1850.—Following is a list of the more prominent business houses of Burlington and their location. To the kind assistance of Samuel Huntington the writer is greatly indebted for many of the following facts:



The oldest dry goods establishment was that of Sion E. Howard, who occupied the same wooden building on the site of the "Beehive," on Church street, that he did twenty years earlier. North of this store was a garden, and on the corner was the Bank of Burlington. E. & E. Lyman had a dry goods and carpet store on the southeast corner of Church and College streets, where A. N. Percy & Co. now are. The firm of Lyman, Allen & Co. is a lineal descendant from E. & E. Lyman. I. D. Bixby conducted a dry goods store in the Strong block; J. H. Robinson in the store now occupied by George I. Hagar; C. F. Staniford & Co. in a brick building on Church street, just north from the present store of Roberts & Perkins; Nichol's cash store was on Church street across from the jewelry store of Brinsmaid & Hildreth; and M. Noyes & Co., at an earlier day at the head of Pearl street, but in 1850 on Water street between the Lake House, then kept by Moses L. Hart, and the stone store of Walker, Smith & Co. One of the two largest groceries in town was the wholesale store of J. & J. H. Peck & Co., in the Peck building, where Walker Brothers now are. The other wholesale store was that of Walker, Smith & Co., at the south wharf, in the stone store erected by Timothy Follitt. S. B. Rockwell & Co. were grocers at the "old post-office building," two doors east of the American Hotel. A. S. Dewey carried on a grocery on the west side of the square; R. Lillie, on the east side of Champlain street, at the corner of Peru; H. S. Moore, on the north side of Pearl street, two or three doors below the corner of Prospect, in a building long since torn down; and Pierce & Davey, on College street. The hardware merchants were Strong, Doolittle & Co., on the east side of the square in the Strong block; Hagar & Arthur, on the corner east of where George I. Hagar, son of the senior member of that firm, now carries on the hardware business; and Evarts & Brownson, in the Blodgett building. Belyca & Brown dealt chiefly in crockery in the Leavenworth block on College street. The three principal dealers in boots and shoes were E. J. Fay & Co., where Roberts & Perkins now are; L. A. Edgell, on the site of the Y. M. C. A. rooms on Church street; and R. Batchelder, in the building now occupied by the hardware store of Ripley & Holton. Merchant tailors were M. G. Rathbun & Co. (C. F. Ward), on the north side of the square, in what is now the office of E. W. Peck; Daniel Kern, just north of the present store of F. W. Burritt, on Church street; James Mitchell, in the building now occupied by the Powell Manufacturing Company, on College street; and Joel H. Dix, on Church street. T. A. Peck carried on a drug store one door west of George I. Hagar's, on the north side of the square.

There were three book stores in the place, that of Samuel Huntington, in the same room which he now occupies; of E. Smith & Co., successors to G. B. Edwards, where the Merchants' Bank now is; and of C. Goodrich, in the Leavenworth block. Brinsmaid & Brothers were proprietors of the principal



jewelry store, about on the site of the Chinese laundry, on the west side of Church street. J. V. Randall also dealt in jewelry, and repaired watches and clocks in a little apartment set off in the northeast corner of Mr. Huntington's store. On the west side of the square, just north of the present burnt district, was the furniture store of N. Parker. In addition to these establishments were the general stores of Harry Bradley, on the corner next west of the Medical College, and his house, on the site of that building; George Peterson, on the southwest corner of College and St. Paul streets; G. S. Warner, in the building on Church street now occupied by H. E. Adams & Son, jewelers; and Catlin & Spear, opposite the Lake House, on Water street. At this time Salmon Wires was the one prominent insurance agent in town, in the office now occupied by General T. S. Peck. He advertised himself as agent for the Northwestern Insurance Company. Two express companies had offices here, Virgil & Rice, predecessors of the National Express Company, having their office in the same building now occupied by the latter company, and Bigelow's Boston & Burlington Daily Express, represented by S. M. Pope, on the same side of the square.

Among the manufacturing interests, great and small, may be mentioned the Burlington foundry, H. Wheeler, proprietor, on the west side of Water street, at the foot of Main; Russell & Spaulding, wagon manufacturers, just south of the site of the Van Ness house, and John K. Gray, the same, on the southwest corner of Champlain and King streets; manufacturers of furniture, S. Nichols, on the west side of Center street, then Catlin's Lane; Charles L. Nelson, on St. Paul street, near the corner of Pearl, a few doors north of the Catholic Church; Jacob Green was an undertaker on College street, on the site of the grocery store of Dolan Brothers; S. & W. Pattee were builders, the first building east of the Catholic school on Cherry street; J. S. Munson made pianos on the corner of Champlain and King streets, in the building now occupied as a dwelling house by S. Beach; Warren Hatch, gun manufacturer, had his office one door south of the jail; S. S. Skinner carried on the manufacture of saddles and harnesses on College street, a few yards east of the present *Free Press* office; Samuel H. Peaslee occupied the same building in which we found him in 1827, on the site of the store now occupied by James B. Scully & Co.; R. D. Cornwall was a saddler on the east side of Church street, opposite the present Y. M. C. A. rooms, and J. H. Walton was what may be termed a saddler itinerant. Ballard & Brothers carried on the pottery on Pearl street, now in the hands of Frank Woodworth; C. S. Adkins was a book-binder, occupying the site of the confectionery of Kent & Brother, on Church street; E. C. Loomis manufactured leather extensively, in the old leather store west of his present residence on Pearl street, his competitors being Johnott & Blanchard, on the west side of Church street, near Pearl; J. A. Kinsman made cigars on Church street, about where Fletcher & Boynton's shoe store is; and Moody



Haskell manufactured clocks in the same building now occupied by Belrose & Grant. The largest tin shop was that of James A. Shedd & Co., which occupied the site of Vincent's drug store.

Attorneys and Physicians in 1850. — At this period the legal fraternity was ably represented in Burlington, as it has always been. They may be enumerated as follows, though a few of those named were not in active practice.

Alvan Foote had his office at his house, the first building above the site of the Medical College; Timothy Follett lived in the building now occupied by Dr. Nichols, which he built; John N. Pomeroy lived on the site of the post-office building, and of the old cottage of his uncle, Seth Pomeroy; Asahel Peck, a former partner of A. W. Hyde, had his office on Main street, one door west of the present *Clipper* office; W. W. Peck's office was on the second floor of the Peck block; Henry Leavenworth's office was on the second floor of the building now occupied by Ferguson & Adsit, on College street; Lyman Cummings practiced over the store of Samuel Huntington; S. M. Parsons, in the office with Asahel Peck; George B. Shaw, over the Commercial Bank; William Weston, on the second floor of the Strong block; Wyllys Lyman, on the second floor of the Peck block; L. E. Chittenden, over the Commercial Bank; Salmon Wires, in the office now occupied by General T. S. Peck; Charles D. Kasson, on the second floor of the Peck block; L. B. Englesby, in the upper story of the building now occupied as a shirt factory; Charles Adams, then retired from practice and living on a farm near Rock Point, with his son Sullivan; Charles Russell, one door east of the residence of Henry Loomis, on Pearl street; Torrey E. Wales, over Johonott & Blanchard's leather store, at the head of Church street; M. L. Bennett, at the corner of Pine and Bank streets. Other attorneys who though already prominent were hardly settled permanently in any office, were David A. Smalley, Levi Underwood, E. J. Phelps, C. F. Davey and E. A. Stansbury.

The practicing physicians were William Atwater, who lived and practiced on the corner of St. Paul and Cherry streets, opposite the Catholic Cathedral; Horace Hatch, at the head of Bank street, in the building now occupied by G. S. Blodgett; Nathan Ward, in a little old building on the northeast corner of Main and Church streets, on the site of E. P. Shaw's clothing store; Thomas Chamberlain, at the corner of Maple and St. Paul streets; Leonard Marsh, at the extreme southwest corner of Prospect street and College Green; A. S. Pitkin, at the corner of George and Pearl streets; and Dr. Barber, on Main street, in the house now occupied by Hon. Daniel Roberts.

The postmaster was Luther P. Blodgett, and the office in the present shirt factory building.

Among the gentlemen who have been of great service to the editor in the compilation of the early descriptions of Burlington are Captain Dan Lyon, John



B. Hollenbeck, Captain Henry Mayo, Frederick W. Smith and E. C. Loomis; the eldest of them, Judge Hollenbeck, is the oldest man in Burlington. He was born on land now embraced within the limits of the town of Richmond, but originally a part of Jericho, on the 11th of February, 1792, and is consequently at the present writing more than ninety-four years of age. He resided at his birth-place until 1807, when he removed to Charlotte with his father, and remained there until his removal to Burlington, in 1824. He was, however, a volunteer from Burlington in the War of 1812, and took an active part in the engagement on land at the battle of Plattsburgh. Notwithstanding his extreme age and the infirmity superinduced by an injury recently disabling his hip, he has a clear and distinct recollection of the events of that memorable battle and of the whole war; he was personally acquainted with Commodore MacDonough, whom he first saw while that officer was constructing his fleet at Vergennes. He remembers the execution of Dean, which is described briefly in a note in the chapter relating to the Bench and Bar, and, what is of greater interest, he affirms a distinct recollection of having seen two men in the pillory near the old pine tree whipping-post on the Court-House Square in 1808, one receiving thirty-nine stripes for blasphemy, and the other a proportionate number for counterfeiting money.

Captain Dan Lyon was born in the town of Shelburne, Vt., on the 10th of May, 1803. He received a common school education, and when his father, Timothy, died of the epidemic of 1813, in March of that year, he went to live with his uncle, Robert White, of Shelburne Harbor, and afterwards in Burlington village. He served in various capacities on a sailing vessel until 1825, when he became captain of the steamer *General Green*. He remained on this steamer until 1835, when he became captain of the *Phenix*, the trip extending the entire length of the lake. From 1836 to 1839 he commanded the *Winoo-ski*, of the same line, and at the latter date began to command the new (500-ton) steamer *Whitehall*, which he retained for five years. He then left the lake permanently and retired to his present residence, where he has ever since remained, with the exception of two years as proprietor of a hotel in Detroit, Mich. (1855-56), and about a year in partnership with Daniel Howard in charge of a hotel in New York city. He has had an interest in a number of Burlington enterprises, notably the old Commercial Bank, of which he was director eight years and president four. He has been twice married, the first time to Elvirah H. Lyman, who died in 1837, and the second time to Mary G. Grant, of New Hampshire, who is still living. They have one daughter, an only child, Lucia E., wife of George I. Hagar. In accuracy and grasp of detail Captain Lyon's memory is most remarkable, and he has the ability to tell what he knows in an interesting manner.

Nathaniel Mayo, father of Captain Henry Mayo, came from Orwell, Vt., to Burlington in February, 1812, and with his brother successfully undertook



to do all the baking for the American forces stationed at Burlington during the War of 1812. He died about 1864. He had relinquished the mercantile business in 1818, and directed his attention to farming. His brother Henry was here some time before him, and was by trade a hatter, in company with one Hosea Catlin, with a shop on Pearl street near the present Winooski avenue. In 1813, as has been stated, he went in with Nathaniel. Captain Henry Mayo was born at Orwell, Vt., on the 15th of December, 1802, and came to Burlington with his father, Nathaniel. He began steamboating in 1825, as steward of the *Phoenix*, retaining that position until 1828. He commanded the *Congress* from 1832 to 1834 inclusive, and from 1847 to 1849 inclusive, served as clerk of the *Burlington*. Nearly all the time from 1852 until 1883 he was captain of either the *Sherman*, *Montreal*, or *Williams*. He was married on the 18th of October, 1837, to Elizabeth Eldredge, of Bridport, Vt. They have nine children, all living.

Frederick Smith was born in Williston on the 3d of June, 1812. He lived there until the fall of 1812, receiving a common school education in his native town. He then entered the employment of Arabart Forbes, a merchant at the head of Pearl street, in Burlington, with whom he remained nearly a year. He first became connected with the glass factory in 1827, as office boy, and, with the exception of two years, remained with it until it wound up. He was proprietor from 1834. On the 30th of October, 1836, he married Mary Curtiss Foote, of St. Albans. She died in the spring of 1883, three only of her eight children surviving her. Frederick Smith is a grandson of Caleb Smith, a prominent early settler in both Shelburne and Williston.

Edward C. Loomis, son of Horace Loomis, was born in Burlington on the 7th of August, 1810; was married on the 2d of August, 1832, to Serotia, daughter of Solomon and Sarah Weatherby, and passed his business career in the tannery which his father operated before him. Mr. and Mrs. Loomis have occupied their present dwelling house ever since their marriage — a period of more than half a century.

ADDITIONAL SKETCHES.

In the paragraphs immediately following it is proposed to give brief sketches of the more prominent men of the town or city in the past, who have not been mentioned elsewhere. Sketches of greater length would undoubtedly be of interest, but cannot be included in the plan of a work of this nature.

Ethan Allen.—The history of the last twenty years of this hero's life may be said to form almost the warp and woof of the history of Vermont during that period. His father, Joseph Allen, was a resident of Litchfield, Conn., as early as 1728, and on the 11th day of March, 1736, married Mary Baker. Succeeding this time the town records of Litchfield contain the following



statement: "Ethan Allen ye son of Joseph Allen and Mary his wife was born January ye 10th, 1737." Joseph Allen removed to Cornwall, Conn., about the year 1740, in which town were most of his children born, and there he died on the 4th of April, 1755. Soon after his death his son Heman engaged in the mercantile business in Salisbury, and his house became the home of the family. Joseph Allen had eight children — six sons and two daughters, their names being as follows in the order of their birth: Ethan, Heman, Lydia, Heber, Levi, Lucy, Zimri and Ira. Ethan Allen's educational advantages were quite limited, his whole attendance at school not exceeding three months. It is supposed, however, with reason, that he at one time contemplated fitting for college, and may have studied a short time with the Rev. Mr. Lee, of Salisbury, with that object. This opinion is corroborated by the frequent occurrence of Latin phrases in his numerous writings. His infidel *penchant* was probably derived from an intimate acquaintance with the noted infidel and historical writer, Dr. Thomas Young. From the few facts which have been preserved in memory respecting the early life of Ethan Allen, it may be supposed that he was always looked upon as a bold, spirited, reckless young man, a natural leader, who never for a moment seemed to consider the possibility of remaining in a subordinate position, and who by his dauntless mettle became an acknowledged leader in all his undertakings. He was, therefore, just the man to be opposed to the rapacious New York "land jobbers," and to defend the independence of Vermont against the calculating and vacillating resolutions of the early Congress.

About the year 1762 he was married to Miss Mary Bronson, of Woodbury, Conn., and first resided with his family at Salisbury, Conn., and afterward at Sheffield, Mass. He came to Vermont, then the New Hampshire Grants, about 1766, leaving his family at Sheffield, and from that time regarded this State as his home. His activity and effective courage in opposition to the claims of the royal government of New York have been sufficiently detailed in the chapter devoted to the history of the controversy, in a previous part of this volume. During this same period he was also active in patriotic efforts against the exorbitant claims of the mother country. An outline of his gallant services has also been given in the chapter entitled "The War of the Revolution." After his capture on the 25th of September, 1775, he was a prisoner in the hands of the British for two years and eight months, and suffered the most inhuman cruelties and indignities. But his thorough independence and his native wit never permitted him to be humiliated, and his persecutors always came out second best. On the 6th of May, 1778, he was exchanged for Lieutenant John Campbell, and after waiting upon General Washington at Valley Forge he returned to his friends in Vermont, where he was everywhere greeted with ovations. In reward for his services Congress conferred upon him the rank and emoluments of lieutenant-colonel in the service of the United



States, though he never after rejoined the Continental army. He continued to engage in the support of Vermont against her enemies, and in carrying on the negotiations with the British in Canada, by which the operations of their powerful army were for three years made harmless. He was brigadier-general of the State militia. His family removed from Sheffield, Mass., to Sunderland, Vt., in 1777, and ten years later took up their residence in Burlington. Ethan Allen came to Burlington in the spring of 1787, with the intention of devoting himself to farming, having selected for his home the beautiful tract of land north of the present city, still generally known as the Van Ness farm. At this time there was a distressing scarcity of food in the community, due to a partial failure of crops and a numerous immigration of settlers. Colonel Ebenezer Allen, who commanded a company of rangers during the Revolution, and made himself famous by his daring exploits, then lived at the south end of South Hero, and became an intimate friend of Ethan Allen. On the 10th of February, 1789, he and his man drove over the ice to South Hero, upon the urgent invitation of his friend, in whose house he passed that afternoon and evening, recalling, with a number of old acquaintances, past events and in telling stories. He had intended to return that evening, and a load of hay, which he was to take back with him, was in readiness for their return, but upon the urgency of Colonel Ebenezer Allen he remained until nearly morning, when he and his black man started for home. The negro called to him several times during the journey and received no answer, but suspected nothing unusual until he arrived at Ethan's residence on the intervale. He then found him dead, or, as it is thought by some, in a fit in which he soon died. Apoplexy was probably the proximate cause of his death. On the 16th of February his remains were interred, with the honors of war, in the graveyard at Winooski Falls, not far, probably, from the present site of the splendid monument which tersely recites his characteristics.

Ethan Allen was twice married. By his first wife he had five children — one son and four daughters, all of whom were born before the family came to Vermont. His first wife, an excellent and pious woman, died in Sunderland early in 1783. He married his second wife, Mrs. Fanny Buchanan, on the 9th of February, 1784, and by her had two sons and a daughter. After his death his widow became the wife of Jabez Penniman, of Colchester. The subject of this sketch was not only a military hero, but a prolific and independent writer.

Eleazer Hubbell Deming was one of the most successful among the early merchants of Burlington. His father was Pownall Deming, of Litchfield, Conn., a captain in the United States navy, and his mother Miss Abby Hubbell, of Bridgeport, Conn., who at the early age of eighteen years died in Bridgeport, February 13, 1785, in giving birth to the subject of our notice. The child was thrown upon the care of his mother's parents, who, when he



was twelve years of age, removed to Jericho, Vt. There he received a limited common school education, and at an early age came to Burlington, residing for a time with the family of the distinguished surveyor, John Johnson, from whom he took lessons in mathematics, surveying, etc. For some time he was also clerk in the store of Samuel Hickok, and afterwards, 1804 and 1805, received a valuable experience in a store in New York city. He then returned to Burlington, where, on the 5th of September, 1805, he began trading in a small way. He died of consumption on the 5th of May, 1828, two years after his retirement from business. His success was largely owing to his unerring *method* in doing everything. He was a man of untiring energy and perseverance, always persistently carrying out what he had undertaken; plain and simple in his tastes, having a marked dislike to display; unobtrusive in manner, of quiet humor, and "fond of a good joke;" of great exactness in business, and of sterling honesty and uprightness in its transactions. Mr. Deming was married to Miss Fanny Follett, daughter of Timothy Follett, of Bennington, and a sister of the Hon. Timothy Follett, of Burlington, on the 18th of October, 1807. He had eight children, five of whom were living at the time of his death; one of these, however, an infant daughter, died soon after his decease. He left but one son, his eldest child, Charles Follett Deming, who, after having received every advantage of a finished education, and entered upon the practice of the legal profession with a bright promise of success, was cut off at the early age of twenty-four years, by the same fell disease which had terminated the life of his honored father.

Sidney Barlow, the son of David Barlow, was born in Fairfield, Vt., May 12, 1801. In 1817 he came to Burlington, a boy of sixteen, to be clerk in the store of E. H. Deming. In 1822, at the age of twenty-one, he went into business for himself, in a small building near the head of Pearl street, on the north side of the street. The upper half of Pearl street was then one of the chief business centers of this region; and in the stores (all of which have long since disappeared) of E. H. Deming, Luther Loomis, Luther and George Moore, Vilas & Noyes, and Harry Bradley, on Pearl streets, between the streets now known as Willard and Prospect streets, a large and widely extended business was transacted, and not a little money made, in those days. After the death of Mr. Deming, in 1828, Mr. Barlow bought the Deming store at the head of Willard street, in which he had his first business training, and succeeded to the business. In the year 1828 he married and began housekeeping in the house on Willard street occupied by him for the remainder of his long life. His business grew and thrived under his enterprise and care, and at successive times he established branch stores in Winooski, Westford and Grand Isle. He was one of the organizers and stockholders of the Burlington Woolen Mills at Winooski, and was the agent of the company when it built the large factory and the dam, and for several years after, and he remained one of the larger



owners of the property till it was purchased by the Hardings, shortly before the late war. Mr. Barlow's capacity for work, in his prime, may be inferred from the fact that he at the same time conducted the business of the woolen mills, as its agent, and carried on three stores, doing a general mercantile trade in as many towns. Mr. Barlow remained in business at Winooski till April 1, 1850, when he retired. He was for a number of years one of the directors of the old Bank of Burlington. He was one of the founders of the Merchants' Bank, and a large stockholder in it. In his day he held various minor town offices, and did his share of public and political work in the community. He was a constant attendant at the Unitarian Church from his first residence in Burlington, and one of the liberal supporters of the church and society. He was thrice married, to Miss Harriet Reed, to Miss Caroline White, and to Miss Mary Pope. He left six children, Frances, Ellen, and Harriet by his first marriage, and Edward, Horace, and Mary by the last. Mr. Barlow suffered from the usual infirmities of declining years, to which was added in latter years a disease (cataract) of the eyes, for which he underwent an operation three years before his death; but he was about his house and often out on the streets, till two weeks before, when his powers of body and mind began to fail, and gradually sank until in May, 1882, he passed away. He was a man of simple tastes, strong will and thorough honesty. "His word was as good as his bond." He was a good neighbor and a worthy citizen, and possessed the trust and respect of all who knew him.

Timothy Follett was born at Bennington on the 5th of January, 1793, and was a grandson, on the maternal side, of John Fay, who was killed at the battle of Bennington on the 16th of August, 1777. When but ten years of age, he, with two sisters, was left by the death of his father to the care of his mother, who came to Burlington to educate her children. He received a baccalaureate degree from the University of Vermont on the 1st of August, 1810; after passing several years in preparatory work, was admitted to the Chittenden county bar in February, 1814. After nine years of practice he was obliged to abandon his professional labors by a pulmonary complaint, and at once became a partner with Henry Mayo, at South Wharf. From 1832 to 1841 he was actively engaged in the settlement of an insolvent estate at Montreal, at the end of which time he became the senior partner in the large mercantile house of Follett & Bradley. His subsequent connection with the Rutland and Burlington Railroad is incidentally noticed in the excellent sketch of the life of Thomas H. Canfield. In December, 1819, he was appointed State's attorney in the place of Sanford Gadcomb, deceased, and was elected to the same office by the Legislatures of 1820, '21, and '22. He received the election of judge of the County Court in 1823, which office he was forced to relinquish by the difficulty before mentioned. In 1830, '31, and '32 he was chosen to represent Burlington in the Legislature. He died on the 12th of October, 1857.



Harry Bradley, eldest son and third child of Lemuel and Mercy Bradley, was born at Sunderland, Vt., March 23, 1793. His father died when he was but seven years of age, leaving a young and helpless family. At the age of fourteen he came to Burlington and commenced work under Horace Loomis, to learn the business of tanner and currier. He remained with Mr. Loomis until he was twenty years of age, when he formed a partnership with Luther Loomis, his brother-in-law, and removed to Williston, where he carried on the same business ten years. He married, in 1817, Maria Miller, youngest child of Judge Solomon Miller. In 1827 he gave up business in Williston and returned to Burlington, again entering into partnership with Luther Loomis. While at Williston he took an active part in public affairs, twice representing the town in the Legislature. On his removal to Burlington he was active in both town and State affairs, representing the town a number of times, after which he was elected to the State Senate. He was one of the originators of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, and afterwards of the Commercial Bank, of which he was the first president. He was long a director in the United States Branch Bank at Burlington, and president of the Rutland and Burlington Railroad for two years. He was for many years engaged in a wholesale mercantile business at the lake, also carrying on a large lumber business at Essex, and was one of the greatest sufferers in the losses which befell our business community in the woolen factory at Winooski Falls. He died at Burlington April 7, 1857, aged sixty-four years.

Philo Doolittle was born in Wallingford, Conn., on the 1st of October, 1793. He was the son of Theophilus Doolittle and was descended from Abraham Doolittle, who came to America from England in 1640, settled in New Haven, Conn., and removed to Wallingford in 1669. When three or four years of age he came to Vermont, and soon after reaching his tenth birthday lost, by death, his father. He found a home with Judge Lemuel Bottom, of Williston, Vt., with whom he lived until 1808, when he had received what schooling he could, and during which year he began a clerkship in the store of E. T. Englesby, in Burlington, remaining six years. In 1815 he entered into partnership with Henry Mayo in the mercantile business, and continued those relations until 1822. From that time until the close of his mercantile life, in 1852, he remained without a partner, with the single exception of the years from 1843 to 1847, when his son, H. H. Doolittle, was associated with him. He was one of the incorporators of the Champlain Ferry Company, which was chartered on the 18th of November, 1824, and upon the subsequent organization of that company (November 29) he was chosen one of the first directors. In 1825 he was elected clerk and treasurer of this company, holding all these appointments until the ferry company was incorporated with the Champlain Transportation Company of January 24, 1825. He was one of the original stockholders of the Champlain Transportation Com-



pany which was organized on the 26th of October, 1826, and on the 10th of November following was chosen a director and appointed clerk and treasurer of the company. When the books of the company were removed to St. Albans, in February, 1827, he resigned his position as clerk and treasurer. On the 31st of January, 1828, the books were brought back to Burlington and Mr. Doolittle was reinstated in these offices, which he held during the remainder of his life. On the 22d of March, 1827, he was chosen one of the board of directors of the Bank of Burlington, and on the 29th of January, 1849, was unanimously elected president of that board in place of E. T. Englesby, resigned, and was in this manner connected with the institution during the entire thirty-five remaining years of his life.

On the 11th of July, 1820, Mr. Doolittle married Harriet E., daughter of Newton Hayes, then of Burlington. She died August 1, 1837, and on the 10th of July, 1839, Mr. Doolittle married her sister, Eliza C. Hayes, who died November 11, 1843. On the 16th of September, 1846, he married Catherine Esther, daughter of Reuben Brush, of Vergennes. Mr. Doolittle's character was marked by a confiding frankness and an unaffected kindness in all his intercourse with his friends. He was an earnest and consistent Christian, and an active member of the Episcopal Church. He died on the 19th of January, 1862, from the effects of a stroke of paralysis.

John Howard, the progenitor of the Burlington family of Howards, who have done so much for the city, was born at Providence, R. I., in 1770, and traced his ancestry back to Roger Williams, the sturdy refugee from religious persecution, and the founder, practically, of the colony of Rhode Island, in 1637. John Howard made several sea voyages in his early youth, and on that treacherous element lost his father. He resided then a few years at Pittstown, N. Y., and afterward six years or more at Addison, Vt., and came to Burlington in 1812, to assume the proprietorship of what was ever after known as Howard's Hotel. He retired from this business about 1847, and died on the 24th of February, 1854. He was on board the steamer *Phenix* when it was burned, on the night of September 5, 1819, and distinguished himself by his energetic efforts to save the passengers. Possessed of a stalwart, upright character, he became the terror of thieves and impostors of every description; being so interested in the public weal that he not infrequently sat up all night watching for some suspicious character who had attracted his attention.

He had four sons, the eldest of whom, Sion Earl, was long known in Burlington as a merchant, and who accumulated a handsome fortune, and died in 1866. The third son, Sidney Smith, died June 30, 1839, aged thirty-three years. The other two sons, Daniel Dyer and John Purple, in early life went to New York city to seek their fortune, depending on their brains and hands alone. After various smaller undertakings, they had the foresight and boldness to lease for a term of twenty years a block of buildings on the west side



of Broadway, a little above the City Hall Park, and to transform it into an extensive hotel, fitted up and furnished with an elegance extraordinary for that time. This was the first up-town hotel of the first rate, and in this respect these brothers were enterprising pioneers, and by their liberal management, careful and courteous attention to every want of their guests, made the Irving Hotel for many years the most popular in New York; and they retired therefrom with over a half a million dollars.

John P. Howard crowned his later years with honor by his munificent gifts to several of the educational and eleemosynary institutions in this city; which have received particular mention in other pages of this chapter, and in the chapter prepared by Professor John E. Goodrich, relating the history of the educational institutions of the county.

Henry Baldwin Stacy, long known as one of the most successful journalists, was born at Orange, Vt., on the 23d of August, 1804, the youngest, save one, of a family of twelve children. His father was a farmer of limited means, and the training which resulted from the practice of a rigid economy was the sole capital with which he began life for himself.

At the age of fourteen he left the farm and went to Bennington to learn the printer's trade in the office of the *Vermont Gazette*. He had previously only a common school education, but was a ready scholar, possessing a quick, penetrating mind, rare powers of investigation, and had within him the germ of self-culture, which developed itself more and more through his life. He subsequently worked at his trade in Middlebury and Montreal, and came to Burlington July 27, 1827, to be a journeyman for Luman Foote, who had just started the *Burlington Free Press* in the interest of the "National Republican Party," and in support of the administration of John Quincy Adams. He took sole charge of the mechanical work until January 28, 1828, when he became associated with Mr. Foote as editor and publisher.

In 1832 Mr. Stacy purchased and took entire control of the establishment, the first issue of the paper in his name alone being on the 20th of July, and he shortly after erected the present *Free Press* building, the upper stories being occupied as his residence. He conducted the paper until 1846, when he sold the establishment to D. W. C. Clarke, devoting himself afterwards to agricultural pursuits. He was an earnest politician of the old Whig party, and afterwards an equally earnest Republican. Being a strong and ready writer, the *Free Press*, under his control, was always influential and respected.

He represented the town in the Legislature during the years 1843, '44, '51, and '56, the last time with special reference to the rebuilding of the State-house. He was an influential legislator, having a strong working influence without the House, as well as legislative influence within. His speaking was nervous and often eloquent, his sentences being usually short, animating, and full of life. He was also a selectman of Burlington six years, from 1847 to



1852, and as such was always a friend of improvement and a careful guardian of the interests of the town. In 1861 he accepted an appointment as United States consul at Revel, Russia. As a consul, his reports showed him to be an observant student of affairs, and a patriotic and faithful public servant. He remained abroad until November, 1868, when he returned to visit his family and home. Meanwhile, under the new administration, another consul having been appointed to Revel, Mr. Stacy returned to close up the affairs of his consulate as well as his own private affairs, sailing from New York direct to Hamburg May 4, 1869, intending to return home in August. He arrived in Revel May 27, and was suffering from the effects of a cold contracted while crossing the Baltic Sea, which resulted in an inflammation of the lungs, from which he died after an illness of nine days, on June 18, 1869.

Zadock Thompson was the second son of Captain Barnabas Thompson, of Bridgewater, Vt., where he was born May 23, 1796. His father was a farmer of limited means, and as young Thompson showed an ability for study, the Rev. Walter Chapin, of Woodstock, took notice of his studious nature, received him into his own family, and assisted him in procuring an education. In 1819 he entered the University of Vermont, and was graduated with honor in 1823, at the age of twenty-seven years. The following year, September 4, he was married to Phœbe Boyce. His career as an author commenced in 1819. In 1824 he published his *Gazetteer of Vermont*, a duodecimo of 312 pages. In 1825 he was chosen a tutor in the University of Vermont, and during the same year published the *Youth's Assistant in Theoretical and Practical Arithmetic*. In 1828 he edited a magazine entitled *The Iris and Burlington Literary Gazette*, and in 1832 *The Green Mountain Repository*, both of which were published at Burlington. In 1838 he removed from Burlington to Hatley, C. E., and there continued his literary labors until 1837, when he returned to this town. In the mean time having been pursuing theological studies, he was admitted to the pastorate of the Protestant Episcopal Church May 27, 1835. After his return to Burlington he engaged in teaching in the Vermont Episcopal Institute, and preparing his *National, Civil, and Statistical History of Vermont*, which was published in 1842. In 1845, and for three succeeding years, he was assistant State geologist. In 1851 he was appointed to the professorship of chemistry and natural history in the University of Vermont. In 1853 he published an appendix to his history of Vermont, containing the results of his later investigations, and during the same year was appointed State naturalist, continuing in that office until his death, which was occasioned by ossification of the heart, January 10, 1856.

Horace Loomis was born in Sheffield, Mass., on the 15th of January, 1775, and came with his father's family to reside in Burlington on the 17th of February, 1790, from which time he resided for seventy-five years on Pearl street, within speaking distance, it has been said, of where the family first located.



During forty years of that time he was actively engaged in the leather business, either in the employment of his father or on his own account. He was twice married and at his death left a widow, three children, seven grandchildren and one great-granddaughter. He celebrated his golden wedding in 1855, and died (April 6, 1865) within a month of the sixtieth anniversary of his second marriage. He was a remarkable man, over six feet in height, with a large, well-built frame, and, by reason of his thoroughly practical nature, was well fitted to perform a leading part in the clearing and settlement of a new country, and in the organization of methods of town organization. He was distinguished by a wonderful memory, strong judgment, an intuitive knowledge of human nature, and a high regard for integrity, truth and exact justice. He began his political life as a Democrat, but afterward joined the Federal party and became a great admirer of Hamilton. He was a personal friend of Henry Clay, whom he entertained at his home, and had unwavering faith in Abraham Lincoln. Notwithstanding his lively interest in politics, he persistently refused to become a candidate for any public office, and never held one.

The City of Burlington Incorporated.—Previous to the incorporation of the city of Burlington its civil affairs were not, as would be supposed, managed by a village government, but was always under the jurisdiction of the town. An attempt was made in the fall of 1852 to bring the village portion of the town and that part lying north of the village under either a village or city charter; but the citizens voted against both, and the civil government remained what it was at the beginning. On the 22d of November, 1864, however, the Legislature passed another act, incorporating the northern portion of the town of Burlington into a city. The corporation is embraced in the following limits:—

“Beginning at the east shore of Lake Champlain, at the northwest corner of one-hundred-acre lot number 163, thence easterly in the north line of said lot to the northeast corner thereof; thence northerly in the west line of one-hundred-acre lot number 155, to the northwest corner of said lot number 155, thence running easterly in the north line of said lot number 155, to the east line of the stage road from Burlington to Shelburne; thence northerly in the east line of said stage road, to the northwest corner of one-hundred-acre lot number 165; thence easterly in the north line of one-hundred-acre lots numbers 165 and 183, to the east line of Spear street; thence northerly in the east line of Spear street, to the south line of Winooski turnpike; thence easterly in the southerly line of said turnpike, to a point opposite the angle formed by the north line of said turnpike and the east line of the road leading northerly from said turnpike to Colchester avenue, east of the residence of Henry W. Catlin; thence crossing said turnpike northerly to said angle; thence from said angle in a straight line to the center of Winooski River, at the northern



termination of the east line of one-hundred-acre lot number 18; thence, in the center of Winooski River, down said river to Lake Champlain; thence southerly on the lake shore, at low water mark, to the most western point of Appletree Point; thence in a straight line to place of beginning."

On the 18th of January, 1865, a town meeting was held in the town hall to vote by ballot on the acceptance or rejection of this act, and William G. Shaw was chosen moderator. Albert L. Catlin, James A. Shedd, Russell S. Taft and Nathaniel Parker were appointed tellers to assort and count the ballots. The result was the acceptance of the charter by a majority of 233 votes, 671 votes being cast. The first city election was held on the 20th of the following month, in pursuance of the charter. At first the city was divided into three wards — the north, center and south wards, but in 1873 it was re-divided into five wards, designated by numbers.

During the first ten years of the city's history many changes took place, in the increase of population, in the grading and curbing of streets, the beautifying of lawns, the extension of thoroughfares, and especially in the removal of old buildings and *rookeries*, and the erection in all parts of the city of new, substantial and tasteful structures. Along the lake front the wharfing was greatly extended and acres of land made by filling along the shore. In the place of tangled ravines and disused brickyards appeared extensive lumberyards. During that period the Central Vermont depot was completed at the foot of College street, which wrought an unimagined change in the appearance of that part of the city. The city market was also erected, at a cost of \$10,000; and three of the finest church edifices in the State — the Cathedral Church of St. Mary's, the Third Congregational Church, and the First Methodist Episcopal Church, were built, adding greatly to the beauty of the city as a whole. The improvement did not cease, however, at the close of the first decade of years of the city's experience, but has continued in all departments, and promises to continue indefinitely.

Water Works.— At the time of the organization of the city the water supply was anything but satisfactory. An official statement, made in 1865, showed that "there were 650 who depended upon the lake for their entire supply of water, which is mostly hauled in casks; 1,828 persons who depended entirely upon cisterns; 1,214 upon cisterns and wells, fifty-seven upon springs and the lake; forty-eight were entirely dependent on their neighbors, and 1,000 persons received water from the Aqueduct Company." The cause of this deficient supply was the great difficulty of sinking wells deep enough to strike a water vein. Though the lake and river afforded an abundant supply, little had been done towards distributing pipes through the village for the accommodation of the inhabitants. In 1827 the Champlain Glass Company laid a line of log pipes from springs that were near the site of the residence of Henry Loomis, on Pearl street, to their factory near the Battery. This line



was in use until 1850. On the 7th of November, 1849, Frederick Smith and his associate proprietors procured the incorporation of the Burlington Aqueduct Company, the incorporators being Frederick Smith, William H. Wilkins, jr., Ralph Landon and John McDonald, jr., for the "purpose of constructing, laying, repairing and maintaining" an aqueduct to supply the inhabitants of the village of Burlington with pure water for culinary and domestic uses, and for extinguishing fires; the water to be taken from the lake or "Onion" River. The village was granted the power of buying stock in the company at any time after the lapse of ten years at an advance of ten per cent. on the stock paid in. The old log pipes were superseded by those of iron, of which about three miles were laid during the first year. A reservoir forty feet square and twelve feet deep was constructed in Pearl, near Williams street, which is still in existence. It was supplied by four springs, two being situated on the lot now owned and occupied by George L. Linsley, at that time owned by Warren Root, and two just above him, one in the center of the street. About 1855 an arrangement was made with the old Pioneer Shop Company, by which water was pumped from the lake. But even then the growth of the community had made the supply wholly inadequate to the demand; consequently, the city took the affair in hand and issued bonds to the amount of \$150,000 for the construction of new works, bought the property of the Aqueduct Company for \$24,000, and came into possession October 1, 1866. A resolution for the construction of new works was adopted by the City Council on the 2d day of April, 1867, and the city now has one of the finest supplies in the State. The reservoir is situated at the junction of the old Winooski turnpike and University Place, a distance from the pump-house of 8,362 feet, with a head of 289 feet and a capacity of 2,236,000 gallons. The pump-house and machinery are situated at the foot of Pearl street, and were first put into operation December 25, 1867.

According to the last report of the superintendent of the water department there are now a little more than twenty-eight miles of pipe in use, over a third of which are iron, and the remainder cement. Through these during the year 1885 was pumped 209,026,325 gallons of water, the smallest amount pumped in the past six years. This diminution is accounted for partly by the number of frozen services during the winter, and the frequent rains during the summer, but more to the use of meters and the care taken to prevent the reservoir from overflowing. There are 239 meters now in use, of which forty-nine are the property of the city; 162 hydrants, of which 142 are public. The disbursements of the Burlington City Water Works in 1885 were \$19,663.28.

Gas Works. — The Burlington Gaslight Company was incorporated on the 5th of November, 1852, with John Peck for president; Charles F. Ward, treasurer; and Salmon Wires, secretary. The construction of the works at the corner of Bank and Battery streets was begun in the following year, and completed



in 1854. The contract was let to Dugand, Cartwright & Co., of Philadelphia, Pa., who constructed works for the manufacture of gas from coal; but in 1879 the process was changed, and petroleum gas is now made in its place. The village was first lighted with gas on the 15th of May, 1854. Movements are now in progress to light the city with electricity.

THE FIRE DEPARTMENT.

The first evidence of an organized effort to resist the dreaded element in Burlington appears in the laws of Vermont for 1808. On the 11th of November of that year, Phineas Loomis, Stephen Pearl, Thaddeus Tuttle, Daniel Farrant, Samuel Hitchcock, Ozias Buell, "and their associates," were incorporated into a company by the name of the Burlington Fire Company. The organization resulting from this act of the Legislature was very incoherent, however, and nothing of great moment was accomplished for a number of years. The equipment of the company consisted of leathern buckets, blankets and ladders. Every man owned and kept ready for immediate use a fire bucket, and nearly every man had a ladder. When a fire threatened any part of the town the neighbors and the members of this company hastened to the scene with their buckets and other apparatus, and formed a line from the source of water supply to the fire. The buckets were filled by one man and passed along the line to the last man, who dashed it where he supposed it would do the most good. Adjacent buildings were protected by wet blankets and pieces of carpet. It must not be supposed that this primitive method of extinguishing fires was altogether contemptible, for in those days the buildings were not so thickly crowded, and the flames were more easily subdued. Moreover, the smaller structures that characterize the times were more easily reached without engine or hose, and the activity and determination of the pioneer firemen, when they were able to reach the scene in time, usually conquered the flames. For many years after this time the management of the fire department was left wholly to private enterprise, the idea that it should be sustained by the town apparently having never occurred to any one.

The Boxer Engine Company. — The burning of the old court-house on the 16th of June, 1829, aroused the attention of the people to the necessity of providing a more efficient means of putting out fires. On the day of the fire fifty-six of the prominent citizens of the village subscribed \$281.50 "for the purpose of purchasing fire engines and apparatus for the use of the village of Burlington." The largest subscriptions were made by H. Thomas and Ebenezer T. Englesby, each twenty dollars. Other subscribers were Adelia A. Moody, John N. Pomeroy, John B. Hollenbeck, Edgar Hickok and Dan Lyon. The funds subscribed were made payable to Nathaniel Mayo, Alvan Foote and John Peck. The ownership of property necessitated the organization of a body to control the same and render it valuable to the village. Therefore, on the 29th of Oc-

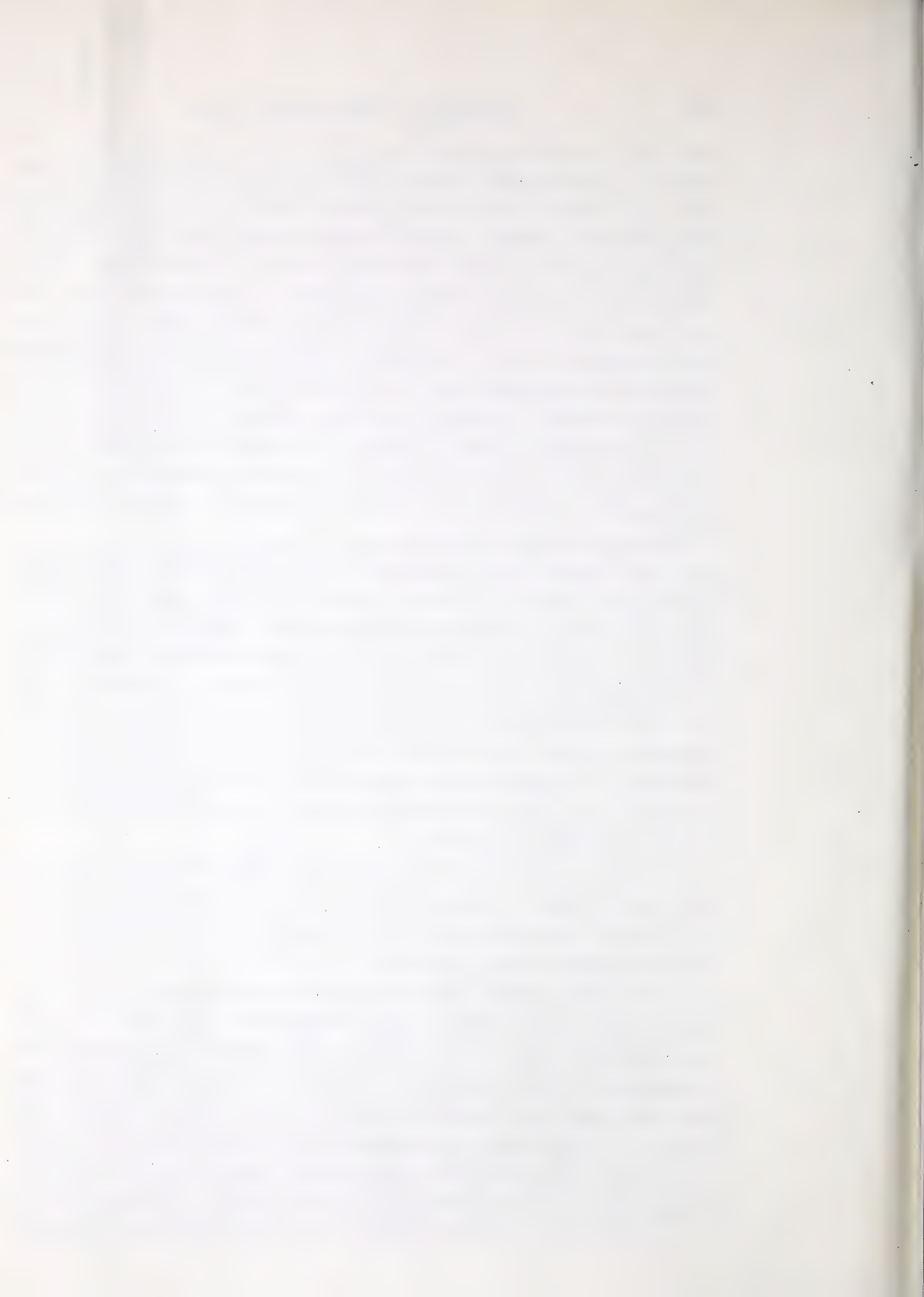


tober, 1829, the Burlington Fire Company (the second of the name) was incorporated by the following persons: John Peck, James Dean, Luther Loomis, Guy Catlin, John S. Foster, George Moore, Nathan B. Haswell, Charles Adams, Chauncey Goodrich, Lyman Southgate, Andrew Plympton, William F. Griswold, Alexander Catlin, Gamaliel B. Sawyer, and Henry Mayo. By the terms of the charter the company was permitted to hold property to the value of \$3,000, besides the land on which to build an engine-house. Ten fire wardens were to be chosen, who were to be provided with some distinguishing badge of office, and were endowed with authority to demand the aid of the inhabitants in extinguishing fires, to cause to be pulled down or removed such buildings as in their discretion it would be necessary to pull down or remove, and to suppress with force, if necessary, all tumults and disturbances which should occur at fires. The members of the engine companies formed under this company were declared to be exempt from military duty under the militia laws of the State.

Meetings were held in Howard's Hotel at different times for the establishment of by-laws and the appointment of proper officers for the new company. By-laws were adopted on January 1, 1830, and among other provisions required that besides the engine and its appurtenances which were to be kept in the village, the trustees should keep with it twelve good leathern buckets always ready for use and present at every fire. Each member was required to keep two such buckets or pails, labeled with his name, to be ready for use at a minute's notice at his residence or place of business, enginemen being excused from carrying any except those attached to the engine. To secure the proper observance of this requirement, the wardens were made to visit the residences of the members once every quarter and inspect the manner with which they had provided themselves with buckets.

The articles of association, dated January 1, 1830, were signed by all who ever became members of the company. The first signers were Guy Catlin, Benjamin F. Bailey, Luman Foote and Sion E. Howard, and the last were Edward Lyman, William Brinsmaid, James A. Shedd and Artemas Kilburn, who affixed their signatures later than 1851.

Not until about the year 1850 did the idea become prevalent that the town should contribute to the support of the fire department. In 1852 the town of Burlington appropriated the sum of \$500. This unheard-of appropriation was resisted by those living at a distance from the business center of the village, who succeeded in getting the question into the courts; but the result vindicated the claims of those who believed that the department should be maintained by the town. The Legislature then established the most thickly inhabited portion of the town into fire district No. 1, which was organized on the 10th of January, 1855, by the choice of George W. Benedict, Charles F. Ward and George G. Catlin, prudential committee, William H. Root, clerk, and Samuel Hunting-



ton, collector. In consequence of the organization of this district the old Burlington Fire Company died, its last meeting being held on the 13th of January, 1857. The district performed its functions until the organization of the city in February, 1865, when the present fire department was established.

It is a fact that there was no engine in town previous to 1829. The *Burlington Free Press* of Friday, June 19, 1829, speaking of the burning of the court-house and the saving of the "Burlington Hotel," owned by Captain Henry Thomas, now Strong's block, contained the following: "Providentially the direction of the wind, a steady and gentle breeze from the northwest, was most favorable. To this circumstance, and one of Cooper's excellent fire engines," (which had been left with Captain Thomas two or three days before, for sale) "together with the active, persevering and (considering the want of all organization) well-directed exertions of our citizens, may be attributed the preservation of Captain Thomas's buildings."

The engine mentioned in this notice was soon after purchased for \$300, and two other engines were bought soon after the purchase of the first, which was then named *Boxer*. On the 9th of February, 1830, the trustees appointed three persons to raise and organize an engine company for each engine, and report at the next meeting. The committee consisted of Nathan B. Haswell for the engine on the square; Albert Day for the engine at the falls; and John Peck for the engine at the glass house, which stood near the present residence of Frederick Smith, and was owned by the Champlain Glass Company. According to the report of this committee the *Boxer* was to be placed at the disposal of the Burlington Fire Company, and the other two engines, the *Champlain* and the *Hero*, were to be placed respectively at the Glass House and the falls. These "machines" were crank engines, without suction hose, the water being carried to them in buckets and pails. They were manufactured at Windsor, Vt. A company was organized for each engine March 8, 1830, the *Boxer* company being officered as follows: George A. Allen, captain; John Wickware, first lieutenant; John D. Perrigo, second lieutenant; Pliny M. Corbin, clerk. On the same day the fire company passed a resolution that engine No. 3 (*Boxer*) be located in or near the square, and that the wardens of district No. 3 be directed to procure by loan or lease a suitable shelter for the engine, at the expense of the proprietors. As a committee for the fire company Mr. Haswell appointed twenty-five persons to compose the engine company No. 3, as follows: Chauncey Goodrich, J. Sinclair, G. C. Worth, Edward Smith, S. E. Howard, G. Peterson, A. Plimpton, E. D. Slocum, John H. Peck, H. B. Stacy, H. W. Catlin, W. Weston, E. L. B. Brooks, J. J. Landon, P. M. Corbin, W. Wells, S. Hickok, C. Wickware, J. Wickware, G. A. Allen, Z. R. Green, Horace Lane, J. H. Perrigo, J. D. Perrigo, and Henry Leavenworth.

The *Boxer* engine served this company until 1843, when it was replaced by a new and improved one from Hunneman & Co., of Boston, and itself took

